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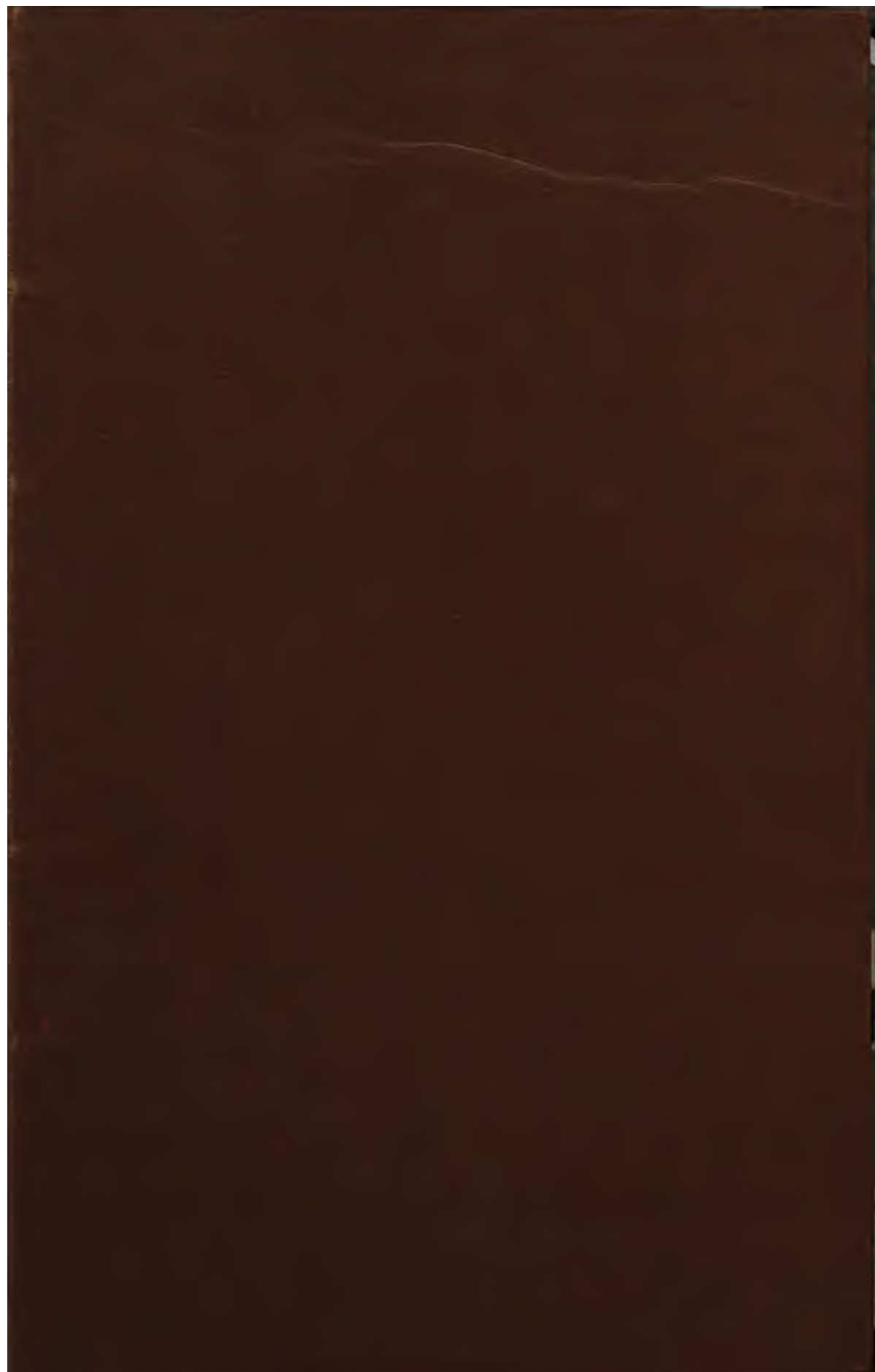
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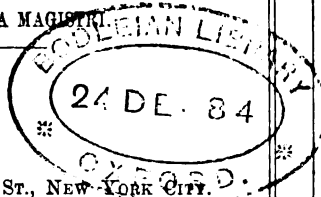
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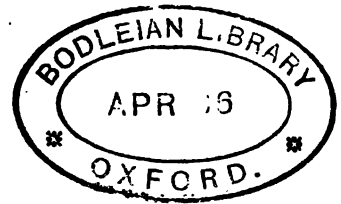
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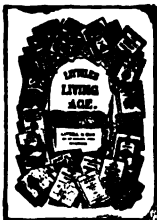
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THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. CLXXXIV.

JANUARY, 1885.

ARTICLE I.—THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DENISON
MAURICE.

The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, chiefly told in his own Letters; edited by his son, FREDERICK MAURICE; 2 vols. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1884.

THE method adopted by the author,—or rather as he evidently wishes himself to be called, the “editor,”—of this Biography, is subject to various unavoidable advantages and disadvantages. In the case of one whose character and work bear the stamp of so positive a personality as that of Maurice, both the advantages and the disadvantages are sure to be heightened greatly. Colonel Maurice informs us (p. v.) that he has endeavored, as far as possible, to make the narrative of his father's life an autobiography. He has, therefore, not proposed to edit a “*Life and Letters*,” but rather a *Life in letters*; in order that the person concerning whom the information is to be given may be presented to the world without concealment, and as he really and interiorly was. Among the disadvantages of this method—disadvantages, which are all of them

nearly as great in the case of Maurice as they could well be in the case of any one—are the following. The reader who is not thoroughly familiar with the schools of thought, the characters, and the events, to which he is introduced in these volumes, does not find himself enabled by the brief connecting explanations of the editor to comprehend sufficiently the situations out of the midst of which the letters arose. Such a reader, especially when engaged with the earlier letters, has not yet learned enough of the character of Maurice to understand how far words, perhaps poured forth to friends in the excitement of an evening hour, represent the calmer feeling and maturer thought of their writer. Moreover, he may naturally feel the desire that more of the work of selection and explanation had been done for him. He may be tempted to shrink from the connected perusal of these volumes through his feeling that all portions of them can scarcely be alike valuable, while he himself feels incompetent to select what is of greatest value.

Nevertheless, we do not complain of this method of biography in general, or of its execution in the present case. It has certain marked advantages; and some of the advantages are especially great in this case. The editor has certainly shown most commendable diligence, affection, and candor, in his work. It is a great privilege and benefit to have the more interior life of a man like Maurice, thus freely and completely opened to our respectful and loving inquiry. His real life was one largely of conflicts both from within and from without; his early years were spent amidst conflicts; his letters are largely confidential with respect to them. To the more intelligent and reflective reader, therefore, the letters reveal the man who experienced these conflicts, the secret of his influence, the throne of his moral power; at the same time, they reveal also his deficiencies, and the losses of influence and self-development which he suffered thereby.

We shall call attention to some of the more marked characteristics of the personality and work of Maurice, as they are impressed afresh upon the mind by reading his biography; and we shall use the same candor which these volumes themselves invite.

The one prominent and central characteristic of this man was his power of intense and pure ethical feeling. The word "ethical" is here used in a limited way. It was the feeling of moral rightness, or righteousness, which dominated the theological views, the self-examinations, the controversies and friendships, and the more public action of F. D. Maurice. This feeling was both nature and character with him. It was the chief source of his adherence, as well as of his opposition, both to opinions and to persons. It even sometimes gave him the appearance of a narrowness and bitterness toward those who differed from him, which were quite foreign to his real intent.

The effect of such intense, and yet somewhat too restricted, ethical feeling upon the views of truth held by Maurice is especially worthy of note. It imparted in his mind an ethical coloring or character to all truth. In the more purely scientific interest in truth, and in an appreciation of the scientific way of conducting researches into it, he was singularly deficient. Such a deficiency could not, of course, fail to make itself manifest within the sphere of his distinctively social, ethical, or theological opinions. For we are using the term "scientific" with no narrow reference to the merely physical sciences. In examining and discussing questions of sociology, morals, and religion, there is a scientific spirit and a scientific method. This spirit and method require the calm dispassionate weighing of all the evidence at command, the recognition of the relative value of the different kinds of evidence, the acceptance (at least provisional) of those opinions which seem to have the best evidence,—and that, whether the opinions harmonize perfectly with the ethical system of the universe which has previously been adopted as a whole, or not. It is not our present purpose to estimate the value or the limits of this method in the examination of distinctively ethical and theological questions. But surely the deficiency of Maurice in the comprehension and use of this method, together with the strength of his ethical feeling, explains in part his character and his conduct.

It was not without meaning that Maurice in many of his letters spoke of "my Puritan temperament," (i. 1). His

father, Michael Maurice, was fond of saying that all should believe that to which their "conscientious convictions led them" (i. 7). Intense individuality of character, leading to earnestness and aggressiveness in religious conviction, was a sure "mark of the race" (i. 28). This Puritan father was also remembered by his son as exclaiming once and again, in a public meeting in Bristol: "I hate toleration, I hate toleration." In his early life, F. D. Maurice speaks of himself as carefully guarded "from fiction of all kinds, modern or romantic," (i. 17). He was indeed encouraged to read "Gatton's Birds"; but he confesses that he "never knew the note of a single bird, nor watched the habits of any one." "Anything social or political took a hold of me such as no objects in nature, beautiful or useful had." At the age of ten he was taken into all his father's schemes for social improvement,—Bible Society, soup kitchen, and clothing club. But even this interest in social or political matters was throughout his later life one awakened almost wholly in connection with the application to them of moral and theological ideas regarding the nature of the Divine kingdom and of its growth among men. This same intense but rather restricted ethical feeling gives us the secret of his attitude toward those critical views of the Bible which were then being held by Stanley and Thirlwall and in extreme form, by Colenso. To Stanley with his finer historical sense, and broad, calm survey of the history of God's people, there came little fear that anything of permanent value to the Church would be lost by the criticism or the conflicts of his own time. But Maurice was not infrequently disturbed and alarmed lest, in the temporary neglect of certain favorite conceptions of his own, the cause with which he so much identified those conceptions, should suffer a lasting harm. He was therefore inclined to complain of Stanley because the latter "looked at things from a purely historical point of view" (ii. 601). To Thirlwall, as well as to Stanley, "a great part of the events related in the Old Testament . . . had no more apparent connection with our religion than those of Greek or Roman history." But Maurice could not so easily resign his historical and critical right to the *moral lessons*, to the instructions on conduct in social and political affairs, which he had been wont to draw from these very events.

The lectures of Maurice upon the several different subjects which occupied him at different times in his life, partook, of course, of this leading characteristic of his mind. In considering the "growth of the English nation and its literature" he moved at once and naturally toward the social and ethical ideas which he wished to generalize as controlling humanity. (see i. 293 f.). In his books and pamphlets as well the same characteristic seems apparent. It is not without significance that we find him declaring (i. 207): "All little children are Platonists; and it is their education which makes men Aristotelians." "*Wissenschaft*" and "Gnosticism" do not always get their respective rights at his hands; and perhaps they are not always clearly distinguished (see i. 168).

Let it not be supposed for a moment, however, that anything of this central characteristic of Maurice was not highly honorable alike to his heart and to his conduct. Nor should what has been said above be interpreted as detracting at all from our appreciation of his excellent intellectual quality and its fine, strong influence upon his own generation. The intensity of his ethical conviction led him almost infallibly to espouse by preference the righteous but persecuted cause, whether as represented in a person or in an opinion. With the exception of Stanley, no other clergyman of the Church of England probably exercised so large and determining an influence in restricting the movement of Dr. Pusey and his friends and allies. The largeness and strength of this influence were due to the fact that Maurice always spoke with perfect courage and candor the thoughts that were born within him as the result of moral conviction. His motives were, as a rule, no doubt much more purely ethical than those of the men whom he felt compelled most to oppose. It was difficult for minds that had indeed somewhat of the same intensity, but much less of singleness and purity of moral motive, to measure him aright or to go far in comprehending him; it was impossible for such minds to form a lasting alliance with him. The Oxford party thought well of this man for a time, and in view of his service done them by his tract on "Subscription no Bondage" (a question, by the way, on which he afterward confessed a change of view to the effect that subscription *is* bondage,—see

i. 174); but when the same man, out of the same intense but pure motives, earnestly and publicly rejected the views of their leader in a tract on Baptism, this leader considered the humility of Maurice a sham, and his earnestness an impertinence (i. 224).

Such a lover of truth and righteousness was quite too thoroughly ethical to become a theological partisan; although he not infrequently spoke and wrote with much of what seems like partisan heat and partisan impatience of debate and investigation. He had "Reasons for not joining a party in the Church" (i. 235), and these reasons were matters of moral principle with him. The same reasons withheld him from identifying himself with any party, made him eager to be reconciled with all from every party, and ready to stand up in the defence of those subjected to unrighteous treatment by whatever party.

From this same root of strong ethical feeling sprung that longing for unity, and yet great zeal in controversy, which combined to lend so much of pathos to the life of Maurice. "The desire for unity," he says of himself, "has haunted me all my life through (i. 41); of course he is obliged at once to add, "I have never been able . . . to accept any of the different schemes for satisfying it which men have devised." In all his earlier life, and indeed even in its latest years, this longing for unity took the form of an effort to recognize in himself what was true of the views of others, and so with confidence to persuade these others that his own views did contain the true elements of all their common faiths. He shrunk from the disease and selfishness of independency; he would not draw a *cordon* about himself, and dwell in his own exclusiveness. He asks (i. 350): "Do not I carry about High Churchism, Evangelicalism, Rationalism, Atheism in myself? Is not everything I see in them working within? . . . I feel that I ought to be High Churchman, Evangelical, and Rationalist; that being all, I might escape the curse of each." And yet he would not be called by others an "eclectic" or a "Broad Churchman" (ii. 531 f.), for fear of conniving at the making of another sect. There can be little doubt that such a position as this was capable of much misinterpretation by his clerical brethren; was,

indeed, incapable of any reasonable interpretation in the judgment of the average ecclesiastic of that day. They may well have asked themselves, if a man is not a Calvinist or an Arminian, a High Churchman, Low Churchman, or Broad Churchman; why, then, what is he? What can he be, in truth, but an infidel or an agnostic? The attitude of Stanley toward such matters was perhaps more consistent, as it certainly was more intelligible to the ordinary understanding. They might call Stanley "Liberal" or "Broad Churchman," he was not anxious to disown the title; they might accuse him of being "Erastian," and he was ready to reply, "I am an "Erastian of the Erastians." Maurice, however, grew into a clearer comprehension of his own peculiar position and of its value for his own day, as his life advanced. But it may well be doubted whether he ever came to so clear an understanding of his own views and place in history with relation to other elements of influence, as it belongs to the highest intelligence to secure. Nobler words, however, and words that go deeper into the heart of the truth, have rarely been written than these of Maurice in a letter of date, February, 1839: "I have endeavored in my tracts to prove that if Christ be really the head of every man, and if he really have taken human flesh, there is ground for a universal fellowship among men. . . . I have maintained that it is the business of a Church to assert this ground of universal fellowship; that it ought to make men understand and feel how possible it is for men as men to fraternize in Christ." If, then, he goes on to say, the proposal is made to fraternize on the ground of being Baptist, or Independent, his answer is: "I consider that your whole scheme is a flat contradiction and lie. . . . You do not really mean us to unite in Christ as being members of his body; you mean us to unite in holding certain notions *about* Christ" (i. 258 f.). Yet this same letter contains unmistakable tokens of the fact that Maurice did not himself adequately appreciate the enormous difficulties, both within and without the Church, which stand in the way of the realization of his ideal of Christian unity; or the necessity for a long historical process of approaches to its realization; or the really small amount which the Church of England, in common with all the other separate

ecclesiastical organizations, was prepared to contribute directly to such an end.

The mingling of such noble desires and endeavors in a work and life of almost constant controversy must have contributed much to that "divine pathos" which many recognized in Maurice. The same causes operated to attach some men strongly to him, and to repel others almost as strongly. These causes gave him much of the influence which he had, and which he exercised—however contrary to his best wishes—in the way of controversy. The soul that longed so intensely to be united with all men in one Lord, was in fact compelled to suffer more than most from the sense of being isolated. And doubtless he was not least suspected by some to whom he was really most allied.

This same intense ethical nature appears in the more private religious life, in the self-examinations, self-accusations, and confessions of Maurice. He is prone to find fault with himself for idleness, when his friends suspect exhaustion from overwork. He discovers much impurity of motive in himself; but Kingsley estimates him as "the most beautiful human soul, whom God has ever, in His great mercy, allowed me, most unworthy, to meet with upon this earth; the man who, of all men whom I have seen, approached nearest to my conception of St. John, the Apostle of Love" (ii. 554). His sense of sin is great; his sense of dissatisfaction with his own work is not less. He fears his own intense pride, while others consider him over shy and self-distrustful; the coldness of his piety, while his family observe tokens of night-hours spent in prayer.

The two truths upon which such great intensity of moral conviction became chiefly concentrated, may be stated in such propositions as follow. First: The holy and invisible God is a real living person, the desire and possibility of communion with whom belong to every human being. It was the latter part of this truth, however, upon which Maurice insisted with most unique emphasis. The other side of the truth of God's Fatherhood was the divine childhood of man. All men constitutionally desire to realize the privileges of this their exalted paternity. But the desire slumbers or is only feebly enkindled; and when it is enkindled, it is not for man without help from

Christ to find the way to his Father. The preacher of the Gospel brings men the message which appeals to their unrecognized better selves, to the longings that belong to them as his children. — “Except I could address all kinds of people as members of Christ and children of God, I could not address them all” (i. 236). To have this intercourse with God, to see God as belongs to the pure in heart, this is the sum of all theology and of all life. Doctrines are true doctrines—“call them orthodox, call them heterodox, or what you will”—which further such intercourse; such are to be held fast in life and death. The Bible brings such doctrines; it is true, as far as, and for the reason that, it brings them. Christ mediates the vision of God: “This is very faith” (i. 135 f.).

The second of those two truths on which the intense moral conviction of Maurice seems to us to have been chiefly concentrated, was closely allied in his thinking with the foregoing truth. This was the universality and unity of the Church as a real and not an imaginary body, a kingdom of God designed and destined to rule over all (i. 151). In connection with his reflections upon such a view of the Church, he was accustomed to propound the apparently paradoxical opinion, that Protestantism is not predicable of a *Church* but only of a *nation*. Catholicity is the predicate of the Church (i. 141). On July 12, 1834, he writes as follows: “I would live and die for the assertion of this truth, that the Universal Church is just as much a reality as any particular nation; that the latter can only be believed real as one believes in the former” (i. 166). For this Catholic Communion he considers that the Church of England is now “the only firm, consistent witness.” He will be thankful to God, should another such be raised up in Germany. But the views of the German historians, including Neander, he considers mere dreams of what the Church really is. How Maurice would reconcile this attractive theory with the hard facts in the midst of which he was himself so bruised, we have no adequate means of knowing. His ideal service of the Church Catholic as the true yet visible body of Christ, as truly real and visible as the Protestant nation of England, and as embodied chiefly in the State Church of that nation, seems to us more of a dream—however noble—than does the doctrine of

the Church as an invisible yet spiritual reality, in the form in which this doctrine was held by the great German historian, Neander.

We have no space to speak in detail of those views on the Bible, Baptism, the Atonement, and Eschatology, which were so much distrusted and misunderstood—as Maurice himself believed—by his contemporaries. One or two quotations from his letters, upon the first and the last mentioned of these subjects must suffice. In a letter to Kingsley, he speaks of himself as “solemnly and inwardly impressed with the truth that the Bible, as a means of attaining to the knowledge of the living God, is precious beyond all expression or conception; but when made a substitute for that knowledge, may become a greater deadener to the human spirit than all other books,” (i. 372). On the question of Future Punishment his position is thus plainly stated for him by another, in a way which met his own approval. “What he (that is, Maurice) denies is, that we are plainly told in the Holy Scripture, or that the English Church requires us to hold, that a wicked man must remain everlastingly a wicked man, or that death must be regarded as placing an impassable barrier against a sinner’s return from sin to righteousness, or that the victory of Eternal Love over sin is impossible unless it be gained during this mortal life (ii. 369).

Nor is there space to speak of the noble efforts of Maurice in behalf of the “working-men” of London. These efforts as a “Christian socialist” cost him more even than his reputed heresies; but they also gained for him certain things of great value. He learned something of what the so-called laboring classes suppose to be the animating spirit of the Christian Church and of the God whom it worships. But he taught these classes in some measure what is the true spirit of God and of the real children of God toward them. And when he was deposed from his professorial chairs in King’s College, an address signed by nearly one thousand names of laborers representing ninety-five different occupations testified to the impression which this teacher of Divinity and of English literature had made upon them.

A man fearing God and loving his fellow men, but much

misrepresented and maligned—chiefly because of his rare zeal in the truth and courage in proclaiming it,—longing for unity and distraught with much striving, represented by his opponents in lights so false as to render his real personality quite unrecognizable by any considerable number of his contemporaries, he is all the more entitled to our respect and affection as a most genuine and worthy workman in the Divine Kingdom of truth and self-sacrifice.

These volumes have an interest and a value which reach beyond the picture they enable us to form of the personality and work of Maurice. Familiar names occur on many of the pages; here are to be obtained glimpses of Carlyle, of Sterling, of John Stuart Mill, of Augustus and Julius Hare, of Stanley, of Charles Kingsley, and of others whose presence seems to lend the charm of social intercourse to the perusal of the volumes. Many men, and influences, and actions, of a far less agreeable kind may also be here observed, and that without the loss and pain involved in actual personal contact with them. The reader will doubtless reflect how like the men and influence and actions that encompass himself are those portrayed in this book as belonging to another land and another generation. How familiar, indeed is much of this kind of feeling, talk, and conduct! We can listen to Mr. Hugh Rose somewhat pompously denouncing "German Rationalism" from the Cambridge pulpit, and "treating all German theology as rationalistic." We can feel a sense of shame for their blind zeal and cowardly subserviency to the views of their partisan organs, as we view the country clergy "flocking to Oxford" in order to refuse to Jowett, "whose opinions they held to be mischievous, payment for work admirably done, with which those opinions were in no way connected." "My father burnt with indignation," says Colonel Maurice; no wonder! what righteous and clear-sighted man would not? We can detect the feeling of suspicion which was dealt out to the students of German scholarly writings, and the cringe of fear which the rank and file of the clergy felt lest they should be known by the editors of their religious newspaper to be readers of works not entered on their expurgated lists, and as pernicious as those of Maurice himself. We can understand the heart of

the subject of this biography as it flamed with indignation and with the sense of outrage against these same religious periodicals. We can feel the motive which led him to make a determined battle "against what he believed to be the immoral and godless domination of anonymous religious journalism" (ii. 370). We can conceive of the temptation he experienced as one "who looked upon the whole trade and calling as utterly and only accursed," (i. 242), a trade "of propagating among their readers bitterness and strife under the name of religion." We can comprehend why he considered the partisan religious press to be governed without moral principle, to be chief makers of infidels through the effects of religious slander and misrepresentation; why he wrote to Kingsley in December, 1847 (i. 448): "Oh! bring up your children to fly from periodicals more than from any plague. Why is there not a prayer in the Litany for deliverance from them?" But we can also rejoice in the kindly kindling of his heart as recognition of service came somewhat slowly and fitfully to him, and as friends gathered around to unite in lifting up a banner for fair and free investigation of the truths so dear to his inmost being.

We would not, however, close these most interesting volumes amidst the savor of strife, and of indignation even at wrongs received. This servant of God, after all done and suffered, breathed out his life in a benediction: "The knowledge of the love of God—the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be amongst *you*—amongst *us*—and remain with us forever."

ARTICLE II.—THE SOURCE OF THE BEAUTIFUL.

[DR. CARL SCHNAASE was born in 1798 at Dantzig and died in Wiesbaden in 1875. His father was rich, and during his early years the family traveled about and had no fixed residence. He studied at the University of Berlin, and in 1819 passed an examination in law which entitled him to a government position in his native town. Before entering upon the discharge of his duties he visited Dresden, and was so much impressed by the beauty of the art-collections which that city contained that, ever after, all of his activities which could be spared from legal duties were devoted to the study of art. In 1821 he was promoted to the position of referee in chancery (*referendarius*). In 1826 he was appointed procurator at Düsseldorf. In 1848 he was transferred to Berlin and promoted to the Obertribunal. In 1866 his failing health obliged him to resign his position and to seek a milder climate. He removed to Wiesbaden and there, as already stated, he died.

His principal work is a History of Art. It was commenced in 1848 and finished in seven volumes in 1862. A second edition was commenced in 1864 and was not finished at the time of his death. The seventh volume was nearly completed; but the eighth, an additional volume, was hardly commenced, though its materials had been gathered and arranged.

The estimation in which Schnaase was held is shown by the fact that such writers as Carl von Lützow, Carl Friederichs, J. Rudolf Rahn, Alwin Schultz, Eduard Dobbert, and Wilhelm Lübke were happy to be best known as his assistants in the preparation of the second edition of his great work. The eighth volume is entirely from the pen of the last mentioned writer. Schnaase inspired every one he met with deep affection for himself and with profound reverence for art. He ennobled and dignified the study of art, and by his written and his spoken word he caused it to be accepted by all the universities of Germany as an essential branch of philosophical inquiry. The object of his labors was to show that nations disclose themselves more clearly in their arts than in any other of their doings, and that to omit the study of art leaves ethnology incomplete and uncertain.

The following is a translation of the first chapter of the introduction to his History. Schnaase's writing is in places hard to read and harder to translate, and like many of his countrymen he often satisfies himself with a vague indication of the thought. Until German art writers appreciate clearness in thought and expression, their ideas will not pass current till the French have mastered and interpreted them. It is as true now as it was years ago that the "kraut" of German thought needs a French dressing to be palatable.—D. CARY EATON.]

THEORETICAL discussions about beauty and art may possibly be regarded as useless or frivolous ; yet for many years, and especially in Germany, they have engaged the attention of the keenest intellects. Countless efforts have been made to locate and define the idea of the beautiful. Though every new school of philosophy has made the attempt, it is in such enquiries that the schools have not only have had their poorest success but have come to their widest differences. It would seem as if while in other branches of philosophic enquiry a scientific basis is always desired, at least by experts, here there is opposition to a standard. Philosophers would, apparently, permit the notion that æsthetics is an idle employment and that philosophy has but little taste for the beautiful ; while connoisseurs and true lovers of the beautiful prefer to regard beauty from the point of view of the feelings and in its individual and separate manifestations. These latter, however, on their part differ so much from one another in their opinions, and so often contradict their very selves in the reasons they give for preferences, that the need of general notions, the necessity of establishing principles and of formulating laws, ever and anew claims attention. From sentiment we are driven to reflection and from reflection back to sentiment in a never-ending circle. Despite, however, the difficulties of the subject the claim to be able to pass judgment on the beautiful is universal, and to disclaim the ability is unpardonable. So every art writer must tread these slippery paths anew, and if he cannot construct a philosophical system reaching down to the deep sources of the human intellect, he must at least and at the very outset survey the domain of the beautiful and lay down its divisions and their boundaries as he perceived them. Otherwise he will be confused and misunderstood in all subsequent developments of his own ideas.

Nothing is too contradictory to be alleged of the beautiful. It is a mere appearance, a pure and simple appearance ; but a mere external appearance is of all things the most unsubstantial and vague, while the spiritual meaning to which it gives expression is every thing. It is entirely objective ; the artist should disappear, only his work should speak : and yet it rests upon the innermost and most subjective feelings of the artist.

It is a completed entity, an indivisible whole; and yet it must contain the greatest and the most unfailing variety. It is completely independent, existing only of its own force; and yet it is most intimately connected with every branch of intellectual activity, with religion, with morals and even with jurisprudence. These are all affected by it, and may all pass judgment upon it.

As acquaintance with art increases, new contradictions not only disclose themselves, but show themselves to belong to the innermost nature of the beautiful. More simple and less contradictory objects may be useful, good, just or possessed of other valuable qualities, but they cannot be beautiful.

It therefore appears that beauty is a mysterious something which is not within the limits of common sense and common understanding. It is reassuring, however, to find that a similar mystery surrounds all of man's highest interests. Religion, morals, the lives of races and the life of the individual, are all of the same mysterious character.

These thoughts suggest that a firm position may be reached by a consideration of the mysterious contradictions which make up human life. The source of these human mysteries lies in man's nature and not outside of it. He himself is a mystical union of contradictions. Who am I? This suffering body or this freely aspiring soul? Am I the youth who enjoys, the adult who reflects, or the aged who forgets? What a contradictory being, yet what an indiscerptible entity!

In considering the contradictions of man's being, the fundamental contradiction of soul and body is eventually reached. Man always claims that his individual self resides in the spiritual side of his organization. In his investigations he is disposed to regard the body only in the light of a borrowed garment, or as a prison within which he is temporarily confined. But on closer examination it will be found that no such separation exists. The body is neither hostile to the spiritual man nor superfluous to it. And man even in the domain of the spirit has not full liberty. In the physical world he is limited by multifarious laws; so too in the domain of the spirit he is the subject of a fixed and coherent government and is controlled by a higher necessity. He can only perceive and

recognize conditions in whose creation he has had no part. Man's poor *Ego*, naked and alone, seems to be held in equilibrium between the two domains of the spirit and the body, and in a space so confined that every motion leads it over the border and brings it at once into contact with the laws which govern the body or the laws that govern the soul. Not only this, but every act seems to bring him into contact with the laws of both domains; and he suffers additionally from their mutual antagonism.

As a citizen of the spiritual world he regards himself as superior to things as they appear; he forms conclusions in reference to the principles and forces which govern appearances; he constructs systems of thought and establishes rules of good and evil. As an earth-born and sentient creature he not only continually violates these rules, but experience shows him that dumb nature in the plenitude of her productions and in the vast variety of her manifestations despises his arid conceptions, refutes his conclusions, and frustrates his plans.

The result is a sense of dissension in his innermost being, a miserable unhappiness from which the only relief is found in that daily occupation and its attendant success which diverts the mind and leads it away from self-inspection. There is ever present, however, even to activity, a dismal background which makes the man long for convincing proof of the unity of his humanity. Such a conviction cannot grow out of religious faith or follow philosophical conclusion; for these appertain to the spiritual side of man only, and instead of quieting the sense of contradiction will intensify it. The conviction can only result from some operation in which the two sides of man's nature take equal part.

Such a process, and one that pacifies and reconciles emotions, is the act of taking pleasure in observing the external appearance and form of things. A mere animal finds no such pleasure. He is only attracted by the objects which administer to his appetites and his passions. He consumes without admiring. A pure spirit would be satisfied with pure insight; external appearances would not attract it. Here, therefore, is an activity in which man's combined nature may be employed, and be employed harmoniously and as a unit.

The beautiful has been negatively described as something that is not useful. The term useful should not be limited in application to those things which satisfy physical wants only. It should be extended to those things which increase knowledge and to those things which by elevating the standard of citizenship in the domain of thought increase power over the outside world. The sense of the beautiful has a want at the bottom of it. The beautiful satisfies this want and is therefore useful. This want, however, is the most delicate of all wants, the one which has the least possible relationship to an objective and physical necessity and one that is only felt by the noble and the refined of mankind. For physical appetites the beautiful is superfluous; for spiritual longings, it is unimportant.

Pleasure derived from the perception of form is of many kinds. The first kind that manifests itself both in nations and in individuals is, perhaps, that which results from the excess or even the uselessness of the objects contemplated. A harmless joy in well-being, free from grossness and sensuality but devoid of deep significance; a child-like toying with objects which attract and appear friendly: in a word, the sense of the agreeable. In the agreeable are found the first beginnings of the satisfaction of the longings of man's higher nature; but as yet the satisfaction is merely on the surface and the enjoyment may be unconscious.

The light-hearted enjoyment of the agreeable, however, cannot fail to lead to serious considerations. Reflection will beget the perception of important relations indicated by the exterior forms of things. There are objects which by their size or by their importance distinguish themselves from others and which lead the mind away from the consideration of their physical properties to the contemplation of the almighty power which created them and all other things besides. Such objects excite the sense of the sublime. The sublime is most closely connected with religion. It not only satisfies the innermost feelings of the thinking man, but it excites his outer self to a less material method of observation. In these two kinds of perception of form, in the sense of the agreeable and in the sense of the sublime, man's whole nature is active as a unit. He begins to find himself on neutral soil where the contradictions of his

nature seem satisfied, and where he neither suffers the exclusive domination of the laws of the soul nor of those of the body.

But the satisfaction afforded by these two forms of perception is only apparent and is of short duration. The agreeable is nearly related to the charm that is purely physical, and is far removed from the earnestness of spiritual elevation. It soon becomes contaminated with ordinary material desires. The sublime, on the other hand, pointing to something greater than the mere external appearance of objects and ultimately referring to the greatness of God, carries the mind away into the domain where mere form in its greatest and most imposing dimensions is nothingness, and where the contemplation of the eternal Creator suggests the insignificance and the ephemeral nature of all things created. From this stand-point the world appears to be a valley of misery; nor can it be understood why or how a benign Creator has placed man in the midst of it. So the sense of antagonism, subdued for a while by the contemplation of form, comes back with full force, and torments anew. The sublime leads to the spiritual; the agreeable to the physical; and the two, as the spiritual and the physical themselves, become opposed and antagonistic.

This reasoning, however, suggests the possibility of the existence of a form in which the spiritual and the material may subsist in full interpenetration and in enduring harmony. A form which will unite the spiritual elevation of the sublime with the gaiety and attractiveness of the agreeable, and which will at last satisfy the soul, ever longing to be convinced of the unity and the oneness of the two domains between which it is thwarted and tortured.

A point has now been reached from which the domain may be surveyed wherein dwells the beautiful. The beautiful itself has indeed been reached, but only as yet as man's inner intuition, as a postulate of his nature which is still seeking an outer form in which it may find rest and satisfaction.

THE BEAUTIFUL.

The necessity of the beautiful, therefore, proceeds from man's inner nature; and its satisfaction can only be found in the world of external appearances.

It might be supposed that nature and her every manifestation would be beautiful; for every thing proceeds from the Creator, and the attributes of the Creator should be recognized in the whole and in all its parts. His power should be manifest everywhere, uniting harmoniously the spiritual and the material. But such is not this world. God has created a world of freedom, permeated by laws of existence which react and contradict, a world of antagonism and of conflict.

Most created things are soulless and entirely dependent upon external laws. Not in them is to be found the desired harmony of soul and matter. Even the most attractive of them fail to satisfy. The lovely flowers, the ripening fruit, the gleaming gems, though they attract and please, at their best but excite the sense of the agreeable. Nor is this sense so excited free from a touch of sadness that such rich and lovely objects should be destitute of sentient spirit.

If again nature be beheld in her greatness and in her entirety; if the expanding vault of Heaven be surveyed, the far-reaching productive earth, the outlines of never-ending mountain chains, the gleam of the boundless sea; the mind is elevated, but it is led away into the unending and finds no rest but in the thought of the greatness of the Creator. It again enters the domain of the sublime and is again subjected to the rules of the spiritual.

The beautiful therefore, in a closer meaning of the word, is only to be found in those natural objects where the external appearance corresponds to an appropriate spirit. The spirit of God corresponds to, and can be limited by, no individual object. The Almighty can only be approached by the longings of the soul. The spirit which must correspond to an external appearance in order to produce beauty must be less universal,—must be the spirit of the particular appearance itself. It follows that only the living body in which the indwelling soul fully appears and in which appearance is filled with the indwelling soul can make claim to true beauty. As spirit is not limited to time or place, but is always the same though its manifestations be various; so is life in its relations to the body. Each part of the body seems independent; yet all parts are one. The same life lives in every part; each part

is essential to the whole and the whole consists of its parts. Between the whole and the parts there is constant reaction which has neither beginning nor end.

The body of the living man originates with his soul, at least with its appearance in this world, and grows together with it in the fullest harmony. Man therefore, better than any other creature, is the object to give the impression of the beautiful. The brute lacks spiritual freedom and independence; it is too much controlled by outside and sensual appetites to be of itself beautiful. Man, however, in all his conditions and relations is truly beautiful. His body appears as the perfected expression of his soul; his life in its activities and its sufferings, as the essence of his spirit; and finally, the delicate expression of his feelings, the shout of joy and the cry of pain, as the harmonious outward appearing of his disposition. Man is an appearance which is filled with spirit and expresses soul.

The discovery is soon made, however, that all men do not make the same agreeable impression but only those exceptional few who, sound in mind and body, are free from inherited flaws and have escaped accidental injuries. But the closer contemplation of these rare and heroic personages will show that even in them we have been deceived. If the first impression be followed and a deeper view be obtained of these apparently beautiful objects, even here will the original discrepancy and contradiction of things become apparent. It seems as if the soul took a position in opposition to the beauty of the body. Instead of appearing in harmony with this beauty it assumes a superiority. If the soul be permitted to absorb attention, the worthy soul will excite reverence, friendship, love; and the unworthy soul will beget hostility or anger. In either case the sentiment excited will be far away from the simple pleasure derived from observing beautiful appearances. If the effort be made to withdraw attention from this view of the soul by directing it to the inspection of the actualities of life; then the body, with its weakness and its decay, will quickly disenchant; and instead of the sense of beauty being excited, the mind will be led to the contemplation of the inevitable end of all things human. But no better result, on the other hand, if in the contemplation of the actualities of life the soul be regarded by itself and away from the body for it will appear

to be only the fleeting and deceptive shadow of the living man. The deeds of men may still give pleasure, the coherence of his relations, the impression of his acts on the world that surrounds him. But even here close examination leads to disappointment. Not only do weaknesses and passions deface the beautiful picture, but the traces of an outer and inharmonious necessity and accident are all about. Purpose is not followed by execution, deeds are not related to resolves; and again discord and contradiction make their presence felt.

Actual appearances, therefore, though the noblest and the most complete, do not satisfy the sense of the beautiful. They produce a passing impression of the beautiful; they feed taste and sharpen desire, but they do not satisfy. Actual beauty does not exist in the domain of the actual. The direction is given but the goal is not reached. There is movement towards the beautiful, but the hard conditions of the actual constantly interpose. That which is regarded as the beauty of the actual is only the result of a subjective sentiment which supplies deficiencies and overlooks defects.

Beauty, therefore, is not to be found in actual things; and if man would satisfy his sense of the beautiful he must resort to his own activities. He is of necessity led to art. It has been argued against this view that it is a foolish presumption on the part of man to place himself above the Creator, to claim to be able to produce more excellently than has been created. But the work of art, beauty in fact, does not claim to be better than the actual but something different from it. If the actual be not beautiful; so, on the other hand, the beautiful is not actual. It lacks both the activity and the reality of the actual. Though a physical appearance and, therefore, simple and independent as should be all manifestations of mind, it has neither the substance nor the active power of the actual. It has no connection with the great chain of causes and effects. It is in no way related to the manifold materials or to the active principles of real things. In comparison with the actual it is inert and useless. There is a side shadow to the beautiful manifesting itself in the sensitive dispositions of artists, and often imparting to their works a gentle but a perceptible tinge of sadness.

There is a mental activity which is evidence of the exist-

ence of a power drawing man to this unsubstantial beauty. This activity is phantasy, the exciting and constructing force of the innermost sensibilities; the enchanting sorceress who causes the mind's fleeting fancies to appear to it as independent creations; the offspring of Zeus, as the poets call it, his dearest and most favored child. Phantasy's gentlest and most innocent excitations give an idea of the vivifying power of beauty; and the pleasure derived from them is all the more delightful because of the consciousness that the forms which phantasy presents are not real things but only the products of our own imagination. When children in sport imitate the acts of their elders they know full well that there is no reality in what they do. They know that nothing is drunk from the empty cups; that the dolls do not live; that their companion in harness is no real horse. But it is in the creating and in the accepting of the deception that the charm exists; a charm, too, which reëchoes through all later years. These same sensibilities are the source of the pleasure derived from dreams and reveries; when things great and small, gay and sad, are combined and bewitched. To summon forth shadows into reality and to turn the real back into shadow, are the acts that give pleasure.

But phantasy when left entirely to herself is not sure to lead to beauty. Destitute of soul and of power of choice, it may mislead and plunge us into aching voids, or force us to the ugly and the repugnant. It dazzles, deceives and juggles till we are ready to flee from our very selves, and staggering we cling anew to the real for rest and reason. When man, therefore, finds that the beautiful does not exist in nature, nor does his own phantasy furnish it, and that his longings are only to be satisfied by the works of his own hands, in other words by art, he naturally and immediately inquires what art is and what are his relations to it.

Every work of man's hands is suggestive of beauty; for every work is a natural material moulded by thought, and the thought and the matter appear to a certain extent in harmony. The material itself, however, is not suggestive of the uses to which it is put; it even opposes itself to the thought which would fashion it. As a result the works of man's hands are less apt to be harmonious than the creations of nature. In man's work the purpose controls, and the purpose interferes

with the production of beauty. The purpose may not control the entire work in all its parts. A variety of forms may be given to parts, and even to the whole, without impairing utility. The curves of a vase or the lines of its handles may be varied without diminishing capacity.

In tracing such lines as the lines of a vase, the artificer follows his own fancy, or it may be that the material itself suggests the pattern; just as human conduct is often controlled by passing taste or by the caprice of a moment. But such manifestations of unconscious grace are not worthy of the name of beauty. Accident as well as utility is opposed to the really beautiful. The true work of art, therefore, can only be produced by a conscious intent; but this consciousness must be as far removed from a deliberate purpose as it is from the triviality of accident. This seems a contradiction; as consciousness in work presupposes, apparently, matured plan and deliberate purpose. Yet, in fact, a deliberate intention and attempt on the part of the artist to represent to himself or to others abstract beauty, or the ideal in its highest possible development, could but result in the destruction of beauty. This very attempt, though pure and noble, has the fatal fault of a deliberate purpose which would strip from the work the bloom of pure and free beauty. The artist, therefore, in every stage of his work must be conscious; but united to his consciousness there must be a spontaneous and natural ingenuousness.

As the longing for beauty has its birth in the soul, but is nourished and developed by nature, so representations of beauty are representations of nature ennobled and purified by the genial play of phantasy. The artistic conception, born of the spirit and fed by nature, becomes clearer and stronger till with a force that seems spontaneous it selects and grasps the proper material for manifestation. Phantasy, therefore, but instructed and limited by the actual, is the secret workmaster of art. The artist's inspiration is not the beautiful, but nature and those particular forms in nature which to him are representations of the beautiful. The desire to incorporate representations of beauty is not an intent, but proceeds from the love and joy excited by the natural objects contemplated. Material and method will be selected with care, but that care

will be in accord with the object exciting the inspiration, and will not be governed by any independent intention of producing the abstract beautiful. The work of art is indeed the product of impulse; but of the purest and most spiritual impulse, in which the activities of the mind are as apparent as is a passionate and mastering love of nature. And the productions of this impulse are the more noble, the more pure is the love of nature, the more unselfish the mental activity.

It is evident that art-activity must be manifold. The thing represented is single and limited; the thought that corresponds to it, and which may not overstep its limits, must consequently be limited also, and everything that is limited must exist in numbers—God alone is single. The idea of the beautiful was long confounded with the idea of the finished, the complete. This led to the notion that one ultimate beautiful would be found and that all others would disappear. Although beauty, as the exclusion of ugliness, and beauty as the goal of human conduct, may convey the idea of unity; beauty itself cannot exist apart from an object, and must be as various as is the capacity of objects to be beautiful.

The most complete union of the spiritual with single appearances presupposes individuality; that is, not only the condition of the highest and most indissoluble interpenetration of mind and matter, but the preservation of independence and of individual attributes. Variety in the appearance of beautiful objects is not therefore accidental, but results from the nature itself of the beautiful. It is only by reason of its individuality, and of its exclusiveness in reference to other appearances, that the work of art is beautiful.

Finally, this variety secures the artist from the destructive domination of a single plan. As beauty is manifold he may surrender himself to its influence without thought or fear; he may follow wherever his fancy leads and give himself up fully and freely to its guidance. He knows that every thought may suggest a form, and that every form may carry a spiritual meaning. And so the work of art takes birth in his mind. There are no fixed rules to mar or check its growth. It grows in the youthful grace of thoughtless activity. It is full of hope at its birth and develops in clearness and in manly earnestness.

ARTICLE III.—THE STATES GENERAL OF FRANCE.**II. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATES GENERAL.**

THE principle which underlay the activity and influence of the States General was the current maxim, derived from Feudalism, that no tax could be levied upon the subjects of the king without their consent. As the monarchy gradually increased in power and was constantly engaged in long and expensive wars, the revenues of the royal domain became more and more inadequate to furnish the means required. When the army clamored for pay or new forces were to be raised or heavy ransom to be paid, or when in some other way the king was compelled to face a financial emergency, there was only one course open to him. He must appeal to the nation, as its protector, for aid. Specious pretexts for convening the States General were from time to time put forth; yet in almost every case the real reason for the meeting was the need of the Crown for money.

As a rule the monarchy convoked the assembly of the nation only when forced by dire necessity to an extreme measure. In consequence the States General several times had it at their mercy. More than once the royal authority stood before them trembling and abashed, and the supreme power was in their hands. Yet the advantages thus gained were fruitless to the nation. For reasons hereafter to be pointed out, the great representative body of the French wasted its opportunities and sank into decline. It never established the right to meet at regular intervals, nor without the royal sanction. It could not therefore attain to a fixed constitution, and it never developed a regular code of parliamentary procedure. Finally, wheedled by the Court into giving up its very reason of being, the right to authorize and direct the expenditure of the nation's funds, it sank out of sight and the monarchy had undisputed sway.

The history of the States General begins with the year 1302 and ends with 1614. It falls naturally into two periods, the first extending from 1302 to 1439, the second from 1439 to

1614. During the first period the assembly kept well in view the principle on which its existence depended and its authority was based. For the most part it maintained an alliance with the monarchy, on the one hand against the traditions and institutions of Feudalism, on the other against the temporal assumptions of the Papacy. Meetings were frequent, the activity of deputies great, the influence upon the affairs of the nation often direct and salutary. But the turning-point came in 1439, when the States General authorized Charles VII. to establish a standing army, and to support it by means of a regular tax, to be assessed and collected yearly without further intervention of the nation. The measure was one of momentous significance. Previous to this time war had been carried on in accordance with the feudal plan. Whenever there was an appeal to arms the people, like the retainers of the feudal lords, marched forth to meet the foe; after the danger was over they returned to their customary pursuits. With the organization of the standing army the monarchy, having a body of disciplined troops always at its command, gained a permanent advantage over Feudalism and rose rapidly to the first place in the state. Thus the establishment of the standing army changed the course not merely of French but of European politics. But further than this, in France it indirectly struck the death-blow to national liberties. For with the precedent once established that the Crown could collect a tax without the authorization of the States General, unscrupulous rulers found many ways by which the privilege could be extended and imposts levied regardless of the murmurs of the people. The successors of Charles VII. carried further and further the point which he gained from the assembly of the estates, till finally the nation had no voice whatever in determining its tribute to royalty or in anything else. After 1439 the States General met less and less frequently. They had sunk to the level of a purely advisory body, with no real powers, convened by the Court as a convenient means of furthering its interests, either by special grants of money or by the sanction of measures for which it was interested in having the nation's full support. During the sixteenth century there were only six meetings. Finally in 1614 they were dissolved by the

Crown in the midst of uproar, not to be assembled again till 1789. Then the pent-up impulses of the national life burst forth. The third estate took matters into its own hands. The Constituent Assembly, which sought to gather about itself the traditions of the States General, gained the supreme power, and the government of France was revolutionized. The career of the States General properly closes with the year 1614.*

At no time in the history of the States General was there formulated any authorized system of rules regulating their convocation, membership, or modes of procedure. The monarchy, desirous of keeping them under control, left everything about their constitution as indefinite as possible, while the assembly itself never seems to have possessed either the unanimity and forethought to agree upon a series of regulations fixing its make-up and powers, or any means of enforcing the provisions suggested by it to the king. Nevertheless in the course of time there was developed a body of usages, or customs, from which there was rarely any important deviation. These, so far as they concern the constitution of the States General, may best be considered under three heads, convocation, composition, and organization.

I. THE CONVOCATION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

In treating of the preliminaries to a meeting of the States General two topics demand particular attention, the Letters of Convocation and the Elective System.

When for any reason it was decided to have a meeting of the States General, letters of convocation were issued by the Court. No other power ever had the right to summon the deputies. An attempt on the part of the nation to deliberate even regard-

* For a full account of the history of the States General, consult Picot, '*Histoire des États Généraux de 1355 à 1614*,' 4 vols., Paris, 1872; Desjardins, '*États Généraux*,' Paris, 1871; Thibaudeau, '*Hist. des États Généraux*,' 2 vols., Paris, 1845; Rathery, '*Hist. des États Généraux*,' Paris, 1846; Hervien, '*Recherches sur les premiers États Généraux*,' Paris, 1879; also the histories of France by Henri Martin, Lavallée, Michelet, Durney, Dareste, Kitchin; Stephen's '*Lectures on the Hist. of France*'; the works of Thierry, Guizot; Perrens, '*La Démocratie en France au Moyen Âge*'; Mérilhou, '*Les Parlements de France*'; Le Bas, '*Dict. Encyclopédique*'; the '*Documents Inédits*'; etc. etc.

ing its own interests, without the royal authorization, would have been thought rebellious. Whether the Court was forced to announce a meeting of the estates or did so of its own free will, could make no difference; no letter of convocation was valid unless signed by one who represented the authority of the Crown. Usually the king himself issued the document, but in case the throne was vacant the signature of the regent sufficed. Thus in 1317 Philip as regent convened the assembly that formulated the Salic law of Succession, while in the minority of Louis XIII. the States General of 1614 were convoked by Marie de Médici. But the king of Navarre contested the legality of the meeting of 1593, on the ground that the Duke of Mayenne, who appointed it, although Lieutenant-General of the Realm by the authority and power of the League, did not properly represent the Crown.

The letter of convocation usually covered five points, stated with more or less clearness:

1. *The explanation of the reasons for the meeting.*—Considering that the sole reason was in most cases lack of funds in the treasury, it is interesting to note how honeyed the phrases are and how fair in appearance are the pleas presented. The Court asks “its good subjects” for advice on questions of reforms in administration, peace and war, religion, regency, and the like. The real matter is often carefully kept out of sight, or only hinted at. Not infrequently in this part of the letter there appears a fine sounding declaration of the great love of the king for his people and his desire to make all prosperous and happy. Thus Henry III. in appointing the meeting at Blois in 1576 announced that he wished to “hear the remonstrances, complaints and grievances of all afflicted, in order to give each such remedies as they all might require; . . . also to present our own opinion, and with them (the deputies) to form a good resolution on the means of providing for our State, and of acquitting the faith of the kings our predecessors and our own, as much as may be possible, to the relief of all our subjects.” Such was the pretext with which the corrupt and treacherous Court brought the nation to council at the first States General at Blois! The duplicity and perfidy of the French kings is unsurpassed in the annals of kingcraft.

2. *Designation of the time and place of meeting.*—Since the States General never received a favorable answer in good faith to their oft-repeated desire for regular sessions, both time and place of meeting varied according to circumstances. Paris, as the residence of the king and easy of access to all, at first thought would seem the best place in the realm for the national assembly; yet it was early found that great disadvantages more than counterbalanced the advantages of that location. The Parisian municipal organization, with its enormous wealth for bribery and a howling mob that could be aroused at a moment's notice, exerted an overwhelming influence at the meetings held within its reach. The Court and the nation alike feared its power. "It is not for slight reasons," says Barière, "that in the old monarchy, under the Valois, for example, the States General were held alternately in the different provincial cities." The ordinances which show the greatest influence of the assembly are not those rendered as a result of the meetings at Paris, but those of Blois, of Orleans, of Tours, of Rouen. Often the choice of a place was determined by certain circumstances. Towns exposed to the dangers of invasion or insurrection were avoided, while those most favorable to the Court were apt to be selected.

The date appointed for the gathering of the deputies was generally put three to five months later than that of the letter of convocation, on account of the difficulties of traveling. Arthur Young, who has left a clearly drawn picture of France just before the Revolution, in his time found the highways in a most deplorable state; we must suppose that they were in far worse condition three centuries earlier. In many sections, moreover, there were bands of robbers which made the roads unsafe, so that travelers were obliged to go strongly guarded and with great circumspection. Notwithstanding the liberal allowance of time, frequently several successive adjournments were found necessary before the deputies were assembled in sufficient numbers to proceed to the transaction of business. Sometimes for reasons of state the Court thought best to change both time and place of meeting.

3. *The mandate to the royal officers and the provincial governments about elections.*—Herein it was directed that meet-

ings be held throughout the realm for the electing of deputies, and in later times for the further purpose also of drawing up statements of grievances, or cahiers. The provisions in the letter of convocation regarding these matters were of the most general character. Sometimes a particular date was appointed for all the provincial elections; generally, however, the different districts were left to their own will and convenience in regard to this and all other details.

4. *Statement of the authority conferred upon the assembly.*—The purpose of the Court was always to appear to be giving more authority than it really did give to the representatives of the nation. It aimed to please and impress the people and thus to assure a fine large grant. For the most part little was directly said regarding the powers of the assembly, save that there would be granted perfect freedom in discussion and deliberation.

5. *The promise of the Court to carry out the wishes of the assembly.*—In this there was usually manifest only further evidence of royal duplicity. It was intended simply to flatter and lead on the ever-trustful nation; behind it lay not the slightest intention of conceding any more than might be absolutely necessary. Like the opening statements of most of the letters it had its origin in time-serving expediency. Witness for example the closing words of the letter of Henry III. in convoking the second session at Blois. Speaking of the matters to be submitted for deliberation he says, "on all which things we intend a good and salutary resolution from which we shall never depart, of which we shall gladly take up the execution with such firmness, affection and perseverance that no consideration whatever shall ever be able to turn us from it." A little further on he assures the deputies of his good intentions in even stronger terms: "We are very resolved to carry out such reforms and regulations as shall be found required and necessary to draw the kingdom from these straits, with the intention of omitting no point whatever of that which in so notable an assembly shall be by you discussed, passed upon and decided."

Copies of the letter of convocation were distributed among all the bailiffs and seneschals, upon whom as royal officers

devolved the duty of making known its contents and of superintending the elections. Besides the general letter, special mandates were occasionally sent to particular communities or bailiwicks. As the sending of delegates to the States General was at first looked upon as a burden rather than a privilege, not infrequently a direct royal command was necessary to force a refractory town or district to elect representatives. Sometimes a special letter was forwarded to a district in order to prevent the election of certain men obnoxious to the Crown; the names of the persons deemed undesirable were either directly mentioned or clearly enough indicated by restrictions. On receiving letters of convocation, whether general or special, the royal officer drew up an abstract, or made copies of the original, which he dispatched for the clergy to the principal houses of the benefices, for the nobility to the proprietors of estates directly or to their financial representatives, "on the principle that it was properly the benefice that made the ecclesiastic, the fief that made the nobles." An announcement was made to the third estate in accordance with the directions of the letter, which on this point were generally specific. The method usually enjoined was that the matter be presented in the public place of each town, after a crowd had been called together by the sound of a trumpet or the ringing of a bell.

The elective system varied according to period, place, and circumstances. In the earlier time the clergy and the nobility attended the meetings of the States General in a body, and with them deputies from the "good towns" met. But at first by no means all or even a considerable number of the cities of France had the right to a representation there. Delegates were summoned only from those walled towns whose importance in a military or financial point of view made it the king's interest to court them, and from those which had become strong and prominent under the fostering care of royalty. Not till the time of Anne of Beaujeau, in the reaction towards popular liberties that followed the absolutism of Louis XI., was the right of delegation extended to all the cities of the realm. The inhabitants of the rural districts had no voice in the elections till 1576, when in certain districts they were called to

unite with the burghers to choose deputies of the third estate for the first States General of Blois. As a result of the confusion and difficulty then experienced, the Court added six new towns to those already possessing the right of suffrage. Theoretically the people of the rural districts were represented by the nobility on whose lands they lived. The condition of the agricultural class had been only apparently improved by the decline of feudalism and the growth of peasant proprietorship; in reality it remained subject to feudal conditions till the Revolution. It was trodden under foot by those from whom it should have received protection and the means of enlightenment, the selfish and short-sighted aristocrats. In 1614, as in the preceding centuries, it still had no voice of its own in the nation's assembly.

Thus in France the elective portion of the inhabitants was only a fraction of the whole population. The highest representative body, as in England, contained two distinct elements—a privileged, comprising the clergy and the nobility, who sat by virtue of the holding of land, and represented the old feudal court and council; and an unprivileged, consisting of deputies from the towns. As the kingdom increased in extent of territory it was found that a full attendance of the higher orders with all the deputies that must be summoned from the towns made an unwieldy and unmanageable assembly, involving, moreover, an enormous expenditure of time and money. The expedient of provincial representation for each of the three orders was adopted. In the course of time the realm came to be divided up into clearly defined judicial and administrative districts, called *bailliages* (bailiwicks), each of which had a judge and other officers appointed by the king, and a court subject only to appeal to the parliament. These now became the basis of elective provisions; from each bailiwick deputies representing the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate were sent to the States General. In the third estate there were necessarily two elections, one in the cities of the bailiwick to choose electors, another of all the electors of the bailiwick to elect representatives. The privileged orders generally held but one.

The preparatory elections of the third estate usually took

place on Mondays, and were preceded by the ringing of a bell. At the sound of this the townsfolk gathered in the town hall or the open square that served for a market-place. A royal officer, judicial or financial, or the notary of the place, presided. After the purpose of the meeting had been duly announced, the delegates to the elective convention of the bailiwick, generally two in number from each town, were chosen *viva voce*. The townspeople then brought forward all their grievances and requests, which were to be carried by the delegates to the elective assembly and there embodied in the general cahier of the bailiwick. Many of the bailiwicks were themselves divided into judicial districts or sub-bailiwicks. In these there were two steps in the choice of electors; first, the towns sent delegates and statements of grievances to a convention of the sub-bailiwick; then, the sub-bailiwick to the elective assembly of the bailiwick.

On a day previously appointed, the clergy and the nobility of the bailiwick met at the principal city, and at the same time the electors, from towns directly or from sub-bailiwicks, assembled. The three orders proceeded separately to elect their representatives and draw up their cahiers. Only once, so far as is known, there was such a fusion of interests that in most of the bailiwicks the three estates made their choice together. This happened at the elections to the States General at Tours, in 1484, and the results were clearly to be seen in the remarkable harmony and unanimity of the session; "for the ecclesiastics, the nobles and the common folk who came to Tours were not representatives exclusively of the clergy, the nobility, or the third estate; they united in their persons a triple commission." The method of voting at the elections is not clear; probably it varied according to circumstances. At least it is known that sometimes the delegates responded with the voice as their names were called by the secretary; but at the election to the States General of 1588 the Huguenots complained that the voting was done by the voice and not in the customary way, by ballot, so that they were greatly overawed and prevented from exercising their full right by the intimidation of their opponents.

Obviously the elective system sketched above could not fail

to undergo modification, when by reason of size or political importance a single city formed by itself a judicial district of the first degree, thus taking the rank of a bailiwick. Such was the case with Paris, La Rochelle, and Marseilles. In the two last the rights of representation belonging to town and bailiwick were united, and the cities had each but a single vote in the States General. At Paris, however, a separation was maintained. Paris, therefore, had two sets of deputies, and two votes, one as city, the other as judicial and administrative district (*prévôté*). Accordingly she had two distinct electoral conventions, over one of which the mayor or some civil magistrate of importance presided, while the highest resident representative of the court conducted the other. In the choosing of delegates to the electoral conventions no uniform mode was followed. Sometimes the sub-divisions of the ward sent each two delegates to a general meeting, where four delegates to represent the ward were elected. Not infrequently, however, the ward officers themselves arbitrarily chose the electors, sending to the elective assembly of the city "a certain number of the notable men of their quarter, taken ordinarily half from among the magistrates or officers, half from among the merchants or other citizens." There were other variations which it is not necessary to notice.

In several of the larger cities besides Paris and in many of the bailiwicks the regular mode of choosing delegates and representatives was not adhered to, and more complex processes were in vogue. Sir James Stephen, with good reason, thinks that the forms in use in the ancient Greek and Roman cities of Norbonnese Gaul for the election of civic officers were thence transferred to the French municipalities, and were borrowed from these by the bailiwicks when it became necessary to elect deputies to the States General, "for the love of subtle and refined schemes of polity, and especially of municipal polity, was one of the many analogies between the Greek and the French characters." He cites for illustration the mode adopted in the city of Péronne for electing the mayor, aldermen, and board of audit. First, each of the twelve guilds elected two delegates; the twenty-four delegates then chose ten, these nominated another ten, and the twenty associated with them-

selves ten more. The thirty chose the mayor and the aldermen, who, thus elected, designated six counsellors; to these six more counsellors were added through the selection of the masters of the guilds. The twelve counsellors made up the board of audit. While no routine so complicated as this ever preceded the sending of deputies to the States General, there is no doubt that often in the cities the delegates to the elective convention of the bailiwick were chosen not directly, but by delegates from the guilds, with no slight complexity of forms.

Regarding eligibility to the position of deputy, little is known; at any rate, there were few restrictions. It is certain that the three orders were not obliged each to send representatives of its own rank, but in this respect at least had the greatest freedom of choice. Not infrequently a noble or ecclesiastic was sent as deputy by the third estate. The number of deputies to be returned by each bailiwick was not fixed by general law but specially designated in each letter of convocation. Generally each bailiwick was directed to send three representatives, one for each order; but occasionally, as in the election to the States General of 1560, the electors were left free to send a greater number if they wished to do so. In forming the general cahiers of the bailiwick use was made of all the cahiers that had been handed in from towns or sub-bailiwicks; and opportunity also was given for any one who had any complaint or suggestion to present it, with the encouragement, that if it were well founded, it would be incorporated with the rest. For the convenience of those having grievances that had not found expression in the regular way, on election days a chest with three openings and three locks for the three orders was placed at the door of the hall where the working over of the cahiers was going on. At Paris a table in the great hall of the Hôtel-de-Ville, and at Lyons a throne were used for the same purpose. Thus the troubles of even the poorest and the weakest might be voiced.

II. THE COMPOSITION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

The regular membership of the States General properly comprised the representatives of the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate. But owing to the relation existing between the assembly and the Court, a few persons not deputies had the right to be present during either the whole or a part of each session. Some enjoyed this privilege by reason of rank, some by reason of functions. To the one class belonged the king or the regent, the queen, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of the crown; to the other, the chancellor, the secretaries of state, the members of the Privy Council and of the Royal Council. The former appeared only at the opening and closing of the session, and on special occasions, by their presence aiming to make manifest the royal authority and to impress a wholesome awe of it, and at the same time to add prestige to the assembly. The latter kept up constant communication between the Court and the sessions, carrying propositions or responses from the king, meeting with the deputies or committees from their number for discussion, and aiding in the redaction of the cahiers. In this the chancellor figured most prominently. He was often present at the meetings as the mouthpiece of the government, answering questions and offering advice, but more often making requests and trying to influence the deputies to act according to the wishes of the Court.

In a preceding article it was indicated how in the decline of Feudalism the whole European society was broken up into three sharply divided orders, the three estates. In France, therefore, this division was nothing local or accidental. It was grounded in the very nature of things, and formed one of the determinative elements in politics. In the Provincial States the distinction between the three orders was carefully maintained; in the States General it inevitably appeared. However disastrous these differences of rank were to the best interests of the French nation, it was not possible to convene a national assembly except by orders. The growth of a truly national spirit among the French was very slow.

The clergy in France had everywhere the precedence over the other two orders. This state of things, so foreign to our

modern ideas, was a heritage of the middle ages, when the Church was the most stable element in European society. In the feudal court and council the ecclesiastics sat not because of their priestly office but because of their proprietary rights as holding land in feudal tenure, either personally as bishop or collectively as chapter. In the extent of landed property they were not at all behind the lay aristocracy, and hence according to feudal principles stood politically on the same footing. But farther than this, they represented both the spiritual authority of the Church, and the temporal assumptions of the Papacy. Through the former they claimed to hold in their hands the eternal welfare of all, whether serfs or princes for weal or woe, gaining thus a vast though intangible influence. By virtue of the latter they held themselves superior even to rulers, who openly flattered but secretly feared them. This high prestige of the clergy continued till the Revolution; not infrequently they filled the most important and honorable offices in the government.

The influence of the clergy in the States General, however, was not as great as might have been expected from their superior prestige. In making grants of money for the needs of the realm they were more generous than the nobility; for being a privileged order they would not be subjected to a tax as a duty, but voted money as a free gift. But in matters of policy they were often wavering and undecided, being ever moved by two opposing tendencies, loyalty to the King or nation and loyalty to the Pope. Self-interest also led them to favor him to whom they owed the most; for sometimes the Pope named candidates for episcopal investiture, sometimes the king. From the time of St. Louis till the council of Trent the clergy urged with considerable persistency the observance of the Pragmatic Sanction; and at the later meetings of the States General they pressed earnestly upon the government the recognition and adoption of the Tridentine decrees. Nevertheless, though Louis XIII. and his successors by a firm and consistent policy did much to fix the relations between King and Pope, these remained in many respects unsettled till the Revolution. Consequently on a large range of questions that came before the States General the attitude of the clergy was necessarily vacillating.

But on one point, be it said to their credit, the clergy rarely wavered. While there was always among them a minority holding radical ultramontane views, as a body they were devoted to national as opposed to either local or foreign interests. They aided the monarchy in its efforts to curb the turbulence of the feudal lords, and took the part of peacemaker between the nobility and the third estate. Even in the stormy sessions during the period of the Reformation, the moderate or nationalistic element of the Catholic party in the end prevailed. On the whole, the influence of the clergy through the States General upon the legislation and government of France was greater than that of the nobility, but second to that of the third estate. While the measures they advocated were as a rule less narrow and selfish than those of the former, they were far less practical than those of the latter. They sought indeed the adoption of many measures calculated to benefit simply their own order; but while they showed less sagacity than the third estate, they were far less corrupt and arrogant than the nobility.

Of the three orders the nobility stood second in dignity, but last in importance, in the States General. Basing its claim to participation in the government on blood and service, it despised learning and looked with contempt on those without rank, whatever their merits. In the feudal courts, as we have seen, barons were gradually replaced by the scribes, educated *roturiers*. In the States General, as in the English Parliament, they always had a place, but they formed a turbulent and unmanageable element. They devoted themselves almost entirely to getting or maintaining privileges for their own order utterly regardless of the interests of the whole. From the first meeting till the last, the plea of the nobles was for concessions, more and yet more concessions. In harmony with the spirit of Feudalism, believing themselves the rightful lords of the earth, they looked upon both King and commons as intruders upon their sacred rights. Their demands were not always the same but changed according to the state of society. At the earlier meetings they made continual outcry against the loss of ancient privileges, the breaking down of the time-honored customs by which their standing was assured. For with the growth of the monarchy their power declined. Notwithstand-

ing the frantic efforts of the nobles and frequent reactions against the royal authority, the firm hand of the King hemmed them in more and more. Private wars were checked, then stopped, by the combined efforts of the Church and throne. The privileges of the chase were curtailed, and in many ways the nobles were taught that others had rights to be respected. War had been the normal occupation of the nobility, its very life. For a time national wars seemed to take the place of private wars as furnishing a field of activity, but after a time peace began to be cultivated as never before, and the standing army replaced the old ban and arrière-ban. Titled families moreover increased in number owing to the issuing of patents of nobility by the crown, while the natural increase of many old families rendered the income from their estates inadequate for their support.

With its occupation gone and failing resources, the nobility tried to win back through the States General what it had lost ; but all in vain. It gradually changed its attitude and tactics. Unable to shine any longer alone and attracted by the pomp and ceremony of the Court, it grouped itself about the king. Its youths became pages, its sires officers of state, in those positions where no effective work was expected and there was a salary, or at least opportunity for embezzlement, most ample. It formed the corrupt and corrupting retinue of royalty. The crown at first for prudential reasons encouraged the nobility to centre its interests about the throne and its splendor in the Court ; afterwards it accepted the homage with the accompanying burdens as a necessary evil. The nobles now looked upon all the fine positions of the military or civil administration as belonging to themselves ; and if these were not assigned to suit them, it was reckoned a cause of grievance ; woe to the king that dared go outside their number in the choice of royal officers ! One of the most serious charges they brought against Louis XI. was that, passing by his natural associates, he gathered about him as advisers men of low birth.

Notwithstanding the ignorance and narrow selfishness of the nobility as a class, even though with rare exceptions they possessed neither ability to originate useful measures nor inclination to urge on needful reforms, they ought to have carried

far greater weight in the deliberations of the States General than they did. They might, they ought to have sat as a conservative element, leaving innovations and radical reforms to originate elsewhere. Thus they would have held the balance of power, and while restraining all that was hurtful or inexpedient they might have helped on all that was salutary in the measures proposed by the other two orders. But they seemed incapable of intelligent liberal action upon national interests. They acted throughout on the principle *aut Cæsar aut nullus*, either special privileges and concessions for their own order or none at all for any. To the clergy they looked with some respect; but the deputies of the third estate they viewed with uncompromising hatred, as bold upstarts, their natural enemies. A coalition or even an agreement of the two secular orders on any important question was a thing well-nigh unheard of. The enmity increased with almost every meeting of the States General, and reached its climax in 1614.

Regarding the origin and make-up of the third estate, the order whose representatives stood lowest in rank but first in importance in the States General, there has never been a unanimity of opinion. It sprang from at least two distinct sources, a fact that needs to be recognized in considering its place in the assembly of the nation. First the cities shook off the yoke of feudal power; later there was a gradual freeing of slaves on the estates of the Church, then on those of the kings, finally on those of the nobility. In France, as elsewhere, there appeared as a result two classes of unprivileged free population, the burghers, or residents of towns, and the inhabitants of the country. Because the latter had no direct representation in the States General it has been commonly but erroneously taken for granted that the townsmen alone made up the third estate. These indeed through their representatives were brought into immediate relation with the government; but the peasant class exerted an indirect influence that ought by no means to be overlooked. From its ranks came a good proportion of the clergy, who remained in sympathy with the class that gave them birth and sought to alleviate its burdens. Not infrequently men from the rural districts gained the less important positions in the government. Ever

since the early days of feudalism, moreover, serfs and peasants had drifted into the cities, many of which made special provisions for them, and to which they brought new elements of power. For many reasons thus the country folk must be considered a part of the third estate; and yet without taking into account this fundamental distinction in the order many things will be found inexplicable, as for instance the entirely independent movements of city and country populations towards popular liberties in the fourteenth century. There was then a spirited uprising of townspeople under the leadership of Robert le Coq and Étienne Marcel; but the rebellion known as the Jacquerie was wholly confined to the peasants.

But aside from the difference of origin, which led to significant results in the third estate, there were recognized and important distinctions of influence. These resulted from three things, the guild system, wealth, and the administration of justice. Of the first two little need be said. In every city there were always some guilds stronger than others, which gave to their members a sort of prestige, and at first took the lead in managing local affairs as well as in adjusting matters having to do with the general government. Of the burghers who were fortunate enough to become very wealthy a few passed into the ranks of the aristocracy. The buying of titles began as early as the reign of Louis IX., and the most strenuous exertions on the part of the old families could not prevent the kings from occasionally working this branch of revenue. But as those who thus sought to raise their social status were always treated with contempt by the class from which they sprung, and with disdain by the nobility, comparatively few of the opulent citizens attempted it, but contented themselves with giving their ambitions scope in local politics. In many cities the wealthy class, standing by itself, came eventually to surpass the guilds in political influence.

The most important element of the third estate politically, however, was the judicial aristocracy, the *noblesse de la robe*. From the time of Philip VI. the lawyers formed a distinct class, that continually increased in numbers and influence. As clerks, then judges in the baronial courts, as judges in the king's courts, as circuit judges of the royal jurisdictions, and as

agents of the crown in the collection of revenues, they became the repositories of great interests. Trained moreover in the Roman law, with its imperialistic cast and maxims, they were everywhere devoted to the monarchy, to centralization and peace-enforcing authority as opposed to feudal turbulence and isolation. The highest courts, the parliament of Paris, and the provincial parliaments, gradually came to be centres of great influence, and comprised in their membership the most famous men of the realm for learning and ability. Their members were exempt from taxation, and enjoyed other special immunities and privileges. The crown gave recognition to this higher order of the legal class, and at the same time added a new branch of revenue, by making the more important judgeships transferable by inheritance, so that they could be kept in the same families generation after generation on payment of a fee whenever devised. Even the practice of selling the higher judicial offices was introduced and from time to time revived; these consequently were within the reach of comparatively few. The prestige which attached to the Parliament of Paris as the outgrowth of the feudal council of the Duchy of France, and to the other high courts as descendants of the great days of the old baronial jurisdictions, together with the influence they wielded in the affairs of the realm and the distinctions allowed to them by the Crown, set off their members from the rest of the legal profession and gave rise to a veritable legal aristocracy, to which there is hardly a parallel in history.*

But the *noblesse de la robe* were few in number compared with the advocates and other members of the bar throughout the realm. Lawyers always formed a large proportion of the deputies of the third estate. Having the advantage of legal training, acquainted with existing laws and customs, patriotic as a rule and devoted to the interests of the order from which they sprung, they did more than any other class of men to mold the policy of the States General, though the *noblesse de*

* For a fuller account of the *Noblesse de la robe*, so called from the dress that characterized them, and the French lawyers in general, see Bardoux, "Les Légistes;" Forsyth, "Hortensius the Advocate," ch. 7; Stephen's "Lectures on the Hist. of France," Sec. 7; Maine, "Ancient Law," pp. 59-65, on the *French Lawyers*.

la robe had a more direct influence with the Crown. The power of the lawyers to strike to the root of abuses, track out causes, suggest constitutional remedies, formulate a telling statement of points demanded, and form careful judgment on matters of policy, was supplemented by the financial knowledge of the merchant class, to which most of the remaining representatives of the third estate belonged. Both lawyers and merchants, moreover, brought to the assembly of the nation experience in municipal affairs, so that their suggestions were always practical and often adapted to meet the ends proposed, while those of the privileged orders were not infrequently absurd because based upon a misapprehension of the real state of the case and ignorance of political methods. The chief weakness of the deputies of the third estate resulted from their lack of experience in national as distinguished from local affairs, and for this they were not responsible. For in a government the tendencies of which are toward absolutism, and in which the higher administrative offices are held as the rightful possession of the privileged orders, men of low rank have slight opportunity to rise by promotion in the state and thus gain the intimate knowledge of national matters needful for a statesman. Even if by force of circumstances or extraordinary ability they succeed in reaching a high position, they are perforce for the most part admitted to a higher rank and no longer affiliated with the class from which they sprung.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the third estate labored, its influence in the States General far transcended that of the other two orders. This is not owing to the fact that its deputies seem to have been more numerous than those of either the clergy or the nobility at most of the meetings. It bore the most of the financial burdens; hence its careful merchants, trained in habits of economy and thrift, made constant and vigorous protests against the glaring corruptions in the administration of the finance. From its deputies came the firmest assertion of the rights of the nation against the encroachments of royalty, for they knew by experience what it was to be oppressed by superiors. They cried out against privileges, against disorders, and insecurity of life. They sought the means of education, the protection of indus-

try, the relief of commerce. Their body of requests often made up comprehensive systems of administration, proposing reforms that extended to every department of the government. From them emanated nearly all those proposals which, sanctioned by the court, form the enduring monuments of the legislation of the States General. Their influence increased with every session. The act of the third estate in 1789, by which it virtually declared itself the nation, was a natural result of its previous career. It simply threw off the mask and became in appearance what, without knowledge of the fact, it had always been in reality, the determinative element in the assembly of the nation, the real power in the state.

Besides the representatives of the three orders, delegates from other bodies occasionally had the right to a seat in the States General and engaged in the discussions as if they were deputies. The University of Paris was directly represented at four sessions. In 1412 it was invited by the third estate to aid in voicing grievances before the Court. Its deputation, accompanied by one from the States General, being admitted to an audience with the king, was singularly outspoken and earnest in its protests against abuses and its suggestions of reform. In 1576, 1588 and 1614, the deputies from the University took part in the deliberations, but were not so prominent as in the session of 1412. On none of these occasions did they sit apart as a body distinct from the three orders; being ecclesiastics, they were numbered with the clergy. They could not present a separate cahier; the remonstrances of the University were merged with those of the clergy of the city of Paris. In several provinces, however, the local universities were permitted to send deputies to the Provincial States on the ground of being corporate bodies. The Parliament of Paris not infrequently sent a deputation to the States General. Its delegates, though they could not vote, sometimes took part in the deliberations. The relation between the Parliament and the Assembly, however, is so complicated and at the same time so important, that it must be reserved for fuller discussion in another article.

In addition to the payment of their traveling expenses the deputies of the three orders received remuneration for their

time and services. This seems to have varied according to circumstances; and there is much uncertainty about the whole matter. At the old assemblies of March and May, the prince out of his own bounty provided for the great people, while the humbler folk brought provisions enough with them to last during their stay. But when meetings of the States General came to be called, attendance, as we have seen, was esteemed a burden, and from the beginning arrangements were made for the salary of deputies. There is still extant a letter of Philip IV., dated May 6, 1302, in which he directs the seneschal of Beauchaire to cause the inhabitants of the town of Bagnols to remunerate its deputies sent to Tours. The difficulties and dangers of traveling were so great and the length of the session so uncertain a matter, that a liberal stipend was allowed to those who attended. It was graded according to the rank of the deputy. In 1560 the pay of the clergy alone ranged from eight to twenty-five *livres* per day.

The salary of deputies was raised by the royal officers, on special edict of the Crown. Sometimes the cities paid their deputies in advance, looking to the state treasury for reimbursement. In such cases frequently difficulty was experienced before a satisfactory settlement was obtained; for the Crown was never known to meet obligations of that kind till it was obliged to. It is not unlikely that on some occasions the third estate paid both its own deputies and those of the clergy and the nobility as well. At least in 1484 the two privileged orders claimed as their right the taxing of the third estate for the remuneration of their representatives. The principal argument employed well illustrates current ideas of the time about the place and office of the three orders in the state. "Each has its rôle," declared Phillippe de Poitiers; "the church to pray, the nobility to fight, the third estate to pay; and all this in the common interest." In 1560, however, each order provided for the salary of its deputies by a special tax. Although no law on the subject was enacted, the precedent then established, was afterwards, so far as is known, followed without exception. Very few details about the amounts paid and kindred matters have come down to us. But the weight of the tax upon the people, always overwhelmed with exactions, had

no slight influence in undermining the prestige of the States General, and hastening their decline. Even under the impulse of public spirit sometimes manifested at the election of deputies the question of funds was always lurking and tended to check enthusiasm. An intelligent appreciation of the office and mission of the assembly never became so widespread that the sending of delegates was looked upon as any other than a disagreeable duty. Towns often refused to be represented, on the plea of expense alone. In this the monarchy found excuse for not convening the States General more often. Thus Charles VII., in 1441, when urged to convoke the estates of the realm, declared that he did not wish to place an additional burden upon the people already weighed down with imposts. Often the results of the session were so intangible that the country at large perceived no outcome save an increase of taxes, and it is not to be wondered at that there was murmuring. While the Constituent Assembly was in session the objection was urged with a good deal of acrimony that the deputies were living at the expense of the people, and spending their time in fruitless discussion.

III. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

An assembly of the estates of the realm had no legal existence until after a formal opening by the Crown. Nevertheless as soon as the deputies arrived in sufficient numbers they met by orders and formed a preliminary organization. Lists of deputies were made out, commissions verified, and certain officers of the order, as the presidents, the secretaries, and the orators, were elected. In these meetings of the orders voting was done by *bailiwicks*. By courtesy, and according to a custom early established, the president of the third estate was usually the *prévôt des marchands* of the city of Paris. After the estates had thus completed their internal organization the oath of state was administered. The president from his raised seat pronounced the formula, the deputies, standing, with uplifted hands repeated it after him. At these preliminary meetings took place the discussion of many trifling questions of ceremonial upon which, especially in later sessions so much time was wasted.

The evening preceding the formal opening the deputies in a body celebrated mass. On the following day at the hour appointed by the Court they met at the door of the hall in which the session was to be held, and were shown to their seats in the order of the departments (governments) from which they came, those of each department being arranged according to bailiwicks. The king then entered, seating himself upon an elevated throne. The members of the royal family and the great officers of the realm followed, taking seats just below him, yet on a platform raised above the benches of the deputies. The king was the first to speak, usually by way of greeting expressing his deep affection for his subjects and his great desire to satisfy all; there were fine promises, too, as in the letters of convocation, about the care and fidelity with which the suggestions of the estates should be carried out. The chancellor followed the remarks of the king with a more extended address, showing the object of the meeting and repeating with explanations the statements of the letter of convocation about the powers conferred on the assembly. Sometimes he even laid down the order of business and prescribed the form of the cahiers. He generally closed with an exhortation to the deputies to deliberate with the greatest freedom, to counsel for the good of all, and to be harmonious with one another. Then, motioning toward the king, he pronounced the formula, "The king gives you permission to assemble." The orators of the three orders responded, that of the clergy speaking first, that of the third estate last. At first it appears that all three gave their addresses on their knees; but later the orators of the privileged orders were permitted to speak standing, and finally the same right was extended to the orator of the third estate. After these speeches were finished the chancellor for the king gave the announcement, at least in later times, that the deputies might "meet to form the cahiers and at length to present them, and that His Majesty would give favorable response."

The mode of opening a session described was not always followed. Of course when the throne was vacant the regent took the place of the king in the ceremony. In 1412 the addresses of response were made by provinces, in 1467 by

cities, and in 1468 by a single orator, from the third estate. In 1560 the orders had no opening meeting in common but received the Court while sitting separately, a course fatal to the harmony of the entire session.

In entering upon the deliberations of the session the estates at different times availed themselves of three forms of organization. They sat either together as one body, or by orders, or by an arbitrary division into chambers. At the session of 1356 the deputies first assembled by orders, but the numbers were so large that confusion reigned supreme whenever discussion was entered upon. Then a commission of eighty was chosen from the three orders and conducted deliberations for them in common. Its report was read at a general meeting of all the deputies and unanimously adopted. This mode of procedure enabled the States General of 1356 from the start to hold their own in the face of all the opposition the Crown could bring to bear against it. United effort left no chance for crafty intervention to set off one order against another.

After 1356 the general form of organization was that by orders. But at different times during the session, when matters of common interest were proposed, all the deputies united in deliberation. At the last few meetings, however, mutual animosities and jealousies had so embittered the estates against one another that no general sitting could be held, and common action could be taken only through deputations from one order to another. The organization by orders was the normal one from first to last. At the States General of Tours, in 1483, the deputies divided themselves into six chambers, or bureaux, for the redaction of the cahiers. Nevertheless deliberations upon general subjects were carried on in a meeting of the whole. To speculate on what might have been is not often profitable; but one is tempted to exclaim, how much the cause of popular liberty in France would have been aided if succeeding meetings of the States General could have maintained the united feeling and adopted the organization of the States General of 1483!

In the earlier history of the States General the routine business consisted of deliberation upon matters laid before the deputies by the chancellor, the nomination of committees and

the listening to reports, the drafting of measures to be submitted for the royal sanction, and the like. After 1468 the making of cahiers took an important place. In 1483 each chamber prepared a cahier from those of the bailiwicks represented in it, the six thus formed were cast into one, and presented to the king by a single orator. This was one of the features that made the meeting of 1483 exceptional. Ordinarily three general cahiers were made, one by each order. All the cahiers of the bailiwicks of each department belonging to the same estate were worked over into one. This process took place at the headquarters of the department, or at the lodgings of some higher officer belonging to it. Of the resulting cahiers, twelve in number for each order (for there were twelve departments), the one that seemed most complete was accepted as standard. The presidents of the twelve departments met by orders, with the cahiers in their hands. The cahier adopted as standard was read aloud, article by article, the others were compared with it. When any special points of difference were found they were reported and noted down by a secretary. If the presidents failed to agree on any important question, it was referred to the deputies of the several departments, who discussed it, voted on it, and returned answer to the commission. The vote of a majority of the departments settled the acceptance or rejection of the article. As the result of this method of redaction, carried on at the same time by the three estates, three cahiers were produced for presentation. Each of these treated not only the matters of special interest to the order in which it originated, but also those of general importance to the nation at large and those even with which the other estates were particularly concerned. In the course of time a fixed order of subjects was adopted; to each subject a special chapter was assigned. This stereotyped arrangement of topics took up in succession the Church, the Nobility, the Third Estate, Justice, the Universities, the Moneys, Finance, Taxes, and Public Burdens. The chapters were divided up into sections, in each of which some grievance was set forth or some remedy suggested.

In the case of disagreement in the cahiers of the three orders on any point there was no regular way of getting over the difficulty, no means of adjustment. The principle was

established in 1356 and reaffirmed by the edict of Orleans, that the other two orders should not be able to bind the third estate. Efforts were often made, at first by general meetings, afterwards through the deputations from one order to the others, to bring about harmonious action and unanimity of requests. But no rule was ever established. The relations between the three bodies remained for the most part formal and distant. As the States General never gained the right to make even a unanimous decision binding on the Crown, it mattered less whether their requests were consistent or not. After the three cahiers were completed, copies were presented to the king, in the presence of the deputies, by the orators of the estates. The original documents remained in the possession of the three orders.

While the cahiers were being drawn up by the presidents of the departments and their assistants, it often happened that special questions were taken up by the deputies and passed upon, and that a commission was sent at once to the king to ask for an immediate answer. Sometimes the king responded; more often he waited, alleging as an excuse that he wished first to see the cahiers. After these had been read to His Majesty, they were not infrequently given over to a commission composed of deputies and of members of the Royal Council, to be wrought over into proper form for an ordinance. In such cases the session was a few times continued till the ordinance received the royal sanction. Generally however the States General were formally dismissed at the close of the same meeting at which the cahiers were presented, and the deputies were requested to select some of their number to remain after the rest had gone, that they might witness the faithfulness of the king in carrying out the wishes of his subjects.

The closing of the session took place with the same ceremonial as the opening. In response to the addresses by the three orators the king never failed to declare, either in person or through the chancellor, that the cahiers should receive careful consideration, the deputies full satisfaction. After the chancellor had pronounced the formula of dismissal, the States General could meet again only after a new convocation by the Court.

ARTICLE IV.—THE REVOLUTION IN THE AMERICAN
BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN
MISSIONS.

AMONG the many Societies for public beneficence the organization of which marked the early years of this century, was one that was characterized above all the rest by the singular practical wisdom of its constitution.

Concerning the constitutions of these societies generally, no one, in the light of later history, will venture to speak with much respect. They are nearly all after one pattern, and that a very bad one. It must have had, in the eyes of the projectors of these societies, a certain theoretic plausibility—an air of “popular sovereignty,” as if conferring on the contributors of the society’s funds the right of directing and controlling the use of their own gifts. But it was an almost unaccountable lack of sagacity that failed, in the beginning of these societies, to foresee that in the event of their considerable success, this sort of constitution was, in the Carlylean phrase, a “constitution that wouldn’t march”—that as soon as the constitutional membership of the society, charged with the government of its affairs and the election of its officers, should grow to large numbers widely dispersed, the control of the Society would practically come to be vested in a self-elected and irresponsible few. There are many persons who will be shocked at this way of putting it; there are others who will deprecate all discussion of the subject; but there is no man who can venture to deny that in the case (for example) of the American Tract Society and of the American Bible Society, practically the sole responsibility of the Managers and officers is to a small ring consisting of themselves and their personal friends. There are no real meetings of the Societies. The membership is defunct; it exists in name only, for purposes of popular impression, as a pretended constituency and control.

It would be interesting to know to which one of the five gentlemen who met at Farmington, Connecticut, on the 5th of

September, 1810, and organized the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," the American Church is indebted for such a masterpiece of wise forecast as is found in the constitution which was then agreed upon. It is marvelous that a period characterized by such childish unwisdom in organizing institutions for all time on a basis adapted only for the first few years of small things, should have given birth to so admirable an instrument,—of an elasticity suiting it alike to the feeble beginnings of the Society, and to the days of its present or of any future magnitude; combining the definite personal authority and responsibility which belongs to a small number of corporators, with the wide popular interest which comes of a multitudinous membership styled honorary, but invested with immunities and duties that make it much more than honorary; constituting a close corporation which can never, except by evasions of its organic law, become a secret corporation, but which is required to transact all its business, not only in the open daylight of public scrutiny, but under liability to interpellation and debate in the parliament of a great honorary membership having every right in its meetings except the right of voting.

The high qualities of this masterly constitution have been approved and illustrated throughout its history of now three-fourths of a century. During that time, societies of a pretended "open" or "popular" constitution have been carried helplessly in the pockets of the managing ring, all interference being defied. Some have depended, like the Bible Society, on silencing discussion by a rule of business. Others, like the Tract Society, have seen discussion overborne by a howling mob, under favor of which the administration has escaped formal responsibility. In others yet, as the American Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association, there have been attempts to remedy the incurable defects of their organic law. The smaller societies, from the Seamen's Friend Society and the American and Foreign Christian Union down, find a safe refuge from public censure in their inertness and obscurity. But from before the birth of the oldest of these, the "American Board" has pursued its splendid career, through financial difficulties, through stormy

agitations and debates, through all the trials to which such a Society is liable, except public suspicion of hidden abuse or of persistence in a condemned policy. In the nature of the case, this was precluded. Many a time the Administration has felt the irksomeness of the annual necessity of a public review of its doings. But unless it has been strangely blind to the source of the public confidence toward the institution which it represents, it must have felt that its exemption from the worst evils to which like societies have been exposed has been due to this inconvenient, recurrent, inevitable necessity. The only occasions when the American Board has been subjected to public suspicion and the necessity of Committees of Investigation, have been occasions when the constitutional provision for the annual unsparing public revision, control and direction of its affairs has been evaded or otherwise defeated.

The history of the American Board includes the history of some of the most memorable debates in the annals of American eloquence. The ablest men in the service of the American Church have felt that here was a forum worthy of their best powers. It was neither a mass-meeting in which grave questions would be decided by the sudden clamor of a popular vote; nor on the other hand, was it a quiet conclave for the deliberations of a few. But, with the vast public audience, the great numbers of eager disputants to whom the debate was freely open, the venerable senate of corporators sitting as a jury to hear and determine, and the grave questions that were wont to emerge—questions not only high and deep, but at the same time concrete and immediately practical—withal, with the vast spiritual interests involved; there was in the meetings of the American Board, as intended by the constitution of the Society, and as actually conducted until a comparatively recent period, every condition favorable to invite and stimulate the best faculties of the best men in the thorough transaction of the important matters of business which it is the distinct and explicit object of the meeting to attend to.

Among the more memorable of the meetings of the American Board, in which great principles or great questions of policy or administration were taken up by the Board, and de-

cisions rendered for the guidance and government of the Executive, may be named the meeting in Brooklyn in 1845, when the debate went to the roots of the Slavery question, and did much to enlighten and confirm the clergy and churches of the northern States in a temperate, discriminating, and therefore inexpugnable conviction on the subject of slavery;* the meeting at New Haven in 1846, when sharp and salutary discussion arose as to the limitations on the discretion of the Secretaries, and the right of the Board to control and direct its officers was asserted and maintained; the meeting at Hartford in 1854, when, through a conspicuously able, and animated debate, conclusions were reached which fixed the policy of the Board in the missions among the North American Indians, especially as affected by the continually disturbing presence of slavery. But no meeting in the history of the Board, perhaps, has been more illustrative of the proper function of the Board, than the meeting held at Utica in 1854, and the special meeting called some months later at Albany. At the Utica meeting it was brought to the knowledge of the Board, not by the facts in the annual report, but only by grievous complaints coming from various missions to members of the Board, that in the course of the year a gravely important change in the

* "The late annual meeting of the Board at Brooklyn [in 1845], was signalized by a discussion of slavery and its relations to the missionary work. . . The debate occupied the greater part of the entire session. It was *free*; there was no restraint put upon the utterance of any opinion, however extreme. On the one hand there were the strongest denunciations, not only of slavery, but of all who are masters of slaves—on the other hand there was a speech from a South Carolina clergyman, suited exactly to the meridian of Charleston—and both were heard with exemplary patience. The discussion was *bold*, partly in consequence of its being free; every man who spoke seemed to express his opinion without fear of giving offence. At the same time it was characterized by *decorum*. Though the number of members present, corporate and honorary, was more than six hundred, all of whom had the same right to speak; and though, in the absence or consultation as to who should lead in the argument, some fifty or more were ready and anxious to take part in the debate, there was no unseemly contending for the floor, and only once or twice was there any occasion for a call to order. And notwithstanding the necessarily desultory character of an unprepared debate, on such a subject, in such an assembly, all will agree that it was on the whole an uncommonly *able* discussion."—LEONARD BACON in the *New York Evangelist*, January, 1846.

educational policy of the missions had been effected by the sole authority and initiative of the Board's Executive. To some present, this act of the Executive seemed to be of the nature of a *coup d'état*; and it was a grave question in the debates at Utica whether the Executive should not be ordered to reverse their action and restore the mission schools to the *status quo*. It was a question partly of the theory of missions, partly of the subordination of the Executive to the appointing and directing power, and partly of expediency. The debate was long and earnest, and was so far from arriving at a satisfactory conclusion that the meeting was adjourned, leaving the subject in the hands of a large and able committee, whose report, prepared after much direct correspondence with the missions, became the basis on which the Board, after renewed debate, was brought, at last, to a unanimous agreement, at the special meeting.

Such meetings of the American Board are a thing of the past, and of a past which is already beginning to grow remote. But the days when these meetings were the great parliament of Christ's Church in America for high debate and responsible action on "the things concerning the kingdom," were the golden days of the American Board. Those great meetings, that were not meant for popular impression, but for very serious business in which the participants were too gravely absorbed to be on the look-out for popular impression, were, for this very reason, the most popularly impressive and instructive meetings that have ever been held for the advancement of missions. Vast concourses of earnest men thronged to attend them; and incidental to the central business of the meeting were opportunities that were never neglected, of earnest public appeal, of set instruction, and of the fervid worship of crowded assemblies of zealous believers. The *incidental* value of the meetings was found to be very great.

And this was the beginning of the decline of them. The merely incidental results were so very important, even in a financial view, that those who were immediately responsible for the financial conduct of the Board began to exalt the incidental above the essential. Everybody said that the meetings were solemnly impressive; whereupon the persons on whom

the preparation of them seemed to devolve were tempted to say to one another, "Go to, now ; let us become impressive and solemn." Eminent persons must be spoken to in advance, to be on hand and make eloquent prayers ; and distinguished speakers must be "billed" for the successive meetings through the week, in order that the interest should be well sustained. Withal, the transaction of business must not be allowed to intrude upon this program of popular addresses and acts of worship, but such necessary formalities of business as absolutely can not be dispensed with must be dispatched without discussion in such remnants of time as are not wanted for something "impressive." And yet some of us who remember the old days are disposed to think that the meetings made far more of an impression for not throwing themselves into attitudes and trying to be impressive.

Of course, the change tends to aggravate itself. The altered character of the meeting tends to change the character of the attendance ; and this in turn increases the demand for a spectacular and emotional meeting, and the popular impatience at the sober and serious business of the Board.

It would be the idlest affectation in the world to try and make believe that there is not another motive which has had influence in effecting the quiet but revolutionary change in this great institution. The effect of this change has been to invest a little knot of gentlemen in Boston with the practically irresponsible control of a magnificent system of spiritual influences reaching to the ends of the earth and affecting the courses of current and future history. To suppose that they do not enjoy this is to suppose them superior to one of the commonest infirmities of noble minds. To believe them honestly convinced that the administration of the missions will be more wisely and safely conducted by themselves without interference from the Annual Meeting, is to impute to them no larger a measure of self-respect than is common to human nature, even in Boston. To deny that the present condition of things exists by virtue of something more than connivance on their part is to contradict demonstrable facts. To expect them readily to surrender this unwarranted and unconstitutional power, after having held it for several years with little question, is—well, is to pay them the highest possible honor as men of fidelity to a public trust.

How completely the arrangements of the annual meeting are fixed in advance in such a way as to preclude all discussion of the policy and conduct of the Administration except in the order, on the topics, and by the speakers selected by the Administration itself, and in such a way as to exclude any other business which the Board or its members might wish to entertain, may be judged from the official program of the meeting held in Columbus in October last—a program not essentially differing from those annually prescribed by the officers at Boston. From 3 P. M. of Tuesday till noon of Wednesday, is consumed by an unbroken series of set speeches and papers, some of them necessary to the business of the meeting, some of them highly desirable, if there had been time for them without excluding business, and some of them of no obvious immediate value, then and there, unless for the purpose of excluding business. On Wednesday afternoon and evening are prescribed discussions of the topics presented in the Home Department Report and in two “special papers” tendered by the Secretaries, together with addresses. Thursday forenoon is occupied with Reports from Committees on the various Missions. At 2 P. M. the Lord’s Supper is observed; after which, at 3.30, is a “Business Meeting for the election of officers, reports on Missions, and other business.” All the remaining time, till Friday noon, is occupied by “addresses,” except a provision for “Business Concluded,” on Friday morning.

What, now, is a member of the Board to do, who comes to the meeting with important business which he wishes to lay before his colleagues? There is a “business meeting” to be held on Thursday afternoon, in which there seems to be a chance for him under the title of “other business;” but his affair is one requiring deliberation, and reference, and report, and if he waits till Thursday afternoon it will be too late. He inquires of the Secretaries (for by the absurdest anomaly in the world, this meeting of the Board to examine into the administration of its affairs is found to be under the supreme control of the persons whose administration is to be examined into), and is told that the Rule is that that all business shall be presented through the Business Committee. (It turns out, on subsequent inquiry, that there is no such rule, but there is no

copy of the rules accessible, and we must take the Secretary's word for it.) Where is the Business Committee to be found? After no small searching, one member of it is discovered, and then another, but when they are got together they are not aware what is expected of them. The upshot of the matter is that at last, not too late for the necessary action, a matter of the gravest consequence is got before the house and referred to a committee. But it is evident that the fact that a member of the Board should have any business to present to the Board is looked upon as something irregular, not to say eccentric—one of those not-to-be-expected things which do sometimes happen, and against which it is well enough to provide by the appointment of a Business Committee.

But there *is* a "business meeting" provided for in the program.

Yes; indeed there is—as if the whole "annual meeting of the Board" were not, by its constitution and purpose, a series of business meetings. But there *is* a business meeting left. And if it were the design of the Administration to evade and defeat that wise provision in the constitution of the Board by which its business is to be transacted in the light of publicity, in the presence of the great body of its honorary members, "assisting in its deliberations," and to substitute for the open meeting a secret conclave in which matters of great moment might be dispatched by a snap-vote without the public knowledge, they would find it difficult to devise any measure tending to that end, in addition to those which are annually used. The "business meeting" is announced for that hour of the whole week when the attendance of honorary members is most unlikely. It is appointed in a small room. The printed notice gives the impression that nothing but the most uninteresting routine business is to be transacted—"election of officers, reports on missions and other business." And actually, the honorary members in attendance are given to understand by public announcement that *this* meeting is "a meeting of the *corporate* members"—as if the corporate members had any right to hold a private meeting! This was done at Portland, and again at Columbus. Probably it was an inadvertence; but when such an inadvertence becomes habitual, it is a serious matter.

And if an honorary member, by way of asserting his constitutional rights, had gone into this merely "business meeting," he would have seen how convenient it is. Both by the laws and by the charter of the Board, the not very grievous but gravely important safeguard is prescribed, that the election both of officers and of new members shall be by ballot; and the first motion made in this "business meeting" is to defeat their own law and the law of the State by the very common but not at all respectable trick of nominating some one to cast a single ballot for the crowd. Apparently the motion would have prevailed, but for the protest of one of that class of members who had been invited to absent themselves. Beside these elections there was "other business"—nothing that the public or the honorary members could be supposed to take any interest in—only a mere bagatelle of a quarter of a million of dollars in the treasury that the Prudential Committee wanted authority to make a certain disposition of—"it's all right, you know, the Prudential Committee only want you to pass this motion." And so they passed it on the spot, without a question or a word, and smilingly adjourned to assemble again at one of the meetings that are *not* business meetings.

There is no question at all of the great convenience of thus holding private corporation meetings, if only it were not unlawful. If this proposal to dispose of a legacy of \$250,000 by a show of hands had been made in presence of the full Board, some inopportune member, not sufficiently informed of the wishes of the Administration, might have blundered out a motion to refer the matter to a committee, and in that case the Board, for mere decency's sake, would have had to refer it. This would have taken time, and might have led to deliberation—possibly even to diversity of opinion. How wrong, to divert the minds of this great gathering of honorary members from the exercises of prayer, praise and pulpit eloquence, to the earthly and carnal question of what to do with \$250,000! So much easier it is for all concerned, and especially for the Prudential Committee and the Secretaries, to have the whole matter dispatched in sixty seconds in a private meeting, and no questions asked. If only it were lawful!

It is necessary to add, in order that the completeness of this

strange revolution may be set forth, that the power which the Administration of the Board has usurped over the conduct of the Meeting to which it ought to be responsible, is not confined to the exclusion of business, in a merely negative way. It extends to intermeddling with the proper business of the Board in every way that is most indelicate and unbecoming, and most calculated to defeat the proper business of the Board, and the proper accountability of its officers. It was known in advance of the meeting at Portland, in 1882, that a member of the Board would try to introduce to the consideration of the Board a matter of grave concern, which involved questions of the wisdom of the Secretaries and the Prudential Committee in their management. On the way to the meeting, the Secretaries were openly, without the slightest disguise, engaged in "fixing up" the committee to which this matter should be referred. They meant to do it fairly, no doubt; but what business had they, of all men, to be "fixing up" committees at all? The member who wished to introduce the matter to his colleagues, had gone to the trouble and expense of preparing a pamphlet of statements and documents, for the fuller exposition of the case. The Secretaries assumed the responsibility of hunting through the hall of assembly and gathering up all the copies of this pamphlet and secreting them, lest a member of the Board should succeed in communicating to his fellow-members facts which he considered pertinent to their inquiry into the conduct of the Board's business. When the Secretaries were taxed with this extraordinary procedure, they explained themselves by telling what they were willing to have come before the Board, and what they were not willing, and how under such and such circumstances they might have been willing. An astounding piece of effrontery, it would have seemed, for a Society's employees to dictate to the Society what information it might or might not be permitted to have on matters relating to their official conduct! But in fact it was not effrontery at all. It was sheer simplicity. It came of their habitual conscientious feeling that it is their duty to manage and govern the American Board of Commissioners, instead of allowing the American Board of Commissioners to govern them.

“But after all, does not the present condition of things practically work well? It is evident enough that the original constitution of the Board has been capsized, and that they are sailing the ship bottom-upwards; but after all doesn't she sail so well in this shape that it is hardly worth while to try and right her up again?”

In answering this question, there is no need to insist on the point, which some might dispute, that the conduct of the missions would be the wiser and better for that *bonâ fide* annual examination and control for which the constitution provides and which has until lately been exercised. The point might be proved out of the history of the Board itself.* But there is no need of proving it. There are points enough beside.

1. The present *régime* is injurious to the one cause which it is supposed to promote—the public interest in the Annual Meeting. This meeting will live long on the memories and traditions of the time when it was really a great and important gathering; and the time will perhaps never come when enterprising management on the part of the Secretaries, free accommodations, reduced railroad fares, and famous speakers shall fail to draw a great concourse to it. But already it is no longer *such* a concourse, in point of character, as it used to be. The list of earnest, able, influential friends of missions, among the members of the Board, who habitually stay away from it, would be instructive on this point, if read in “the light of other days.”†

2. The present methods convert one of the best imaginable constitutions into one of the worst possible.

The best imaginable is the constitution of the American Board as it was meant to be and as it used to be. The next

* One of the instances which would require to be studied, if this historical argument were to be pursued, is the *coup d'état* of 1854, by which the educational system of the missions was suddenly overthrown without authorization from the Board, to the sore detriment of the missions. Since then, the Administration has acknowledged its error, in some measure, by working back toward the old system again. But it was an error from which it would have been saved, if the Prudential Committee had been willing to add to its own wisdom the wisdom of the Board which it ought to have consulted.

† This point was impressed upon the mind of the writer by the remark of a man in very eminent position, who had lately been chosen a cor-

best, perhaps, would be a small close committee at Boston or elsewhere, in full and unlimited control of the whole business, distinctly and explicitly exempt from interference and super-

porate member. He had given up attending the meetings, he said, because he found, by several experiments, that all that was wanted of him was to sit on the platform and look dignified.

Another very distinguished and revered friend of the Board expresses his views on the subject in these words:

"I used to attend the Annual Meetings, and enjoyed them, when they were meetings for deliberation and action upon the proper business of such a Board. But I confess that they have not attracted me since they became meetings for 'conference and prayer' *only*. The stimulus and uplifting of such assemblies one can get from any county conference, and more helpfully from any live church-meeting, in which no individual feels lost in a crowd. I am glad if others obtain from the meetings of the Board as now conducted an inspiration not found elsewhere, but for one, I do not. I feel a more profound interest in the cause, and a more manful devotion to it, when and where I can be sensible of *doing* something more than listening to prayer and praise and exhortation."

Generally speaking, people do not like to "rise to a point of order" against a hymn or a "season of prayer." The only instance of it in parliamentary history, that we remember, was when Dr. Bushnell promptly said, "I object," to a proposal to have prayer in the General Association of Connecticut before proceeding to business concerning himself. But so few persons have the courage of Dr. Bushnell that "Let us pray" is often the most effective of all methods of arresting discussion. Moving the Previous Question is not to be compared with it. But it ought to be used sparingly. There are not a few persons who remember with amusement, not unmixed with more serious feelings, how often, in the American Board, when discussion grew earnest, it used to be broken in upon by the thundering voice of Secretary Pomroy shouting "Brethren, let us sing a hymn," and leading off accordingly. It was an expedient to which there could be no resistance. And it is not strange that many who had "tried the unequal strife" should become discouraged and refrain from "assisting in deliberations" in which they were placed at such disadvantage.

The "General Remarks" appended to the official account of the Annual Meetings of the Board, in successive volumes of the Annual Report, clearly reflect the official mind on the subject. The several meetings are extolled with loftier or fainter praise, according as they answered more or less closely to the ideal of a methodist camp-meeting; and the transaction of the Board's business in overhauling the official conduct of its appointees is adverted to as an unfortunate interference necessary, perhaps, but still unfortunate, with the great object of the meeting.

These "General Remarks" are rather an impertinence, in the nature of them; and in the manner of them, they savor disagreeably of cant.

vision, and therefore feeling, every man in his own conscience, the full weight of responsibility. The worst possible and altogether intolerable organization is the Boston Committee, ostensibly subordinate but practically supreme, accountable to an annual public meeting whose liberty it has captured and all whose proceedings it engineers according to its own program, and upon whose pretended oversight and direction it can shirk its responsibility to its own conscience and to public opinion.

3. The existing methods are further censurable in that they can be maintained only by persistent dereliction of plighted duty on the part of the corporate members of the Board, and fraud against the honorary members. In 1863, the Board, which had not then ceased from active functions, solemnly declared that "whereas membership in this corporation is not an honor merely, to be conferred on men distinguished by position, by learning and genius, or by civil and ecclesiastical influence, but is a trust which cannot be discharged without labor and sacrifice; therefore, every man elected to membership, if he accept and retain the trust, shall be considered as pledged to perform its duties." Already the tendency to turn the serious business of the Board into a mere dress-parade was manifest, and the Resolution of 1863 did not suffice to stop it. The value of praise and prayer as an instrumentality for repressing discussion and staving off investigation had got to be too well understood. But the Resolution is still on record as a reminder and a reproach. The transactions of this great Christian corporation, which ought to be an example to the country of honorable scrupulousness in the conduct of a trust, are rather an example to be quoted in apology for every derelict board of bank-directors. "Fervent in spirit, slothful in business."

4. Further, the present methods are perilous. They secure, by illegitimate proceedings, to the administration, an immunity from annual anxiety, and to the Board, a release from annual duty; but it is at a risk for the future which it is not right to take. The Prudential Committee and the Secretaries are men of very high, but not at all of superhuman excellence. And even if they were secure from the possibility of grave

error and wrong, they could not be secure from the suspicion of it. At any moment, the suspicion is liable to be spread about that some serious abuse has been hidden in the secrets of the conclave of administration—that some of the less gross forms of temptation have prevailed, the love of spiritual domination, the inclination to do evil that good may come, the wish to screen an associate from censure—and against such suspicions the administration will be defenceless. They will point to their eminent names, and the public will answer that those are the very names that are in question. They will refer to the annual inquiry and indorsement of the Board, and the public (having seen something of the nature of this inquiry) will laugh in their face; and then they will wish that they had confined themselves to their proper official business, and had refrained from tampering with the liberty, independence, and impartiality of the Annual Meeting.

5. But the practical mischiefs of the existing abuses are not in the possible future only. They are very real, actual and present. All over the country, and in other countries, the Administration of the Board has been for these many years creating multitudinous centers of disaffection toward itself and toward the cause which it represents. It is one of the most trying and painful things in the duties of the administration of a system of missions, that the most cautious wisdom, the tenderest care, the truest affection towards missionaries and missions, and towards others with whom it must needs hold delicate and responsible relations, will not save it from being brought into relations of serious difference with some of them. It is the unhappy policy of the Administration of the American Board to shut in the face of all aggrieved persons the door of their proper Court of Appeal, and to insist on being itself the final judge in cases in which it is itself a party. One may freely admit the fair and even magnanimous intentions of the Administration in every such individual case, and yet condemn this policy as unjust and most fatuously unwise. What pastor is there, among the churches sustaining the Board, who does not know of some person now or formerly in its employ who is resting, perhaps without complaint, under a sense of grievance unredressed, on which he has never had a fair hearing,

and never can have, so long as the Annual Meeting is "run," its program dictated, its Committees made up, its time from beginning to end preoccupied, by the other party to the controversy? Every such person, however uncomplaining, is a dissuasive from the cordial support of the Board in the neighborhood where he lives, which it takes a great deal of powerful preaching to countervail.*

Such is the gradual but complete revolution which has been effected in the most ancient and illustrious of American Missionary Boards, such the history, the evils and the dangers of it. How is it to be remedied? or is it irremediable?

1. The ready cure for it is for the officers and Prudential Committee of the Board simply to desist from a line of extra-official action which they ought never to have entered upon—a sort of work which is not only aside from their proper functions but incompatible with them. Whether they have undertaken this work of their own motion, or even if by some inconsiderate vote of the Board they may seem to have been invited to it, they would be fully justified in declining any longer to be charged with it, on account of the most obvious considerations of delicacy. The fact that "the general public" acquiesces vaguely in the existing usage is nothing to the point. After the meeting of the Board in Detroit in 1883, which was criticised by some as deficient in "thrill," a certain Western Ministers' meeting voted to discuss the question, "How ought the Secretaries of our great Benevolent Societies to conduct the Societies' Annual Meetings?" They would have done well to follow it up with discussing: How the Cabinet Secretaries ought to conduct the Congressional debates on their Annual Reports; and How the Cashier of a National Bank ought to conduct the Inquiry by the Government Examiners. The proper way for the Secretaries of the Board

*It is needless to mention names, though they might be mentioned by scores. Neither is it necessary to suppose that the Administration have ever done injustice on the merits of any single case. Their method of procedure,—to have manipulated, preoccupied, and kept the door of, the Court of Appeal, so that one having a complaint against them can have no recourse to it with hope of a fair hearing—is itself an intolerable injustice, towards which no man with any love for fair play towards a weaker party is bound to have a moment's patience.

to conduct its annual meeting is for them not to conduct it at all.

2. Unhappily, it is little to be expected that the Administration will freely resign the irresponsible power which they have so long enjoyed. On the contrary, it would be in accordance with precedents even in sanctified human nature, if they were to cling to it with a struggle, thinking thereby to do God service. It is honestly difficult for able and energetic men, continually versed in the conduct of such affairs, not to feel themselves far more competent to decide questions of policy, than a Board of Commissioners who give to the subject only their occasional attention. And the more capable the administrator the more sure he is to feel his superiority to his superiors. That very able officer, Secretary Rufus Anderson, in an unlucky moment, protested that the work of Missions could not be carried on if the Board was going to interfere with the policy of its Committee and Secretaries—that “we might as well hoist all sail and run the ship aground.” But that was in the days when the Board understood its dignity and its authority and its duty; and Secretary Anderson was very suddenly and sharply given to understand the proper relation between the Secretaries and Committee as subordinate and the Board as superior; and that it was for him to sail the ship according to his sailing orders, or not to sail the ship at all. So hard it was, and is, for the Administration to trust the Board to do the Board’s own proper work!

In case the Administration shall gracefully lay down its assumed charge over the deliberations of its superior body,—and equally in case it shall decline so to do—the simple course for the Board to pursue is to resume into its own hands the conduct of its own proper business, by appointing at each annual meeting its own committee, from outside the circle of its administrative officers, to make arrangements for the transaction of its business at the next annual meeting.

So brief a vote as this would suffice to turn back that inauspicious Revolution in the American Board, which is the subject of this Article, and restore the defeated constitution to its original force. As a result of it, there would begin to be once more, as of old, an American Board of Commissioners for

Foreign Missions, active and effective, and not merely a Boston Committee for Foreign Missions holding its annual public parade.

Neither could any harm come of it. Why should it be feared that the Board's Committee of Arrangements for Business would not coöperate cordially with the Board's Prudential Committee and the Board's Secretaries? Can the Board be imagined as appointing a Committee that would not eagerly promote every reasonable desire of the Executive? Could it be reckoned an unreasonable or harmful limitation of the Secretaries' privilege of bringing in "Special Papers" to be made the subject of report and discussion,* if other people should be allowed a chance to bring in business too? The whole town and the whole week of the Annual Meeting would be, as now, at the free disposal of the Administration for organizing popular meetings, with only this restriction, that they could no longer encroach on the necessary time for the transaction of the Board's business, nor infringe upon the Board's liberty and sovereignty. Every member of the Board would rejoice to see its annual convocation for business made an occasion of the

* This business of "Special Papers" read by the Secretaries, referred, reported on, and discussed, is not exempt from liability to abuse. Sometimes the papers are both important and timely; and sometimes they are neither. Dr. Alden's sermonesque document at Columbus on "Foreign Missions the Test of Christian Character," for instance, was so arranged for, as, with the prescribed "discussion" to occupy an hour or two of the very best time of the meeting, without advancing the business one whit, but rather obstructing it. It would be one use of the Committee of Arrangements for Business, that when the Secretaries wanted to present a long paper of undisputed generalities, it might give the Board an opportunity to say whether it had time to listen to them then, or would wait till the next year.

When the Board at its meeting in 1855, was astounded to find that the school system of the Missions had been overturned during the year, by the enterprise and self-reliance of its Executive, it began to be remembered that for some time before the Secretaries had been bringing in to the meetings harmless-looking pieces of pulpit eloquence on such themes as "Preaching the Great Instrumentality for the Conversion of the World," which would be regularly reported on and approved, *nem. con.*, as "that able and interesting paper." But nobody had dreamed that these complimentary votes were going to be quoted by and by, as the Board's sanction of a sudden and grave change in the policy of the missions.

largest and most fruitful popular interest. No one could possibly feel jealous, but contrariwise grateful, for the success of the Secretaries in organizing side attractions that would draw away from the Board-meetings that class of spectators to whom the grave and serious deliberations of earnest men on great questions is only a bore. Probably the experiment would prove in the future, as it has in the past, that no meetings can possibly be organized for popular impression that shall be half as impressive, instructive, edifying, and attractive as the earnest deliberations of men too intent upon the work of missions and their duty to it, to have any time to think whether they are impressive or not.

ARTICLE V.—PARSIFAL AT BAYREUTH.

No one who follows with attention the tendencies in the musical world to-day will ask, Shall Wagner's greater works be frequently presented and generally appreciated in America? The question rather is, *When* shall the Master become known to the American public? It is a question of time. Meanwhile, those who lead the musical world and know their public thoroughly, offer Wagner's compositions in small portions. Evidently it is a question of no little time. In Germany, the debate upon the merits of the new music has culminated and has gradually subsided. Quiet satisfaction in the possession of a good thing is taking the place of heated discussion. If we wish, therefore, to look into our own future, we may turn for suggestion to the critical period in the German controversy. We may revert for most valuable suggestions to the events which transpired at Bayreuth in July and August, 1882. At that time *Parsifal* was brought out. Its appearance had been awaited with universal interest and the most contradictory expectations. Our simplest plan will be to take up the point of view of one of the audience at the first performance. We shall see memorable and imitable things—memorable scenes also which can never be repeated.*

I

Ever since 1876, when the production of the *Nibelungen Trilogy* was the occasion of a great Wagner festival, the attention of art circles has been directed with greater or less intensity to this North Bavarian town. One may have been

*In March, 1888, the writer chanced to notice in a local newspaper, published several thousand miles from Bayreuth, at a rude village among the mountains, a paragraph somewhat as follows: Wagner died sitting in his easy chair in his library at Venice. Below, in the sunny Grand Canal, a gondola waited to take the composer out for his daily airing. It is said that at the conclusion of a brilliant performance of his last opera, Wagner joined in the applause, waving attention from himself to his orchestra. To these artists we *must* now look.

devoted to Wagner, cold, or even actively hostile, with like result. Bayreuth was still to be the source of events in the musical world. One may have been musical or not, and in either case have asked, What is Wagner, the thinker, the poet, to add next to our prosy life; what old tale of human passion, splendid, difficult of access, hard to be understood, will he next make glowing, real, present to us? Throughout the past winter, in all parts of Germany at least, we have been talking about the coming of Parsifal. That was to mark the first month of summer holidays; and a run down to Bayreuth was included, or only for good cause shown excluded, when we planned for the dull month of August. To-day I was present at the first public rendering of the opera.

Arrived at the Bayreuth station, one sees immediately that the town is overcrowded. Thronging towards the incoming, an eager mass of men and women are offering, urging, lodgings. The least bit of a girl insists upon carrying your hand-bag, and hotel porters say their rooms are all engaged. One selects the least objectionable among the petitioners and follows his lead. It is a plain little town of twenty thousand homely inhabitants. There are not the jolly old corners and dives that the western tourist demands and the native would be glad to see replaced by western regularity. Its streets are broad and straight and its shops shoppy. The French have been here to make a piece of that long history which is written in books, to destroy that very readable part written upon the dingy house-walls which they burned. It is a town unredeemed for the tourist unless it be redeemed by its one idea. We have seen that its one idea has crowded hotels and spare bed-rooms; look at it in the shop windows. Here is a tobacconist's, and the image carved upon his cigar-holders is Wagner's image; a stationer's, and his fine paper is stamped with a bit of the score from "Tannhäuser." Busts, photographs, engravings innumerable, everywhere show the well known features, and in the book-stores everything possible to be told in word and picture about everything Wagnerian, by everybody. Pause a moment if you would have offered you by yon peddler a dictionary of all the unpleasant expressions which have been directed against the Master by his critics. Quite nicely got up,

this little book, and instructive, if one would cultivate racy invective. If you have come in at ten o'clock this Friday morning, and are passing one of the few dignified buildings which the Gallic fire spared, the town church, you will hear from a balcony quite high up on the tower strains of a fine old hymn descending the "all-echoing stair" on the north side. The half-dozen musicians lean lazily against the railing, and now they repeat, addressing themselves to sinners east of the tower. How fortunate, since the tower is four-sided, that the hymn has four verses!

It is a flat, not very picturesque district, with no fine waters, no fine hills. Small hills there are about the town, and on the best of these, which is crowned by the soldiers' memorial of '71-2, rises half way up the slope Wagner's opera-house. Standing quite alone in a park so far from town, the building might seem from the distance a large villa; suggests rather as one approaches and notices the roughly-laid red brick with yellow parallels and the simple constructional decoration, an exposition building.

The audience beginning to assemble for the four o'clock performance approaches on foot. A few carriages convey parties of ladies in afternoon-tea costume; but it is a plain and sober crowd picking its way along the road heavy with recent rain,—men and women who have come in spite of the thirty marks entrance fee, sacrificing not a little to attend this remote festival. We follow them into the auditorium. My admiration for the decoration and arrangement of this hall is quite unqualified. The audience gathers and disperses without a bit of delay or crowding, the lighting is pleasant, the air fairly good. Consistently with its general plan as a reproduction of the classical theater, the decoration of its ceiling represents stretched canvas awning, bits of blue sky showing between it and the side walls. There are no galleries. The seats rise in terrace fashion, with the lowest on a level with the stage and the orchestra out of sight naturally. The effect of the entire arrangement is to concentrate attention upon the stage. One could not rest in this hall without facing the stage, even if auditorium and stage were quite unpeopled.

It is an interesting crowd now gathered, but with less of the

extravagant element than one might expect. Just behind me is a slender, long haired Wagnerian from Prag, who will surely cry, "Master, Master," when the curtain falls; but just before me is a Leipzig merchant who swears by the *Gewandhaus*—who will cry not at all, but will mutter, "Stuff!" At my left are several ladies of good country families dressed in English style, and so on. Quite noticeable also is the sprinkling of foreigners.

It is right that the overture should be greeted with this strained, eager attention. Its first half contains the *Gralmotiv*, and it will become evident upon examination that of the whole work—of the poet Wagner in remodeling an old story, of the composer Wagner in interpreting his story to the emotions through the medium of music—there has been little freedom of choice granted except as touching the character of this motive, and this motive is to give its character to the whole work. This we must make our own and hold fast to, if the succeeding six hours are to be really hours of insight; to this we must finally appeal in judging of the work, whether it be true or false. The attempt to convey an adequate impression of it, however, I should expect to prove quite futile. A score which lies open before me would have it to be a simple matter enough, but for myself I get no proper notion from it. The whole situation is necessary to be recalled, the situation as it had been in the composer's mind and was being expressed before his very eyes. I prefer, therefore, to confine myself to general terms, saying, this is a strain neither martial nor monkish, exultant nor despondent. It suits neither the extravagant mediæval chivalry nor extreme mediæval piety. Neither of these is it nor both together. Rather it is the thought of a student of those times, keenly alive to both forces and prizing the noble manhood growing out of the union of the two. Edward Schella, in his readable critique upon Wagner, would have it *churchy*. Certainly. An eminent newspaper critic has much to say about sensuousness. Certainly. Hans v. Wolzogen is nearer the mark when he notices that it mediates in this prelude between the resignation of prayer to the suffering Christ and the triumph of victorious faith.

The scene is "Monsalvat," the territory and castle of the

Holy Grail. It is the mountainous northern district of Gothic (Christian) Spain. Where the path leading up Monsalvat begins in the shadow of a forest, by the shores of a mountain lake, Gurnemanz and two pages lie sleeping. A trumpet call from the mountain announces dawn and awakens them. From the castle there arrive knights saying the sick king is no better and his bath must be prepared. Just now Kundry is descried in the distance, mounted like a Walküre. Dismounted without, she rushes upon the stage, her tattered garments in wild disorder, her hair falling in heavy tresses to the girdle of snake skin and almost concealing her dark face with its piercing black eyes. She gives a small crystal vase to Gurnemanz. It is balm for the king's wound, brought from far Arabia. A train of knights and squires, bearing or accompanying the litter on which the sick king reclines, arrives upon the stage. Amfortas, the king, describes his sufferings piteously and thinks death near; receives the balm and with his attendants retires for the bath. Now only Kundry, Gurnemanz and four squires are left upon the stage. The woman has thrown herself exhausted upon the ground, and by means of the dialogue carried on between the others the audience is instructed in the nature of the situation.

When Titurel was building the castle, he found Kundry sleeping, rigid as though dead, in the thicket. Since that time, she has been the brotherhood's zealous messenger, serving with eagerness as though to expiate some crime. The kingdom of the pure faith had been threatened by the might and treachery of fierce enemies. Then in "holy, brooding night," the Healer's angel had descended to Titurel, given into his keeping the cup (Grail) from which He drank at the last love feast, into which the Crucified's blood flowed, and the spear which shed that precious blood. For these treasures the castle was built. Only the pure can enter the service of the Grail, be miraculously fed and strengthened by it for chivalrous, merciful deeds. Klingsor had sinned deeply and desired to become holy. Unable to conquer his evil nature by force of will, he lays an impious hand upon himself and his offer of service to the Grail is spurned. In boundless rage withdrawing, he devotes himself to magic arts and the work of decoying members of

the now hated order from their pure service. His garden of delights arises in the waste not far away. Enchanting women grow there like flowers, and their seductions have cost the order many a good knight. When the aged Titurel resigned the kingly office to his son Amfortas, it was with the injunction never to rest until the accursed enchantment was at an end. Amfortas had undertaken the conquest, fallen unhappily himself into the snares of a woman terrible in her beauty, and the holy spear he bore had been turned in Klingsor's hand against himself, inflicting the incurable wound. Before the despoiled sanctuary Amfortas had lain in fervent prayer when a light had streamed from the Grail and on its surface were read the words,

Wait for him whom I have chosen :
The chaste fool, by pity enlightened.

A long story for Gurnemanz to tell. Only Scaria's magnificent voice could carry it off. And now for the first bit of action. The forest territory of the Grail knights is sacred ground. All creatures found there are protected by the inviolability of the place. What profane hand has harmed the swan which pierced by an arrow ends its last flight at Gurnemanz's feet? From the lake an excited throng approaches surrounding and crowding forward a defiant country lad. The scene is very effective. Garments of knights and squires, long blue mantle flowing over pink tabard. On the shoulder stitched, a white dove. Parsifal, for he is the offender, standing sturdily apart, his one garment of coarse stuff leaving arms and legs bare, holding bow and quiver in his hand : "Certainly, I shoot what flies!" Moved to pity by the reproving words of Gurnemanz and the sight of the dead swan, he breaks and throws away bow and arrows. "I did not know my fault."

"Whence come you?"

"I do not know."

"Who is your father?"

"I do not know."

"Who sent you this way?"

"I know not."

"Your name, then?"

"I had many, yet I no longer know one of them."

"You know nothing of what I ask you. Something you must know."

"I have a mother, by name Herzeleide. Our home was in the woods and wastes."

"Who gave you the bow?"

"That I made for myself, to drive the harsh eagle (Adler) from the forest."

"Yet noble (adelig) do you seem and well born. Why did not your mother have you taught to use better weapons?"

Kundry (still lying on the ground, glancing keenly at Parsifal, in rough tones). "His mother bore him after Gamuret, his father, had fallen in battle. To guard the son against such an early hero's death she brought him up in the wilderness, strange to weapons. The fool would have made him a fool."

Parsifal. "Yes, and once by the forest's edge came riding on beautiful creatures shining men. I wanted to be like them. They laughed and rode away. I ran after, but could not overtake them. Through the wilds I came uphill and down; my bow my protection against beasts and huge men."

Kundry. "Yes, robbers and giants felt his strength. They all feared the dangerous boy."

Parsifal. "Who fears me?"

Kundry. "The evil."

Parsifal. "They who threatened me, were they evil? Who is good?"

Gurnemanz. "The mother from whom you ran away and who now sorrows for you."

Kundry. "Her sorrow is ended. His mother is dead."

Parsifal. "Dead! My mother? Who says so?"

Kundry. "I was riding by and saw her die. She bade me greet you, fool!"

(Parsifal, enraged, springs upon Kundry, to throttle her.)

Gurnemanz. "Crazy boy! Violence again? How has the woman harmed you? She spoke truth; for Kundry never lies, though she has seen strange things."

(Parsifal is overcome with emotion. Kundry brings water from a spring, dashes it into his face and gives him to drink.)

Gurnemanz. "Well done and mercifully like the Grail. Who returns good for evil, banishes evil."

Kundry. "I never do good: will only *rest*." (Retiring again into the thicket) "Rest, alas, for the weary! Only to sleep, that no one should wake me." (Starting up) "No! No sleep for me. Horror seizes me!" (As though threatened by some invisible foe and finding resistance vain.) "My defense is powerless. The time is come. Sleep—sleep—I must!"

The sun is high. It is time for the repast at the castle. Gurnemanz will take Parsifal thither and, the scenery shifting from left to right, they are seen as though advancing together up the mountain, entering a portal in the rocky walls, again mounting until they find themselves in the grand banquet hall of the castle. Here music of distant bells, choruses of knights and boys in petition and joy of faith, the really impressive beauty of the scene, combine in an effect worthy of the inspiration of mediæval chivalry. The knights are seated at long tables, so disposed that, extending parallel from background to foreground, a space is left free between them. Partly filling this space is the dais where Amfortas lies upon his couch. Before him is placed, on an altar-like table the life-dispensing cup, as yet veiled. From a recess of the hall, one hears the plaintive voice of Titurel bidding his son uncover the Grail and perform his office. That sight of the Holy Grail which has long held him in life and which he must now enjoy or die, his own son must deny him. The bitterness of self-reproach, the burning wound where the spear entered his side in punishment of sin, fettering him still to the world of passions (for the wound is sin itself), unfit him for the priestly office. This last time, however, it may be allowed him. The ancient crystal vase is unveiled. Dimness in the hall has become an ominous darkness; distant boy voices intercede in pure, ringing tones. A ray of light pierces the darkness, falls upon the vase which glows as a purple flame. All have arisen from prayer. Amfortas elevates the Grail, that it may rain influence throughout the assembly. Its glow has paled now; light returns to the hall; the sacred bread and wine have been distributed; glorious choruses hail the new revelation.

After the momentary exultation, Amfortas has sunk back, overcome by renewed agony. Parsifal has stood rigid, absorbed, throughout it all, showing no apprehension of the

wonder, motionless except for a gesture of pain at his heart when Amfortas' suffering seemed greatest. The knights embrace each other and depart solemnly. Gurnemanz comes up to Parsifal and shakes him by the arm. "Why are you standing here still? Do you know what you have seen?" Parsifal can only reply in the negative by a motion of the head. "You are nothing but a fool. Out with you. Go your ways. Gurnemanz advises you to leave the swans alone in future and to hunt the goose!"

II.

Half an hour's pause between the first and second acts. One is glad to light a cigar and stroll along the gravel paths outside the theater; to watch the heavily-booted tramping across and the daintily-booted tripping across to the restaurant in the garden; to sniff the cool air and compare what he has just seen with his anticipations.

The story took on its form and pressure in the last years of the twelfth century and the first years of the thirteenth. Some of its features are indeed much older, are indeed what we are pleased to call mythological; but it assumed the form as we have just been seeing it no earlier. That form we were prepared for by the great poems of Wolfram von Eschenbach, composed at the time just mentioned, "Parzival" and "Titurel," by the saga in the so-called *Mabinogi* (MS. 14th century), Robert de Boron's "Petit St. Graal" (12th century), Chretien von Troyes' († 1190) "Perceval le Galois," Albrecht v. Scharffenberg's "Der Jüngere Titurel" (1270). Much ingenuity has been expended upon the story first and last, and it is interesting to recall some of the turns and embellishments. The Grail, for instance: According to one account, the Grail was originally in heaven, having angels as its ministers. When Lucifer rebelled and fell, from his crown fell a splendid gem. His associates in rebellion, expelled from heaven, must now minister to the Grail on earth. According to another version, for centuries the grail hovered between heaven and earth, borne by those angels, until in the form of a cup sent him by God it should serve the Saviour at his last feast of the pass-over. Afterwards the vessel came into the possession of

Joseph of Arimathea, who received in it the blood from the wounds of the Crucified. Again, the Grail was said to be a bowl formed of a gem from the earthly paradise. A fourth version makes it a present from the Queen of Sheba to Solomon; a fifth would have its first possessor Noah. It appears in Wolfram's account as a stone, by angels entrusted to the custody of Titurel's pious knighthood on the *mount of salvation*, "*Monsalvâtsch*," inaccessible to the sinful. There also it feeds and strengthens its champions; and a dove descending from heaven each Good Friday reestablishes its union with the divine forces of which it is the manifestation. In Chretiens, the spear is that of Longinus, which pierced the side of Christ on the cross. In Wolfram, this meaning has disappeared. It is a poisoned weapon which in the hand of a heathen enemy inflicts an incurable wound upon Amfortas, engaged in a love adventure. This Amfortas is the sick king, a figure common to all the Parsifal sagas. In Mabinogi he appears as a lame old man, Peredur's (Parsifal's) uncle; but his sickness has little importance in the action. Lance and gory head are signals for Peredur to avenge his murdered father, and such is the hero's task. In Chretiens, the sick king is the Grail king, and in Wolfram, the name Amfortas, —i. e. *powerless, suffering*,—is given him; but his ancestor Titurel appears also in the Grail castle as the ancient, bedridden man. Amfortas is representative of the suffering which has found its way among the brotherhood through their fault. The offense is sensuality, disobedience to a fundamental rule of the holy order. Healing shall be brought by a knight who shall come and *ask*. This knight is Parzival.* Gurnemanz is the union of two several characters, an old knight of that name who appears in Wolfram as Parzival's host and counselor, and Trevecent, brother to Amfortas, whom Parzival meets on Good Friday, when he returns after five years of wandering to the Grail territory.

A trumpet-call from the theater summons us for the second act, a total change of music, scenery, action. A few wild strains which we had caught whenever the thought of Kling-

* *Kraussold*. Die Saga vom h. Gral, etc. *Von Wolzogen*. Leitfaden durch die Musik des Parsifal.

sor's enchantment had swept like a shudder through the music of the first act, swell now into a chorus of strange voices—such tones as were never heard before. The prelude is Walpurgis-Night described in music. Scene, Klingsor's castle of enchantment on the southern slope of the same mountains, that is, the side next Arabian (Mohammedan), Spain. Within a tower, surrounded with necromantic appliances, Klingsor sits before a metal mirror. The hour has come. Parsifal, the fool, is nearing the wizard's castle; and Kundry, now in the power of death-like sleep, shall be transformed into a mistress of fascinations to his destruction. Compelled by invocation, Kundry's form appears, rising in bluish vapor, with a shriek like one in horror awakened from deep sleep. The same magic power which she now desperately struggles against had before compelled her to become Amfortas' temptress. Sleep had then as now not brought the coveted rest, but only surrendered her spirit to the sorcerer, to become his servant and her own enemy. Taunted now with the weakness of those she serves, who alone can befriend her and who fall as soon as adequate temptation is offered, she is bidden to prepare for the most dangerous of all,—him whom simple innocence shields.

He has reached the castle, and its defenders oppose his entrance, fall upon him—to their sorrow. Klingsor describes the encounter, with exultation seeing the boy's bravery; for Parsifal disperses the watch and enters only to find his real enemy and real danger within. Kundry has meantime disappeared, and now the tower sinks out of sight, in its stead appearing a tropical garden, filling the entire stage. Parsifal is seen alone, from the enclosing wall gazing with wonder upon the gorgeous flowers which carpet the place, reach down fantastic, glowing arms from the overhanging trees and build delicious bowers of rainbow hues. A palace at the side, from which as from every nook of the garden, lovely maidens come running in wild dismay. Half-dressed in garments like the petals of flowers, they are bitterly complaining of interrupted repose and seeking lovers who had hastened from their arms to meet the intruder. Their delicious chorus of complaint is directed against Parsifal so soon as he advances towards them, presently converting their spite into caressing appeals and

jealous competition for his favor. I cannot venture to describe in words of my own choosing what follows. Poetry, music, scenic-effect, are here in exquisite concord. Only through that combination can the scene have its proper value. In description,—yes, upon a less perfect stage,—the effect would be grotesque and vulgar.

At last the delicious songs of these creatures, “flowers the master plucks in spring, fragrant spirits growing here in summer and sun,” are interrupted. Parsifal has behaved to these temptresses simply with boyish good humor; but the arch-temptress is still to be met. A voice startles the flower-spirits into silence. “Parsifal!—Stay!” That name is a spell. “Parsifal! So the mother once called me in her sleep.” Transformed into a beautiful woman, Kundry is seen reclining upon a couch of roses. By that spell, recollection of his mother, she holds him. With that theme she stirs the tenderness of his whole nature, recalling the incidents of his life, and last of all the pang when Herzeleide waited in vain for her son to return, when her heart became heavy with sorrow that she died. Totally overpowered by painful emotion, Parsifal has sunk at the feet of the enchantress, who now begins as artfully to comfort him. But suffering has given to consolation and caress amplest opportunity. His shield of boyish innocence is withdrawn when Kundry presses upon his lips “as the mother’s last greeting and blessing, love’s first kiss.” A new world has disclosed itself to him. He knows what love is, and in the instant *Amfortas’ sin and wound have become intelligible*. With a gesture of horror he springs to his feet. “Amfortas! The wound, the wound burns in *my* heart!” He had seen the wound bleed; now it bleeds for him. Nay, the wound it is not; no mere wound, but a burning torment at the heart which *knowledge of sin* has entered. And he now sees that he had been called to rescue the sufferer, but in his folly had not understood the divine mission. Kundry approaches to renew the caresses in which he now sees only the arts which won the Grail king. “Yes, this voice! So she called to him; and this look—that I clearly recognize. This also, destroying his peace with a smile. The lip,—yes, it quivered so for him; so the neck bent beseechingly and again

so was the head proudly poised ; so waved the locks when she laughed, so did the arm encircle his neck, the cheek nestle against his —— ! Leagued with all pains did her mouth kiss away his soul's health." All artifice is at an end. The two natures—the man's nature and the woman's—stand revealed to one another, each passionately urging its claims.

Kundry. "Barbarous ! Does your heart feel only others' pain, then feel also for me. Are you saviour, why not grant me union with him to my salvation ? Through eternities have I waited for you, for the Healer, whom once I scorned. Know you the curse which steeled me in sleep, awake, in death and life, pain and laughter, to new misery ?—I saw Him, Him the Crucified, and *laughed*. . . . His look fell upon me ! . . . Now, from world to world I seek Him that I may again find Him. When my misery is greatest, when I ween Him near, *that look* upon me again. The curse is upon me and I must laugh, laugh. It is no saviour, but a sinner who sinks into my arms ! Weep, I cannot, but must laugh, writhe, rave, in the ever-recurring night of madness. One hour united with you, to weep upon his breast who may take my sin upon him, were salvation !"

Parsifal. "To forget my mission for an hour in your embraces, were damnation eternal for you and for me."

So they must stand facing and opposing each other—the woman's nature and the man's. Parsifal has seen the perfect ideal, must leave all and follow after it, distracted though he be by a revelation of the whole sweetness and bitterness of humanity. His entire aspiration is centered in an object beyond himself, at the extreme limit of his thought. Kundry is passionately conscious of her immediate need ; cannot discriminate between that divine love which is universal—is harmony—and the human love which may be blind self-seeking. To her it is all one—it is *love* ; and in love she must look for rest. Both natures are to find satisfaction at the same instant.

Last temptation of all : How shall he find again the inaccessible castle of the Grail without her assistance ? She knows the world, while he has no wisdom of experience. That instruction she will give—the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them—in exchange for his love. A vain hope ; and

cursing him that he may err hopelessly as she has done, Kundry calls upon Klingsor for aid. Klingsor hurls the sacred lance, which, as though arrested by an invisible shield, hovers above Parsifal's head. Parsifal seizes and makes with it the sign of the cross. Castle of enchantments and garden of delights are transformed into a heap of ruins in a desert place. Kundry lies helpless upon the ground; and turning to her as he hastens away, Parsifal: "You know the only spot where you may see me again." The curtain falls quickly.

The second act deserves most careful study. *It is the work*, one may say, so subordinate are acts first and third dramatically. An eminent German critic asks, Why the peculiar character of these scenes?—and suggests that for contrast's sake they were introduced here in the median position. It were perhaps more in point to ask, Why the first and third acts? What we have just been watching contains the kernel of the whole thought. It is a magnificent effort to tell in words and music of the growth of the human soul. What there is more than this, is only to tell what grand passions are the life of the soul's growth. First act and third can be little more than circumstantial, for the first introduces the situation and the last can merely carry into fulfillment the promise already perfect.

Is this Kundry Wagner's creature? Yes and no. As the accursed for her heartlessness, as Grail messenger, as temptress,—no; as uniting these three characters in one, as representative of "Das ewig Weibliche," as Parsifal's instructress, revealing to him the heart of humanity,—yes. Already in the German saga, Herodias, who laughed as she bore the Baptist's head upon the charger, had been condemned to eternal wandering. In Wolfram, *Cundrie la Surziere* is Grail messenger, a more grotesque figure than here in the first act.* Orgelûse is in Wolfram's version the fair in whose service fighting Amfortas receives his wound. Parzival is indeed tempted by her, but *after* he has discovered his fault. Clinschor in Wolfram is Wagner's Klingsor with some variance, especially as personifying the spirit of heathendom and as identified with the heathen opponent of Amfortas. In the poem of the

* Parzival. *Lachmann*, vi. 818, 17 seq.

13th-14th century, the *Wartburg Krieg*, where Wolfram himself appears as the chief opponent of Klingsor, the latter is a very different figure from this enemy of the Grail. To point out more particularly the elements of these characters which are elements common to the saga-material of the whole North, this is hardly the fit opportunity. In a word, Wagner has combined often remote elements with tremendous dramatic effect. A study of this Kundry would well introduce one to the three greatest factors in mediæval story-telling: Germanic mythology, the play of the Christian spirit upon that, and the addition of features directly borrowed from the Orient. By comparison of this Kundry with the Venus of Tannhäuser, one gains little, unless it be a sense of the grandeur of the former, who includes this Venus, the German Frau Holda, as a minor component of her complex being. ;

III.

The second *entr'acte* is long enough for one to make quite a leisurely dinner, very well sauced now at eight o'clock. That is, it is long enough if one is more fortunate than Franz Liszt just opposite at the table, who genially exchanges compliments with one and another of those who come up to claim his notice. The old autocrat of Weimar looks well, even robust, since his Italian journey of last winter. There is much more than benignity in this face. Catch the expression upon it when the enormous beer-mug, which at this instant conceals certain of his massive features, is lowered, empty. This man enjoys life and has safely passed the three-score years and ten.

Act third restores us to the territory of the Grail. The scene includes the edge of a forest and meadows brilliant with flowers. In the foreground, a spring; opposite which, a hermit's cabin. Early morning. Gurnemanz, now in extreme age, clad as hermit, comes out of the cabin. He hears the sound of faint moaning issue from the thicket, puts aside the underbrush and discovers Kundry, rigid and apparently lifeless. He restores her to consciousness and begins to question her, but receives no answer except, "Let me serve—serve." She is again the Grail's messenger in general appearance, but without the old wildness. She goes like a maid to her duties

in the hut. A knight approaches from the forest. He is armed *cap-a-pie*. With visor down and head bowed, lost in reverie, he advances to the spring and reclines at its edge. Scarcely returning the old man's greeting, he receives also in silence a reproach for bearing arms at the sacred spot and on a holy day. Good-Friday calls to prayer. Laying helmet and sword aside, the knight kneels in silence before the spear. Gurnemanz recognizes at once the boy who shot the swan and, thrust before him into the ground, the weapon Amfortas had lost.

Along the paths of error and suffering, Parsifal has finally returned. The sacred power of the weapon in his possession he has not dared to employ. Unaided he has fought his way to the goal. Now he learns that since the day when he was present at the feast of the order, Amfortas has refused to perform his office, because he desires death for himself. No longer miraculously fed, the Grail knights languish and Titurel has died. Parsifal, consistently enough with the emotional nature of such a hero as he is now come to be, is overpowered by the sense of his own responsibility for all this suffering. Supported by Gurnemanz and Kundry, he is conducted to the spring and bathed in its healing waters. And Kundry, this "woman which was a sinner, did wipe his feet with the hairs of her head and anointed them with ointment." Anoint his head also, aged Gurnemanz, for to-day he shall be greeted king. Sympathetic sufferer, beneficently wise, his first official act is Kundry's baptism. "Believe on the Redeemer!" Here follows recitative, describing lyrically the influence of the festival, Good-Friday's enchantment upon flower and meadow.

Attired as a knight of the order, Parsifal is conducted by Gurnemanz to the hall of the castle as in act first. The knights are entering in solemn procession, one band accompanying Amfortas with the Grail, another bearing in Titurel's body. Their choruses are accusation and condemnation of Amfortas, who is again and for the last time summoned to the sacramental office,—in vain, for all hope has left him save the hope of death. With the rage of desperation he staggers to his feet, piteously calling upon the shrinking knights to pierce his breast with their swords and end his torment, when——

Parsifal advances, with the spear-point touching Amfortas' side. "One weapon alone avails. That spear which smote you will heal the wound!" By such token is he known to be king in Amfortas' stead. The shrine is opened. Parsifal takes from it the cup and sinks before it in prayer. The Grail glows and a splendor falls upon the assembly. From heaven a white dove descends and hovers above Parsifal's head. He exalts the sacred cup and voices from out the heights proclaim:

Redemption to the Redeemer!

The curtain falls and the orchestra concludes a moment later, that with *Grail-motiv*, *Glaubensthema* and *Erlösungswort*, the last impression may be purely musical. A storm of applause; and the whole audience is upon its feet, looking anxiously for the composer to appear. This he presently does in a Loge opposite the stage; and joining in the applause he waves his hand toward the stage to indicate that to his artists the praise belongs. That is no fiction. The task set before the artists to-night was gigantic, and their shortcomings in voice and action suprisingly few.

As to this third act, contradictory opinions will always be entertained. From whatever stand-point viewed, it invites vigorous criticism and furnishes means of vigorous defense. Applying the principles of dramatic criticism, it seems indeed to be unworthy of its position. Act second has developed character with a certain Greek inexorableness. One follows without reserve each step in that development, until at the end of the act the conclusion of the whole matter is irresistible. All conditions necessary to the redemption of Amfortas and the brotherhood are perfect, except the one condition of Parsifal's presence at Monsalvat. The guileless fool has become by pity enlightened, and only distance, physical position, keeps the interest in suspense. Is the traversing a certain number of miles sufficient matter for a third act? Not even that either; for the opening of this act finds Parsifal already at his goal, and half a dozen general words serve to describe his wanderings. But what would have become of Parsifal had he fulfilled his mission immediately after the concluding scene of act second? The nature of his mission associates him with the

Grail brotherhood alone. To them alone he belongs. But he could not take a position subordinate to the king whom he had saved by superior virtue. He must himself be king. He is not yet ready for that. In point of fact, substance is given to act third by this unanticipated extension of the symbolism of Parsifal's character. He is no longer a *possible deliverer*; he is *the Saviour*, and golden hair and beard, costume, posture, serve to heighten the physical resemblance to the Christ of popular art. Bad dramatic art: for it averts an anti-climax only through the introduction of new matter of which the appropriateness is at least questionable. Orderliness, integrity of development have been sacrificed. But such criticism touches only half the question. From a musician's standpoint, act third is obnoxious to no such objection. On the contrary, it is peculiarly appropriate that after its excursion in the second act, the music should return to and conclude with the *Gralmotiv* and associated motives and themes. For, musically speaking, the central point of the work is the *Gralmotiv*; dramatically considered, the culminating point is Parsifal's enlightenment. If one were to compare Parsifal with the comparatively little known "Heilige Elisabeth" of Liszt, the composition which of all others it most strongly suggests, the suggestion would be found to come exclusively from acts first and third. It would hardly be profitable to deplore in set terms what seems to me the blemish in one portion of a great work, or to make the obvious comments upon a startling employment of themes by common consent set apart.*

But what of Parsifal? How did he become what we find him here revived? The sources from which the story is drawn have been already mentioned. As to Parsifal's education, then, in the forest where his mother would have kept him remote from the knowledge of arms and knighthood, the appearance of mounted warriors enticing him into the world, Mabinogi, Chretien and Wolfram agree. According to Chretien, it is in peasant's dress, but in Wolfram it is in fool's

* In 1877, the American poet-musician, Sidney Lanier, wrote:

O Wagner,
Thine ears hear deeper than thine eyes can see.
Thou, thou, if even to thyself unknown,
Hast power to say the Time in terms of tone.

motley, that he sets out. The incident of the swan is naturally enough suggested by an incident in Wolfram's poem. In *Mabinogi*, he comes to the castle of his lame uncle and fails to ask the meaning of spear and gory head. In the other accounts, it is the Grail castle, where it has been announced that his *question* will heal the sick king. He does not ask, remembering an injunction against curiosity, and is scornfully dismissed, receiving later a curse for his neglect, delivered, as Wolfram tells, by Cundrie. After five years of wandering and adventure, he meets the hermit or knight who reproaches him for bearing arms on Good Friday and instructs him in the mysteries of the Grail and holiness. His search for the castle is successfully terminated. In *Mabinogi*, he avenges his father; Chretien recounts his healing the king by asking about spear and Grail; Wolfram, by asking "Was fehlt euch, Ohm?" In Wagner's hands, then, the thought of the story has simply advanced one step. Wolfram has the thought: Pity is saving; to pity, one must know; to know, must have asked. He throws the emphasis upon the *question*, least dramatically valuable member of the thought-sequence; Wagner, on the *enlightenment* and sympathy through *knowledge*. In other words, it is the change inevitably accompanying transition from the epic form to the dramatic. But Wolfram leaves Parsifal installed as Grail king simply, with wife and son, Lohengrin; while Wagner has given him the likeness of Christ.

It is true then of this character as we have seen that it is true of the others, that Wagner has used the existing material exhaustively, combining, unifying, intensifying. That is to say, the essence of the old saga has been retained. At the same time, he has in *Kundry* given us the most interesting of his creatures, and in Parsifal himself, I fear, through the deviations from the text in his case, an apple of discord. There is so much to be said about the symbolism and mysticism with which the whole story is impregnated; about its being deepened legitimately, or on the other hand unjustifiably, in this case, that I venture here to show only what is the subject of dispute. If exception, also, were taken only to the peculiar *rôle* which Parsifal is called upon to play in conclusion, the matter would be quite simple, for that might be altered as

already in two salient points the action has been modified since the first rehearsals. But were the coloring here less vivid, would there be substance enough left for a third act? One consideration which has been advanced above may however be reiterated because it is believed to lie at the root of the whole matter. Looking at this work as a dramatic composition and as a musical composition, one is inclined to say, If part of the excellence of the former has been sacrificed, it has been that the latter might become the admirable thing which it indeed is, the freest and most perfect expression of Wagner's musical theory.

ARTICLE VI.—INSPIRATION.

CHRISTIAN doctrines arise in satisfaction of the reflective, constructive activities of the human mind. We may, if we choose, speak contemptuously of systematic theology, but it is the fruit of the same impulses precisely which are the occasion of science—the desire to give rational coherence to certain facts. Theology is less satisfactory than science only when it is less attentive to the facts which it seeks to expound, or is less coherent in their explanation. Theology may easily assert a doctrine in order to give consistency and firmness to a system, and in oversight of any known facts to be expounded by it.

This is preëminently true of the doctrine of inspiration. This doctrine, in its earlier history especially, seems to have received its form wholly from an idea present to the mind of the doctrinaire of the necessity of an unmistakable cogency in Scripture as a ground of authority and certainty in belief and action. It was no inquiry into the facts offered by the Scriptures, nor even into their assertions concerning themselves, which gave rise to the doctrine of plenary inspiration; but the feeling that this doctrine must be accepted, or other doctrines would be left without sufficient support. The dogmatic spirit asserted itself strongly in reference to revelation, and so made way for itself everywhere. The mind was not yet ready for the simple and sufficient authority of truth, and so confronted the various forms of authority it encountered with the authority of inspiration expressed in revelation. In proportion as the simple facts of Scripture have received more attention and more critical study, the doctrine of inspiration has been modified to suit them. This change has been rapid in the last half century. This movement of readaptation of the statement to the facts to be covered by it, starting as it did with the notion of a mechanical and verbal reproduction of the divine thought in the inspired book, is ready to end with the spiritual idea of an inspired author, entering by insight

into religious truth. When this readjustment shall complete itself, inspiration will simply mean the mind's mastery of truth, its insight into it; and religious inspiration will be the inner hold of the mind on religious truth. The definition of Dr. Emmons (vol. iv. p. 75 of his works) may stand for the idea of inspiration while it was still defined to meet a dogmatic want. "The natural faculties of the sacred penman were superseded, and God spoke directly to their minds, making such discoveries to them as they could not have otherwise obtained, and directing the very words in which such discoveries were to be communicated." If we confront this assertion either with the plain facts offered by the Scriptures, or with any assertion made in them of the nature of inspiration, the discrepancy is very great. Professor Park's definition of inspiration indicates a decided effort to restate the doctrine in view of the Scriptures themselves. He says in his lecture on theology: "Inspiration is such a divine influence on the mind of the sacred writers as enables them to teach in the best possible manner all they intended to teach, especially to communicate religious truth without any error, either in religious doctrine or in the religious impression.* He then proceeds to say that inspiration does not affirm correctness in scientific or historic facts. Thus the doctrine of inspiration retires from the general field of knowledge to the more strictly religious realm.

Professor Ladd almost if not quite completes the movement by passing over to the idea of unusual insight. "Inspiration is dynamical, and therefore involves the illumining, purifying and quickening by the Divine Spirit of all those mental faculties of man which enter the work of revelation. . . . It is the form and degree of the activity which seem to demand for their explanation an unusual cause. In inspiration the cause of the activity is the presence with the human spirit of the spiritual energy of a divine agent." (*Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 468.) "Inspiration occasions no activity which is specifically different from normal activities" (p. 470). "The idea and fact of inspiration do not include either the idea or fact of infallibility" (p. 483).

* The quotation is from notes and not verbally exact.

Here is a statement of the doctrine which gives free play to biblical criticism, and is ready for any and all conclusions. It is no longer necessary to defend the absolute authority of the canon as the only means of securing the truths it contains. These truths have an evidence and a strength which make them in a large degree independent of their surroundings. They enforce themselves; they are not enforced by proof far weaker than their own inner energy.

This view requires but one addition to make it completely spiritual, and that is the essentially normal action of the truth on the mind as well as the normal action of the mind under the truth. In fact, the two would seem properly to involve each other. The Divine Spirit is not in inspiration a supernatural power, pressing the natural powers of man beyond their normal limits, but a normal spiritual influence, bringing the healthy powers of mind up to a high activity, and so opening before them, not absolutely or completely yet in a marvelous degree, the groundwork and principles of religious truth. Thus inspiration is essentially natural; is, in the highest use of the word, natural, and involves the most complete action of human powers, though free from no one of their ordinary accidents or liabilities.

I wish to offer a few considerations in favor of this latest result of criticism. The feeling which has given rise in succession to the more rigid views of inspiration, has been the desire to win authority for religious truth, to strengthen its grip and give it vantage ground against the indifference and ignorance of men. This well-meaning effort, though it has subserved a purpose, is we believe a mistake, and can only save itself from becoming a failure by accepting the changes which the progress of thought is bringing to it.

There is in the rational constitution of man only one ultimate seat of authority, and that is for each man his own reason, his own conscience, his own nature. This is the divine, constitutional plan in reference to man. Reason cannot submit itself to anything but reason, and remain rational. Reason, whenever it enters the field of action, enters it to rule, and can enter on no other condition. Its self-assertion is absolute and complete. It would require strong proof, indeed, admit-

ting this to be man's intellectual and moral nature, to show that another principle and method prevail in religion, the highest direction, the fullest development of this inner life. Of course, this assertion of the supreme authority of reason for each rational being does not overlook or deny the familiar fact that reason, of its own behest and for its own ends, is constantly submitting itself to instruction and to guidance. Instruction is simply securing the conditions of larger activity; and guidance is accepting the knowledge of another as, for the time being, or in some one direction, more complete than that of the mind thus submitting itself.

Doubtless just here is thought to be found the fitness of a supernatural revelation by those who do not clearly see the office of reason, or who look upon it as in some way alien to religious truth. Here, therefore, we need clearness of thought.

One submits himself in action, in practical exigencies, to one whom he has reason to think wiser than himself. He does not do this in a discussion and comprehension of truth as truth. One may know the conditions and so the methods of action better than I, and so, for the time-being, I do well to follow his direction. I can not enter into truth in this method. I can not understand geometry or comprehend social science by submitting my opinion to another man's opinion. It is a first condition of true knowledge that I myself see the principles under discussion, and know their validity. Any thing less than this is so much less than knowledge, so much less than comprehension. The autocracy of the reason asserts itself at once in its own proper field.

Instruction does not alter this cardinal truth. Instruction is simply furnishing the mind the conditions of this normal activity, and must itself shortly proceed by direct and sufficient insight. Both the teacher and the taught must move with knowledge in this field of knowledge. That movement of reason which is complete within itself, and which is helpful to other minds complete within themselves, is strictly a normal one; that is, a movement under its own impulses and by its own laws. We may assume and affirm unusual activity in the higher field of revelation; we can not assume any degree or phase of abnormal action, since all knowledge must proceed

from, and must issue in, insight, comprehension. In the degree in which it fails of this, it misses its full purpose.

The truths of revelation are the truths of the moral, spiritual reason. They are not detached facts of a familiar order, yet unknown to us, such facts as lead one to seek a guide in a forest; nor are they facts of an order which can be sufficiently put into words and adequately taken from them. Such a fact as the nature and being of God may be affirmed ten thousand times, and still be understood in ten thousand ways, and all of them partial. The best insight of the soul into moral quality and moral government, into spiritual life, is requisite in the interpretation of a fact of this order. We might much better expect the words, precession of the equinoxes, should carry a knowledge of the fact, its causes and its effects, than to suppose that the words, God is love, will interpret themselves freely to every mind. This whole spiritual region is one of large, deep, growing insight, and can be entered in no other method. One can in no way approach it mechanically; he must approach it rationally. The reason may be greatly exalted, but in its exaltation, it will still remain intensely rational, working with peculiar force under its own laws to its own ends. A truth that is in this true sense understood by the writer is a revelation; if it is not so understood, it is not a revelation in him, nor is it likely to be in the reader. Its utterance is some kind of frenzy, I know not what. Any supernatural force, that is force beyond the mind's own energies in inspiration, must, therefore, from the nature of the case, be abandoned in reference to essential truth. Truth expounds the moral universe and is expounded by it. We do not truly know God and believe in God, till we know him and believe in him in the entire range of his government. This is a knowledge which can never be complete, but must always be in the process of completion.

Yielding a supernatural revelation in these higher truths, we have no occasion to retain it, and show no wisdom in retaining it, in reference to secondary facts of a more familiar order. We should by such an assertion place ourselves in the ridiculous position of saying, in reference to the Gospels, for instance, that all their statements of facts are correctly made by

authors divinely guided for this very purpose, while we are yet unable to prove in any final and sufficient manner that the Gospels were written by these inspired apostles. We thus invoke divine authority for the second of the two premises which sustain our conclusions, while we are compelled to leave the first premise overshadowed by a thousand difficulties and doubts. This is unreasonable. Our premises, like the legs of the lame, are unequal.

As a matter of fact, the divine authority sought for by the doctrine of inspiration has never been attained. It has always resolved itself in use into this man's authority or that man's authority; the authority of this exegete or of his rival; the authority of one school in theology or of an opposed school. The leaders in religious thought have not been willing to grant their followers the same liberty they themselves have exercised; and they have riveted the chains of dogma on other minds by their own interpretation under this dogma of inspiration. Inspiration has not meant clear and sufficient, though partial, knowledge, as it must mean to be offered as a spiritual condition to free thought.

Nor have those who have accepted and urged the absolute authority of Scripture, shown any peculiar advantage, by virtue of this doctrine, in handling fresh moral questions in daily life. Their alleged final knowledge has not sufficed to give correctness to the urgent judgments of the hour, which properly come under spiritual truths. A certain spiritual genius, a sympathetic insight into moral relations, have always been the direct conditions in each generation of that spiritual discernment which rebuilds some portion of the social world, or puts up some new structure of grace and good will in the Kingdom of Heaven. The infallibility of Scripture, by whomsoever asserted and enjoined, has shown no infallibility in use. On the other hand, it is true enough to be observable, that the dogmatic spirit which gives rise to the doctrine, and is sustained by it, is unfavorable to lively, acute and progressive moral judgments. These more frequently belong to more concessive and liberal minds.

An inspiration which, in any degree or at any point, transcends simple knowledge is lost again almost as soon as gained.

How are these truths which are to be apprehended as truths, and are not to be repeated as verbal statements, to be passed over from the inspired to the uninspired person? The inspired mind, so far as it is in any supernatural way inspired, must fail to measure the truth uttered by it. If it does not fail to apprehend the truth, then its action is so far normal, and calls only for normal conditions; if it does fail to apprehend the truth, how can it itself be profited by the truth, or profit others by it? The doctrine of inspiration springs from vague thought. It wishes to secure a strictly normal result, knowledge, by abnormal means, an overpowering divine presence. And how is this inspired truth to be received by the uninspired reader, and so profit him? He must understand it. Words as words do not convey ideas. His mind must be brought to the height of the topic. He, too, must stand on Pisgah. An inspiration that has in its inception a truly supernatural element, that is one transcending the natural action of the mind, must be propagated by supernatural action in the reader or listener. Truth thus transferred is not knowledge, but something other than knowledge, something less than knowledge.

Nor can we properly say, that supernatural excitation is requisite for the highest natural action. Action that is normal can profit by no abnormal means. To assert this, is to confound terms and ideas. The distinction lies just here; the normal is provided for in the constitution of the mind; the abnormal does not simply transcend that constitution, it is alien to it. All, and even more than all, that the average mind can understand in spiritual things, can be imparted by the spiritually great mind. Men never fail through the want of instruction, but through the want of a disposition and power to understand it. Such minds can not be helped by magnifying the truth; they must be helped by the slow growth of their own powers.

That view of inspiration which makes it of the nature of spiritual genius—the clear mind, acted on intensely within itself and without itself, profoundly stirred in its own powers and broadly illuminated by the light of events—best accords with the facts offered by the Scriptures themselves. The

ordinary view of inspiration has always led to violence in handling these facts. Such a book as the Song of Solomon offers itself as an invincible obstacle to a divinely ordered canon. Ecclesiastes is to be read as it was written, as a confused utterance on a low moral basis. So read, it is instructive. The Psalms are very unequal. They contain a very high conception of majesty and power, and a far less complete conception of love and grace. For this very reason, we have the revelation in Christ. The older view of inspiration makes a stumbling block—a true rock of offense—out of every difficulty. The more rational view finds these obstacles mere pebbles in the path. Nor does it by this easy-going method lose any truth; quite the reverse. It reaches every eminence, like a contented traveler in full heart, ready to be taught, ready to be wrapped in heavenly visions and to share their inspiration. When Paul is ecstatic, his ecstasy is ours, because we believe it to be fully his, and that it may, therefore, be as fully ours.

Nor does the later view of inspiration suffer loss in spiritual energy as compared with the older view, but is in fact higher than it. The mechanical, the supernatural, the authoritative element have all entered in derogation of reason, and so of the best and holiest attainment. The more profound and far-reaching the truth we have under discussion, the more inapproachable is it to a mind and heart in any degree coerced or overpassed by the divine presence. It is every way a better result to understand truth, and so to accept it, than it is to receive it, if this be possible, without understanding it. The one movement is a verbal process; the other engages the whole mind and heart. It springs from life and passes into a higher life.

This ever recurring tendency to soften the doctrine of inspiration, and to restore in it, more and more, the personal powers of the writer, is the inevitable result of rational growth. That tendency completes itself in the doctrine now urged. The earlier mechanical view arose from the desire of authority without seeing the true seat of authority. It is only slowly, in any direction, that men learn to transfer authority from the outer to the inner world; from others to themselves.

The experience of men in connection with revelation is precisely what it has been in science and in social growth. Dicta have disappeared, and well-reasoned principles have taken their place, not only as involving a higher authority, but the only real authority.

God, acting on the mind and in some degree coercing it, at first seems a more manageable conception than God acting in and by the mind, leading it into the light and walking with it in the light. But the latter conception grows constantly on the earlier one. Indeed, growth consists largely in this very transfer of the thoughts from coerced order to free action, from mechanical construction to a living product. Men easily oppose man to God, reason to religion. They are more struck by the bearings of voluntary action, of transgression, than by the order and beauty of constitutional powers. Reason is the highest creation of God; its right action the noblest exhibition of his work. It is to reason that God commends all his ways, and when reason is complete within itself, and met in all its demands, perfection is absolute.

We urge the present view of inspiration because we deem it profoundly rational. It is not rational to insert in a series of natural agencies working toward a natural end, a supernatural term. Such a term is unnecessary; without proof, and profoundly disturbing. Now, the knowledge of the higher truths of religion by men is a thoroughly natural result, provided for by an extended accumulation of natural means. This process of comprehension does not admit of interruption or of acceleration by force beyond itself. Of all coherent movements, that of conviction is the most coherent. Outside action is simply disturbance and arrest. One can not be taught to walk by being forcibly swept over the ground; much less can he learn in this way to see and feel and understand divine truth. The more mechanical idea, therefore, of revelation always conceives revelation to be made up of easily intelligible truths in some way hidden from man, and which simply call for declaration. It fails to regard revelation as a disclosure of profound principles everywhere open to us, but rarely seen or understood by us; truths into which we grow and by which we grow. The mind in search of authority in

inspiration is haunted by the idea of the easy intelligibility of divine things, of a sensible veil that lies between us and them, and which is waiting to be withdrawn. Plainly the things which are in this manner hidden from us are those on which revelation bestows very little strength. Human history takes its ordinary chances in the Biblical narrative; and super-sensible facts remain without description. The one purpose of the canon, that which unites its very diverse parts, is the desire to lead the soul to God; to call out its powers of comprehension in this direction; to give unity of results in these higher passages of thought.

This relation of the mind to the truth is not altered by the fact that religious truth is addressed to the feelings as well as to the thoughts; and that both are terms in its comprehension. Reason with us means not one act or one method of knowledge, but the entire constitution of the mind, fitting it to feel and know, know and feel, in one complex, appreciative act. Color has as certainly to do with revelation in the physical world as white light; affections are as necessary a part of higher knowledge as insights. But affections demand insights, and lead to deeper insights.

An emotional process that separates itself from its fitting intellectual terms will shortly miscarry even on its emotional side. What the Christian world greatly needs to learn is to uniformly sustain these two processes of emotion and contemplation—which are truly one—by each other. Nor does the fact that belief is in most minds the product of historic and social forces that have received no explicit and sufficient statement in terms of reason, alter the relation of inspiration to religious truth. In the degree in which faith, belief, is occupied with the correction and justification of opinion by reason, will it demand clear conceptions; and in the degree in which it is an energy, rooted in the constitution of the mind and in its social dependencies, it is not referable to supernatural inspiration, but to an immense aggregate of obscure natural tendencies.

The theory of inspiration now urged, as in itself the most reasonable, leads also to the most reasonable results. There no sooner arises a higher criticism, that is, a bolder and freer criti-

cism, than it comes in conflict at once with the ordinary notion of inspiration ; and an antagonism springs up between them. We may not accept all the results of this criticism ; we may in fact accept comparatively few of them ; but the inquiry, the sifting, the judging go on the more rapidly and successfully when depth and freedom of insight are felt to be the one condition of discerning the truth and of inspiration under the truth.

The moment the mind is subjected to any pressure, its vision becomes fantastic, like that of a distorted eye-ball. Religious thought is especially liable to extravagant forms ; and this fact is largely due to the current theory of inspiration. When one feels that he must enforce his conviction by pure reason, he will be attentive to reason ; but when he can evoke a divine authority for any foolish literalism he may entertain, there is no end to the possibilities of absurdity. No branch of knowledge, therefore, shows so many, so fantastic and so violent freaks of thought as religion.

This view of revelation is also the most reverential. It reverences God in his great work of creation and historic guidance ; and it inquires devoutly into this guidance, expecting to learn more and more concerning it, and to share increasingly, day by day, its manifold impulses. The mind feels profoundly that it has not attained the truth ; that it knows nothing as yet perfectly ; that it has ever occasion to press forward to the mark of its high calling. When revelation, in its current interpretation, seems to it in conflict with reason, that is with other forms of well understood truth, it does not venture on the presumption of enforcing this interpretation. It says at once, Here is some error. Truth is never in conflict with itself, never otherwise than admirable, nothing less than pure light. We must hold our conclusions in abeyance, till we attain farther and better knowledge. Some systems of theology seem to delight in saddling absurdities, incongruities, and even tyrannies, on the divine scheme, as if they thereby made signal their own faith,—their faith in accepting such an incompatible compound of incongruous ideas. True reverence will say, We have not yet reached the truth. Let us wait till we understand the subject, till it justifies itself to reason. If a

friend is accused of tergiversation and falsehood, I show my confidence in him to the best advantage, not by defending the alleged actions, but by declining to accept the statements without farther inquiry.

We believe also that inspiration as the normal activity of the mind under the truth—an activity of every measure, never complete, always waiting to be complete—best expounds the facts of Scripture. Many portions of Scripture are inconsistent with any other view; all portions are consistent with this view. The book of Job is a beautiful poem, portraying the perplexed thoughts of good men in reference to the divine government; a perplexity only partially overcome. Proverbs, in large parts of it, stands for just such a collection of current moral insight and practical wisdom as finds parallels in the history of any cultivated nation. Ecclesiastes is made up of profound error and those flashes of light which are not wholly shut out by a perverted view. There is no more atheistic sentiment than the refrain, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*. When we judge God's work in that fashion, we are far from him. Solomon's Song is an erotic poem of literary merit, yet trembling on the verge of excess.

We the more readily undertake this enforcement of later and, as we believe, larger convictions concerning the holy canon, because they favor a more rational doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth. A great deal of what we can hardly characterize otherwise than as superstition, lingers in the average Christian mind regarding the action of the Holy Spirit. Christians pray often and earnestly for an out-pouring of the Holy Spirit. There is perhaps no one petition which is more constant with the devout spirit. This prayer, then, should be thoroughly understood, both in its own meaning and in the conditions which it calls for. A very just and pure sentiment usually underlies this prayer; yet the petition often lacks that clear insight and well-ordered action, which are requisite to make it effectual as well as fervent. There are psychological, social, historical forces which concur in a marked degree in any extended and full out-pouring of the Holy Spirit; that is, in any movement in which religious truth gains a fresh hold on the minds and hearts of men. Religious men

are so wedded to favorite phrases, and so rarely inquire with carefulness what they cover, that they experience a certain shock in hearing an "out-pouring of the Divine Spirit" termed a psychological, social, and historic fact. Nor would we wish to recommend the expression except as drawing renewed attention to words losing force by frequent use. We must often shift our language, if we wish to reach the ideas that underlie it. The constitution of the human mind and of society, and the general procedure of salvation, are all involved in any marked action of truth. So-called "out-pourings" are often of a transient and ineffective order, because these lines of conditions do not concur in them. A sympathetic and narrowly social movement, called a revival, often fails, at least in part, of its object, because it is no more deeply implanted in the thoughts of men, or in the order of events. Paul was truly inspired, was habitually at work with the Divine Spirit, because psychological, social, and historical forces were profoundly and constantly felt by him. The reformation was an epoch in human development, because these same forces, through such a stretch of time and over so large a territory, concurred in it. Revivals call for nothing more urgently than for this close union with the current thoughts of men, the present relations of society, and the moral forces historic in the times. A revival, truly rational, in which reason is raised to the fervor of insight and obedience, is our constant want, and the highest fruit of the Holy Spirit.

God is revealed in the physical world. He has also been revealed in a high and peculiar sense in the rational world in the soul of man, in Christ. But there is another revelation, we have been told, even more needful than this, the revelation of the Spirit of Truth. This revelation we believe to be the sense of an invisible, pervasive presence of wisdom and of love,—of reason working toward all high ends of life—found in all things, separately and conjointly, informing them all in their unfolding, and bearing them all onward both in inward spiritual force and outward form toward the Kingdom of Heaven. This is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth. There is no admissible antithesis between the physical facts of the world hourly developing under a spiritual life,

daily pushed into higher ministrations under the comprehensive, divine thought, and the Spirit of Truth. The revelation of that Spirit is the breaking down of any such antitheses, is the discovery of a universal, spiritual presence, the concurrent force of all relations, the propelling energy of all events, and the final light of reason falling upon them all, disclosing them all as of unmeasured spiritual scope and grace. A doctrine of the Holy Spirit which plants us in the world, as acting on us and acted on by us; in society, as waiting to be built up in the beauty of holiness; in history, as the active expression of the divine method and work, and so helps us to find and feel everywhere the informing divine life, is a sending unto us the Divine Comforter.

It is not words that we want, but words that have the force of laws, and which disclose the historic facts about us on their spiritual side. This was the part the prophets played. They interpreted the moral world that then was to itself; they saw from what it had sprung and to what it was leading. Their words laid hold on the inner force of facts; they involved insight and called out insight. Any man is prophetic who thus penetrates to the spiritual principles that are operative about him.

Science has greatly changed the world. Instead of an opaque mass with, here and there, some orderly construction wrought out upon it, it has become transparent to intellectual light. The light penetrates it in all directions, and in all directions it is radiant with ideas. Poetry transfigures the world still more emotionally. Passion and affection, pure and tender sentiment, are felt as everywhere present in it, and it throbs with a life answering to all that is most subtle and spiritual in the life of man. Religious insight is not science nor poetry simply. It is both science and poetry carried into the highest fields of thought; and there, with no loss of knowledge, breaking bounds, overleaping the hard limits of proof, and extending themselves into the region of faith and love. What the seed is in its exact anatomy to the flower, in its color, odor, beauty, and rapid changes of form, that exact knowledge is, under spiritual insight, to the thoughts and affections of the pure spirit, flowing freely out, toward and

with the light. Science has no measurements for the beauty of the flower, no matter how much it knows about the species to which it belongs. Knowledge gives us no determination of the limits of spiritual life, no matter in how many directions it has settled its underlying conditions.

The Spirit of Truth is the spirit of deepest import which abides in the constructive order of the world ; in the spiritual constitution of man ; in the two in their interaction in the grand historic flow of events in which they unite, and which they carry forward toward the Kingdom of Heaven. Insight, interpretation, a mind and heart that keep step with progress ; that move rhythmically with the divine thought ; to whom all things are a revelation,—a word spoken from the depth of the divine wisdom—this is inspiration, and an inspiration to which an Omnipresent Spirit is ever ministering.

Some clouds are succulent of light and color. They seem to drink them up from the clear heavens about them. They lie restfully in the light ; they give forth what is given them in new volume and with new glory. They are an image of the tenuous thoughts, the extended sensibilities of an inspired spirit, gathering form within themselves, and reposing tranquilly in the light of the spiritual world. Truth is not remote, revelation is not wanting ; all that we need is a spiritual nature that can receive the truth, that can walk with God in the garden of the world, that can live and move and have its being in the divine presence—the Spirit of Truth. Righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit ; is not this righteousness, peace, and joy in those things and with those events which encompass us as the divine will ?

“ Nature awakes ! a rapturous tone.
Still different, still the same,—
Eternal effluence from the throne
Of Him without a name.”

ARTICLE VII.—THE OLD ACADEMIES.

I.

As several old academies have had public celebrations the past year, it may be a matter of interest to notice some facts respecting their history and character. What are we to understand by the term "Academy" and the phrase "Old Academies?" The term academy had its origin 2250 years ago. It was the name of a grove near Athens where Plato taught those who came to him for instruction. The word has been adopted in nearly all countries, and is used at the present day in a variety of ways, as, for illustration, academy of arts and sciences, academy of music, academy of medicine, etc.

But the term academy, placed at the head of this paper, has a different application. It refers to a class of educational institutions which started in the times of the revolutionary war. It is very important that we have a clear and definite idea of their origin and character. In 1763 a school was started in Byfield in Massachusetts, called the "Dummer School." In 1778 another school was started at Andover, Mass., called the "Phillips School," but in October, 1780, this name was changed, and the institution was incorporated by the general court as "Phillips Academy." No reasons for this change are given in the life of Mr. Phillips nor in the proceedings of the general court. It is evident Mr. Phillips and other parties interested consulted together on the subject, and, as the term academy had been applied to a class of educational institutions in England, supported by the dissenters, they decided to apply the same name to a similar class of schools in New England. Thus, in 1782, the Dummer School at Byfield was incorporated as "Dummer Academy," and in 1784 a new school at Leicester was incorporated as "Leicester Academy."

In 1782, an academy was established at Exeter, N. H., called also "Phillips Academy," after the Hon. John Phillips, who gave liberally for its endowment. This school has been distinguished for having had only three or four principals from

its commencement, and, for fitting so many young men for Harvard University. As we are more familiar with the history of these institutions in Massachusetts our discussion of the subject will be confined chiefly to this State.

Between the years 1780 and 1784 twelve academies were incorporated in Massachusetts. This was a most eventful period in history. It was at the close of the revolutionary war, when great interests were at stake, involving the highest welfare of the people. War-times had developed strong men—men of extraordinary talent and character. Though the clergy in earlier times had been foremost in their influence, it happened at this period that laymen took the lead in directing not only the affairs of State, but in moulding and establishing educational institutions. The projection and incorporation of these academies was in a great measure the work of their hands.

Our Puritan fathers were wise and sagacious men. From their early training and knowledge of institutions in their fatherland, they saw the importance of establishing educational institutions here upon a right basis. They had a profound appreciation of learning, of fine scholarship in the classics and of a thorough knowledge of the higher English branches. They knew what such attainments were in the old country, and the influence they had upon society there. They saw the importance of establishing schools in this country whereby young men could be trained up and become scholars of the highest order. The result of the course laid out proved their wisdom and forethought.

The word "old," applied here to "academy," is very appropriately used, as four of these institutions have already celebrated their centennials. Another reason for the use of "old" is that very many of these academies ceased to exist long ago, and some of them continued only a few years after their incorporation. Besides, such is the rapid change of most organizations at the present day, that those which have existed very many years seem old.

In establishing these academies, the founders had certain fundamental points in view which deserve careful consideration. They were not intended for any one town or city, but were to be distributed in different localities, so that there

might be from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants in the immediate region of each school. It was intended that they should be endowed by the State or by the contributions of individuals, to such an extent as to command the highest class of teachers, and at the same time pupils should pay a moderate tuition. It was intended that they should be governed by a board of trustees, residing in different localities and composed partly of learned men in the professions and partly of laymen skilled in finance and successful in business, all giving their services from their deep interest in education. These academies were to be open to all classes—alike to the rich and the poor,—without distinction shown to rank, race, or sect. Young men were to be thoroughly fitted in these academies for the college or university, and others in the higher English branches for teachers or departments of business. These academies came in between the university and the common or grammar schools, making virtually a college for the middling class of people. It was intended that they should be scattered in every county throughout the whole State.

That the plan of establishing this class of institutions was favorably received by the people, is evident from the fact that a large number were soon incorporated. From 1780 to 1800 there were fourteen academies incorporated, and from that date to 1850, almost one hundred more were incorporated, being located in all parts of the State. The scheme was too popular—it was overdone. Almost every large town wanted such a school located in it. The original plan was not strictly adhered to, and it was soon discovered that there were altogether too many academies. Several that were incorporated never went into operation; others had a short existence. Some were changed in character and became female seminaries, and others were converted into high schools. Some of these academies, being favorably located and adhering to the original plan, flourished for many years, but finally from untoward circumstances, were obliged to suspend. Others having endowments and being wisely managed have had a very successful career, and are still prospering. But what has operated to the injury of these academies more than anything else, has been the general introduction of high schools into all large places.

The establishment of high schools was encouraged by boards of education, and sought for very generally by the people. In completing the common school system this grade of schools seemed necessary, especially in cities. As high schools were brought virtually to the doors of the people and their advantages were furnished free of expense to all, it was natural that they should be well patronized and in time, displace private schools. Thus a majority of the academies were superseded by high schools in this State, but in other States where the high school has not been so generally introduced, many of the academies have flourished. A few in our own State have had a prosperous career and may still be said to be in a flourishing condition. The fact that so many of these academies have run out or been displaced by the high school, furnishes no evidence that these institutions did not possess real merit, nor that they did not do a great work. In some respects these institutions possessed certain advantages superior to those of the high school, and therefore are deserving a thoughtful consideration.

It may be well to state definitely what the objects of their founders were :

1. Our Puritan fathers intended that these academies should be so located that no one place could monopolize their advantages.

2. They intended that there should be sufficient endowment so as to reduce the expense of tuition, and thus encourage persons of moderate means. They did not believe in furnishing such education as an entire gratuity to young people.

3. They believed that a decided moral and religious training should be made a part and parcel of this higher education for the young.

4. In establishing these academies they aimed to make provisions whereby a high standard of scholarship, both classical and English, could be obtained.

5. A fundamental principle governing our Puritan fathers in establishing these academies was that their advantages should be brought within the reach of all classes alike, without the least distinction.

6. It was intended that the government of these academies

should be placed in a board of trustees residing in different localities, and appointed on account of special qualifications.

These six principles were fundamental. An examination into the history of these academies, especially of those which have proved successful, will show that they were preëminently governed by these principles. We believe these academies were the best institutions ever devised for educating young women and young men so as to secure the highest objects of life. We might refer to the results as the fruits of their history. If we could cite the example or summon the testimony of the thousands and ten thousands who have graduated at these academies, what evidence or demonstrations could be more conclusive? But the reasons, the why and the wherefore, for the superiority of this class of schools, may prove more instructive than the largest possible array of personal example and testimony. In giving these reasons, it may not be unprofitable to compare certain features, or factors in the academy with corresponding points in the high school, which, in most places throughout the State, has superseded or taken the place of the academy.

At this point of the discussion it should be premised that the age from twelve to eighteen, in every young man or young woman, is the most critical, the most important period in education. The whole future life depends much upon the habits formed, the motives governing, and the standards, moral and intellectual, that are brought to influence the pupil at this age. Character is formed more rapidly and permanently during these years than at any other time. It is a period when growth and changes, the greatest and most radical, take place in the physical system, which have a powerful influence upon success in after life. The importance of securing a sound and vigorous constitution and developing all parts of the body cannot be over-estimated. To do this the muscles must be exercised, while in a state of growth. The individual should be more or less thrown upon his own resources, and be encouraged, if not compelled, to a certain extent, to take care of himself, or herself. It is only in this way that physical strength and health can be secured. The brain should not be developed at the expense of the body. While pursuing studies and

obtaining knowledge, special pains should be taken that the physical system receive its proper growth and strength—that the physical and mental be developed and trained harmoniously.

This important fact should constantly be borne in mind, that when young men and young women reach the age of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen, they should begin to think and act for themselves. While they may be guided in their plans and assisted in carrying them out, they should be thrown more or less upon their own resources. Their highest interests demand it. Two or three years at this period constitute frequently the crises, the turning points, which decide the whole life and character of young persons.

Now the academy possessed the means and furnished the appeals which were adapted to arouse the energies and excite the ambition of young people. It was peculiarly calculated to suggest new motives for study and activity, and start inquiries in the minds of the young, if they ought not to make and do something in the world. They can attend the academy one term, one year, or more; but they must pay tuition, furnish books, and make provision for board. This requires physical exercise and mental energy, combined with self-reliance. It may be the young man or woman must find temporarily a new home and make new acquaintances. In the academy the pupils come together all on an equality, without distinction as to family or means, forming a pure democracy.

In establishing the academy system our Puritan fathers did not believe that education should be entirely a gratuitous commodity. The question of free schools and free tuition was discussed at the very start of these academies, and they decided to adopt no such course. They believed that the common school, or primary and grammar, should be free to all, and should be supported by taxation, but when the pupil had passed through these schools, and wished to secure higher instruction, he should pay something towards it. At that age, he has reached a period when he can earn something and help himself. This raises a very practical and important question. What is the effect upon body and mind of free, continuous schooling of young persons till eighteen or twenty years of age. While there may be the advantages of a superior education obtained,

there are radical evils. The young person during all this time is dependent upon his parents. His wants are supplied without much exertion or self-denial; he is not induced or compelled to make plans or calculations for future life. The young man or woman grows up with a weak body, a very active brain and a predominance of the nervous temperament, a species of physical degeneracy. Hard work, close confinement, self-denial, and an economical manner of living do not suit the organization of a person thus trained. His tastes, his wants, and the style of living sought are not so easily obtained or satisfied. Such an education is not sufficiently practical, nor healthful, nor self-supporting, but is too theoretical, too artificial and fashionable.

There is another element which the academies formerly taught, and do generally at the present day, the formation of a high-toned moral and religious character. No educational system is complete or develops properly the mental faculties without some positive moral and religious instruction. This was a marked feature, a primary object, in the organization of the old academy, and in all those institutions that still exist and flourish, religious instruction and influence are prominent features. The education of the intellect alone is not a wise or safe course to pursue. The strongest and most powerful motives for influencing human action and character come from the moral and religious faculties; and therefore in no educational system, especially in the higher class of schools, should the training of these faculties be ignored or neglected. Such a course does not harmonize with the laws of the physical system or with the highest order of mental development. While educating the intellectual faculties the moral and religious should at the same time be so trained as to bring the individual under the highest class of motives. In this way only can the body and mind be developed to their fullest extent.

In preparing for the duties and responsibilities of life, it is of the highest importance that the right kind of education be secured. There are things to be learned and acquisitions to be made which are of more value than mere book-knowledge. As an educator, the old academy possessed in this respect

superior advantages. It taught the value of learning, that it cost something; that the pupil who paid for it, who made some exertion, some self-denial to secure it, made a far better use of such knowledge. The old academy was peculiarly calculated to develop a manliness of character and to beget an ambition, a determination to make and do something.

In examining the history of men or women who have reached very prominent positions in society or become at all distinguished as writers or scholars, we find almost invariably that in early life they had to exert themselves, practice self-denial and overcome many obstacles. The secret of their success and distinction arose from habits early formed, from the fact that they were obliged to help themselves. In this way a stronger and more healthy physical system is developed, connected with a will-power, an energy and self-reliance which are indispensable for success.

It may be said that the academy as an educator was better adapted to former times and not so well suited to the present day, when population is far more condensed and greater numbers relatively are seeking a higher education who have not the means. It may be said, too, that the best interests of society and of the State demand that education in its broadest extent should be generously provided for all, by taxation, compelling those who have means and no families or children to contribute to it.

While we would appreciate the vast amount of good which high schools have accomplished, and are still doing, we cannot regard the system as perfect or devoid of all inherent evils. In a brief summary of these evils, our remarks will be confined to three points:

1. Its charitable aspect or freedom from expense. The principle is the same, and human nature is governed by the same laws, as when, one hundred years ago, our Puritan ancestors decided that education above what the common school afforded should not be entirely gratuitous. When young men or young women reach an age that they can earn money and become self-supporting, if they wish to pursue studies with special reference to the professions, to public business or the higher walks of life, is it not for their interests, as well as just to others,

that they should pay something toward with human nature generally, or more people be expected to appreciate and favors bestowed upon them without any part, for which they render neither equivalent? What greater favors or richer expenses of the high school?

2. The costs of the high school, it is extravagance, certainly in many instances this kind can be brought against the school. The expenses here come mainly from the individuals. The buildings are simple and good. The salaries of teachers are moderate, and of students is considerably less, we think, instruction in the high school, though we have at hand to make the comparison. The extra in the erection of buildings, especially in cities.

3. But one of the greatest, the most powerful against the high school is its effect upon the mind. It begets a predominance of the brain and neglects out developing or strengthening the muscles. It is indispensable in order to discharge successfully the duties of life. It has been stated that the years from twelve to twenty every young man or woman are the most important for physical development. Scarcely any high school provides by way of gymnastics or other means for exercise and health.

This argument will not be appreciated because in all its relations to mind, to health and life is not as it should be. Let one thoroughly and impartially investigate this argument in all its bearings, he will be convinced not only of its truth, but that it has an infinitely far-reaching influence that cannot easily be compensated by the community at large and the present generation only suffers from this mode of education. In order to secure the most of human life and character, and at the same time secure the greatest amount of happiness, a sound mind, trained and preserved, is indispensable. Such an education is also surely necessary in order to transmit qualities that ennoble and exalt the character of those who come after.

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ARTICLE I.—THE RECENT CHANGE IN THE ACADEMIC
CURRICULUM AT YALE.

PAGES 122-127 of the present number of the *NEW ENGLANDER* are copied from pages 58-62 of the *Catalogue of Yale College* for 1884-85; they contain the table and descriptive notes which present and briefly explain the Elective Courses now open to Juniors and Seniors of the Academical Department. They therefore exhibit partially a change in the course of study and instruction in that department which all the graduates of the College will probably regard as the most important and comprehensive one of the kind made at any single time during the history of the College. The plan of the new course was perfected during the College year of 1883-84, and inaugurated, so far as was possible for the first year of its trial, at the beginning of the current term. The design of the following paper is simply to state the facts with regard to the grounds, nature, and apparent effects of this important change.

I. The most definite and influential Reasons for undertaking at once so comprehensive a change, were the following:

(1.) It seemed necessary to give the modern languages—or rather these two modern languages, German and French—a new position and emphasis in the course of College instruction. Without contesting at all the claim of the ancient classics to be superior to all other literature for serving certain purposes of culture by the study of language, the fact was also recognized that a working knowledge of German and French has become almost indispensable to the modern student. Such a knowledge, however, cannot well be gained by beginning one of these languages so late in the College course as the Junior year, and then continuing this language for only a single year in connection with more exacting studies; the time to begin the modern languages lies further back. It also seemed very desirable that at least the more forward and earnest of the students should be able to use these languages with some freedom in the studies of the later years of their College course.

(2.) It seemed necessary to relieve the Senior year from the extreme pressure of multiform new, interesting and difficult studies, into which it had been brought by the great growth of

the College. For a score of years the number of new instructors and departments of instruction had been rapidly multiplying. The introduction of an increased variety of studies and of the more exacting modern way of pursuing those studies, had overburdened Senior year. New courses in philosophy, political science, law, and history,—considered as belonging especially to the finishing year of the College course,—had been crowded into this time; and the ancient classics, the physical and natural sciences, and the polite literature of modern times, were all justly complaining that even those students who ardently desired to pursue such subjects in advanced lines of study, were debarred from doing so by the prescribed courses of the year. The demand for a change in the studies of Senior year was obvious and pressing.

(3.) Closely connected with the foregoing reason for change was another. The same causes which had operated to crowd the Senior year with varied new studies, had also made a considerable part of the whole College course somewhat heterogeneous and wanting in constructive plan. It seemed impossible to many of the teachers themselves to give an adequate reason why some branches should be required in the course rather than others, or why just such a place and just so much of time should be allotted to this particular study rather than to another. A strong desire was therefore felt to take some decided step toward the unifying of the plan of instruction in accordance with certain fixed and defensible principles.

(4.) It was the conviction of the most experienced teachers of the College that more allowance should be made for the tastes, contemplated pursuits, and aptitudes of the individual student. It was still the judgment of much the greater number of these teachers that the earlier part of a College course should consist chiefly, if not wholly, of prescribed and so-called disciplinary studies. But it was also their judgment that much larger freedom of choice—with *as little inducement or chance for caprice, change from unworthy motives and self-indulgent ease as is possible*—should be given to students in the later part of this course. Moreover, the former system of allowing Juniors and Seniors only four hours per week of optional study was evidently working to the great injury of certain departments of instruction. It was nearly impossible to induce students who had only such limited choice, to exercise it for the continued study of the

ancient classics, or of the physical sciences, or of mathematics, or of philosophy. Even those especially fond of such subjects left them when they were brought into competition with other new and attractive studies, the opportunity to pursue which had never come before in the life of the student, and would probably never come again.

These four considerations of fact were the definite and almost compulsory reasons for instituting a comprehensive change.

II. The Nature of the change actually accomplished by the new course of study was determined by the reasons above mentioned.

(1.) German and French are now placed at the beginning of the College course, and given a larger amount of time in the prescribed studies of the first two years of this course, together with increased opportunity for pursuing them further at the option of the student. On and after 1885, every candidate for admission to College must present either German or French, at his option, and show ability to translate at sight easy prose in the language which he chooses to present. Not to increase suddenly and too much the burden of preparation for the College, a slight but temporary reduction was made in the amount of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, required for admission. In Freshman year (in and after 1885-6) every student is required to take one of these two modern languages, three hours a week for twenty-three weeks, and two hours a week for the rest of the year, with a choice between advanced French, advanced German, and elementary German. In Sophomore year every student is required to take one of the same modern languages two hours a week through the entire year, with the same kind of choice between them. After the close of Sophomore year any student may elect courses in modern languages for Junior and Senior years, from the following tables, under the conditions which belong to the studies of those years. The time used for the required study of German or French in the Freshman and Sophomore years was gained by an equal reduction of the time formerly allowed to each of the studies still prescribed for those years; namely, from Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. It is now required, then, of every graduate of the College that he shall have studied a modern language three years (counting the amount required for preparation to enter the College at one year); and any graduate, if he

has so chosen, may have spent the amount of five or more years of study in such language. This plan certainly ought to make all the graduates tolerably familiar with either French or German; it ought also to produce a considerable number of men in each class who will leave the College well equipped to make free and profitable use of works in these languages for assistance in the pursuit of professional studies or of special scientific and literary researches.

(2.) The nature of the new course of study, so far as it was planned in view of the last three of the reasons for a change which were enumerated above, may be explained by stating the opportunities and requirements for the Junior and Senior years as now offered and constituted. In both these years certain courses of study are prescribed for all the members of each of these two classes; certain other courses are offered from which a selection can be made. The amount of so-called class-room work in the prescribed courses for Junior year is seven hours per week; in addition to these each member of this class must take eight hours per week in the elective courses of the year (see table p. 122). The amount of class-room work in the one course prescribed for all members of the Senior class is three hours per week; in addition each member of this class must select twelve hours per week from the elective courses of this year (see table p. 123). Of the elective courses, some run through the entire year (whether Junior or Senior) and are marked "continued," in the second column on the same line with the statement of the course (see tables.) Such "continued courses," when elected cannot be abandoned during the year. Other elective courses run through only one term. "No course can be entered, save at its beginning, unless upon examination and with the consent of the instructor."

The prescribed courses of Junior and Senior years are all taken from two general departments of study; namely, from the physical and natural sciences, and from psychological science including Ethics, with kindred considerations upon the Evidences of Religion. To this extent, then, a given amount of time is required by the College to be spent by each student in these departments of study. It may be presumed that this requirement is made upon the principle which regards about so much of just these subjects as an indispensable part of the education to be given by the College. Beyond these subjects, each student may decide for himself what subjects he will pursue; but the College

undertakes to say that he must study the subjects of his choice in a certain order and with a certain method, and that he must accomplish in the aggregate at least a certain amount of work before he can graduate. In the physical and natural sciences a thorough course in Physics, and one term each in Astronomy and Geology are prescribed. Physics has incontestable claims to be *the one* of these sciences to be prescribed (if *only one* is to be prescribed); since it is fundamental and introductory to all such sciences, and is admirably adapted to do the most desirable thing for every College student,—namely, to give him some clear conception of “science” as such and of scientific method. It may be argued that Astronomy should be studied as the best representative of the application of mathematics to natural phenomena; and geology as the most interesting and comprehensive of the descriptive sciences of nature. Psychology and Ethics—or the study of mind as capable of thought and moral action—is prescribed, because such study is fundamental and preparatory to all the studies which deal with man in his relations to himself, to his fellows, and to God. They are also indispensable for the formation of intelligent and right opinion upon the most important subjects. These studies begin with the second term of Junior year and continue, three hours per week, through the entire course; they include the special subjects of Logic, Psychology, Ethics, and the Evidences of Religion.

It is believed a careful consideration of the new curriculum will show that, in the main, it removes the objections felt to the curriculum which it supercedes; and that it furnishes an opportunity for a very stimulating, attractive, and fruitful student life. It seems also, in a commendable degree, to be rational and symmetrical. It is not claimed or supposed by even those who labored most diligently to institute and perfect it, that it is beyond all objection or final in its form. A perfect and final course of College study is, if not an unattainable ideal, at present an impossible achievement. It is also believed that the new course guards carefully and wisely against caprice, shallowness, and that feeling of revolt toward the necessity of paying a large price in patient and continuous industry for all his solid mental attainments, to which the American College student is tempted so strongly.

III. The Effects of the new course of study cannot, of course, be spoken of without a certain appearance of being premature.

A considerable time will be required to test its more permanent effects. But already those who are most familiar with the facts think they can discern certain indubitable results of its operation. It is a pleasant thing to say that thus far these results are all of the most encouraging kind.

(1.) The students have responded with unexpected wisdom and manliness to the new trust which has been placed in them by enlarging so much their power of choice. The word "unexpected" is used here as defining the experience even of those who previously had a good expectation of what the students would do if this enlarged power of choice were given to them. The selections of elective courses made by the Juniors and Seniors for the current term have, as a rule, shown surprisingly little disposition to favor solely those options which are, in college talk, called "soft." Doubtless, some have carried out the intention of making everything as "soft" as possible for themselves. But the choices, in fact, do not as yet show the existence of any such intention in any considerable number of cases; they show rather the very reverse. A statement of the selections made for the current term is here appended. In understanding the statement, the reader should keep in mind that all the Juniors and Seniors have already been required for years to study Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and that they know on making their selections that they will be required to study for two years more certain subjects in the departments of physical science and psychology. The options in these subjects are, therefore, choices to take *more* than a certain considerable amount of work required in such subjects. The numbers of the statement indicate "choices," and are to be interpreted as showing how the different elective courses were patronized, so to speak, by the 125 Seniors and the 149 Juniors of the undergraduate Academical Department.

In Mental and Moral Science there were 72 choices—22 in Physiological Psychology, 30 in the History of Philosophy, 20 in Logic; all in the Senior Class. In Political Economy there were 112 choices in the two courses open; all in the Senior Class. In English History there were 127 choices among the Seniors, and 63 in Roman History among the Juniors. In the Modern Languages, including the study of English Literature, there were 447 choices made by both Juniors and Seniors; and of these, 75 were in advanced German, 40 in advanced French, 30 in advanced English,—almost all among the Seniors, and 101 in Ele-

mentary German, 80 in Elementary French, 96 in Elementary English,—almost all among the Juniors. [When the new course of study is in full operation with respect to the modern languages, neither elementary French nor elementary German will be offered in Junior year, and, all the students having had two years of the modern languages already required in the college course by the close of Sophomore year, the number of choices in these languages will be largely diminished.] In the Classics and Linguistics there were 73 choices, of which 34 were in Latin, and 39 in Greek,—these classes being composed of both Juniors and Seniors. In Natural and Physical Science there were 103 choices, of which 78 were in Geology. [In this case also the numbers are likely to be diminished next year, when the Senior Class will already have had a term of Geology prescribed in their Junior year.] In Mathematics there were 17 choices.

(2.) The new course relieves the instructors of the two lower classes from two hours—or in some cases, from three hours—of work per week in teaching the required studies of those classes. They are thus enabled and encouraged to offer to the upper classes optional courses in the subjects to which they have given especial attention. These courses enrich the opportunities furnished by the College, and the preparation of them is a stimulus and discipline to the instructors themselves. Other instructors may employ the time thus secured in giving advanced instruction to those members of the Freshman and Sophomore classes who come best prepared, or are, for other reasons, able to make more rapid advancement than their fellows.

(3.) Increased willingness in study, and even a new and marked enthusiasm on the part of a considerable number of the students, is another effect of the new course already realized. Nothing could prove this more conclusively than the fact that the choices of the Senior class for next term show fully forty per cent. of the men to have voluntarily chosen more work than they are required to take. It is the testimony of the instructors in general that the entire body of students in the upper classes—perhaps especially the Senior class—is more attentive, regular, interested, and even eager than ever before.

(4.) More intimate and effective relations are secured in many cases between teachers and pupils; because the size of the classes can be made smaller, the bond has become more like one of com-

mon interest, and the instruction is made more prolonged (in the courses which run through the entire year) and cumulative.

It will probably be found that this new course will in time make large demands upon the Alumni and friends of the College to give funds to extend the range of studies, to increase the number of teachers, and to make the whole College more attractive and every way effective than it has hitherto been able to be. The change appeals therefore for a considerate and generous support.

ELECTIVE COURSES.

JUNIOR YEAR.

Group.	Course No.	FIRST TERM.	Hours per week.	SECOND TERM.
		Subject.		Subject.
Mental and Moral Science.	1			
	2			
	3			
	4			
Political Science.	5			
	6			
	7			
	8			
History.	9			
	10			Prof. Tarbell, Greek History,.....
	11	Mr. Tighe, Hist. of the Roman Empire,....	2	Prof. Bendelari, Hist. of Middle Ages,.....
	12			Prof. Dexter, American History,.....
Modern Languages.	13			
	14			
	15			
	16			
	17	Mr. Ripley, German, with Seniors,.....	3	Continued,.....
	18	Mr. Ripley, German, with Seniors,.....	3	Continued,.....
	19	Prof. Bendelari, French,.....	3	Continued,.....
	20	Prof. Bendelari, Italian,.....	3	Continued,.....
	21	Prof. Knapp, French, with Seniors,.....		
	22	Mr. Whitney, English Literature,.....	3	Mr. McLaughlin, English Literature,.....
	23			Continued,.....
	24	Prof. Beers, Anglo-Saxon and English,.....	2	
Classics and Linguistics.	25			
	26			
	27	Prof. Knapp, Spanish, with Seniors,.....		
	28			
	29	Prof. Peck, Tacitus,.....	3	Continued, Lucretius and Vergil,.....
	30	Prof. Peck, Horace,.....	3	
	31			Prof. Peck, Cicero and Quintilian,.....
	32	Prof. Peck, Latin Composition,.....	2	Continued,.....
	33	Prof. H. P. Wright, Plautus,.....	2	
	34	Prof. Seymour, Phaedo of Plato,.....	2	
	35			Prof. Seymour, Republic of Plato,.....
	36	Prof. Seymour, Pindar,.....	2	
	37			Prof. Seymour, Homer,.....
	38	Prof. Seymour, Homer,.....	2	
	39			Prof. Seymour, Greek Inscriptions,.....
	40			Prof. Seymour, Theocritus,.....
	41			
	42			
	43			
	44			
Natural and Physical Science.	45	Prof. J. K. Thacher, Zoology,.....	4	
	46			Prof. Eaton, Botany,.....
	47			
	48			
	49			
	50			
	51			
	52			
Mathematics.	53			
	54	Prof. Richards, Differential Calculus,.....	4	Prof. Newton, Integral Calculus,.....
	55	Prof. Phillips, Projections,.....	2	
	56			Prof. Phillips, Projections,.....
	57			
	58			Prof. Beebe, Theoretical Astronomy,.....
	59			
	60			
	61			

ELECTIVE COURSES.

SENIOR YEAR.

Group.	Course No.	FIRST TERM.	Hours per week.	SECOND TERM.	Hours per week.
		Subject.		Subject.	
Mental and Moral Science.	1			The President, Philosophy,	2
	2	Prof. Ladd, Physiological Psychology,	2	Continued,	2
	3	Prof. Ladd, History of Philosophy,	2	Continued,	2
	4	Prof. Tarbell, Logic,	1		
Political Science.	5	Prof. Sumner, Polit. Econ.; Short Course,	3	Continued,	2
	6	Prof. Sumner, Polit. Econ.; Long Course,	2	Prof. Sumner, Advanced Polit. Econ.,	2
	7			Prof. Phelps, Municipal Law,	2
	8			Prof. Phelps, International Law,	1
History.	9				
	10			Course 10 open to Seniors,	
	11				
	12				
	13				
	14	Prof. Wheeler, Modern European Hist.,	4	Continued,	2
	15	Prof. Wheeler, Early Constit. Hist. of Eng.,	2	Continued,	2
	16			Prof. Wheeler, Constit. Hist. of Eng.,	3
	17				
	18	Mr. Ripley, Advanced German,	2	Continued,	2
	19				
	20	Course 20 open to Seniors,		Continued,	
Modern Languages.	21	Prof. Knapp, Advanced French,	3	Continued,	3
	22				
	23				
	24	Course 24 open to Seniors,		Continued,	
	25	Prof. Beers, English Literature,	3	Continued,	3
	26	Prof. Knapp, Old French,	2	Continued,	2
	27	Prof. Knapp, Spanish,	3	Continued,	3
	28	Prof. Bendisari, Advanced Italian,	3	Continued,	3
	29	Course 29 open to Seniors,		Continued,	
	30	Course 30 open to Seniors,			
	31			Course 31 open to Seniors,	
	32	Course 32 open to Seniors,		Continued,	
Classics and Linguistics.	33				
	34	Course 34 open to Seniors,		Course 35 open to Seniors,	
	35				
	36	Course 36 open to Seniors,		Course 37 open to Seniors,	
	37				
	38	Course 38 open to Seniors,		Course 39 open to Seniors,	
	39				
	40				
	41	Prof. T. A. Thacher, Ethics of Cicero [and Seneca,	2	Prof. T. A. Thacher, Cicero and Seneca,	2
	42			Continued,	4
	43	Prof. Whitney, Sanskrit,	4	Prof. Whitney, Linguistics,	1
	44				
	45				
	46	[Crystallography,			
	47	Prof. E. S. Dana, Mineralogy and	2	Continued,	2
	48	Prof. A. W. Wright, Physics, Lab. Work,	2	Continued,	2
Natural and Physical Science.	49	Prof. J. D. Dana, Geology,	2	[Petrography,	
	50			Prof. J. D. & E. S. Dana, Geol. &	2
	51			Prof. Loomis, Meteorology,	2
	52	Prof. Eaton, Pteridology and Bryology,	2		
	53			Chemistry, Lab. Practice,	4
	54	Course 54 open to Seniors,		Continued,	
	55	Course 55 open to Seniors,			
	56			Course 56 open to Seniors,	
Mathematics.	57	Prof. Loomis, Practical Astronomy,	4		
	58			Course 58 open to Seniors,	
	59	[dynamics,		Prof. Newton, Calculus,	2
	60	Prof. Gibbs, Dynamics and Thermo-	2	Continued,	2
	61	Prof. Gibbs, Statics,	2		

NOTES ON THE ELECTIVE COURSES.

The following notes refer by numbers to the schedule, and contain the most essential information about the courses, except where the title of the course renders explanation unnecessary.

1. Special topics in Ethics, etc.
2. A study (illustrated by charts and models) of the human nervous mechanism, of the principal relations which exist between changes in this mechanism and the activities of the mind, and a discussion of the conclusions which may be drawn from these relations respecting the nature and laws of the mind.
3. A brief survey of the development of philosophical thinking from its beginning among the Greeks down to the modern era, a somewhat extended presentation of the philosophy of Kant, by expository lectures upon his works, and a study of several of the more important writers since the time of Kant.
4. Mill's System of Logic; a discussion of Mill's theories of Deduction, Induction, Explanation, and Hypothesis.
- 5 and 6. Lessons in Fawcett (short course) and Mill (long course) and in Richardson's National Banks (both courses), with discussions and lectures, especially on currency, banking, and taxation. The short course is elementary only. The long course is for those who wish to give more time and labor to this subject.
7. Study and discussion of economic problems and fallacies with selected passages from the leading treatises;—open only to those who have taken course 5 or course 6.
- 8 and 9. Courses 8 and 9 will consist of lectures on the origin, history, and general principles of the Common Law, American Constitutional Law, and International Law, based mainly upon the treatises of Robinson, Cooley, and Woolsey, which will be read in connection with the lectures.
10. Outlines of Greek history; in detail, the constitutional history of Athens and the conquests of Alexander.
11. An outline of the history of the Roman Empire from the accession of Antoninus Pius to that of Charlemagne; in detail, 1st, Roman religion to the conversion of Constantine; 2d, Legislation of Justinian; 3d, Rise of Mohammedanism.
12. General history of Continental Europe, mainly France and Germany, from the ninth to the fifteenth century; Lewis's History of Germany; Kitchin's History of France, Vol. I.
13. A summary view of American history down to 1865. Special attention is directed to the colonial period.
14. First term: History of the French Revolution (Mignet); Fyffe's History of Modern Europe, recitations and lectures. Second term: History of Europe since 1815; Müller's Political History of Recent Times; Walpole's History of England since 1815, recitations and lectures.

15. Origin and development of the English Constitution. Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*; Green's or Bright's *History of England*, vol. 1. Recitations, lectures, and discussions. This course is specially designed for those who intend to study law.

16. History of England during the Tudor and Stuart periods. The conflict between self-government and arbitrary power. Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*; Green's or Bright's *History of England*, vol. ii.; with numerous books for reference. Recitations and lectures.

17. Elementary. Whitney's *German Grammar*. Translation from English into German. Readings from narrative prose authors: Grimm, Andersen, Hauff, Zschokke, Heyse, and others.

18. Readings from historical prose; German ballads and lyrics; sight-translation from Freytag and Zschokke. Freytag's "*Die Journalisten*." Selections from Heine's prose.

20. Elementary Italian; Toscani's *Grammar*; de Amicis, *La vita militare*; Manzoni, *I promessi sposi*; Composition.

21. Choix de lectures dans les auteurs des trois derniers siècles, composition et traduction de l'anglais; grammaire à l'époque de la Ligue et changements survenus depuis; conférences familières sur l'hist. de la littérature. Toute instruction exclusivement en français dès la seconde moitié du premier semestre.

22. Welsh's *History of the Development of the English Language and Literature*; Lounsbury's *History of the English Language*, Part 1.

23. Selections from the *Canterbury Tales*; the life of Chaucer and his place in the literature of his age; critical reading of selected plays of Shakspeare.

24. A two years course. Anglo-Saxon and Early English; Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*; Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben*; Beowulf; Earle's *History of Anglo-Saxon Literature*; tenBrink's *Early English Literature*.

25. Bacon; Milton's Prose; Sir Thomas Browne; Selections from the *British Dramatists*; Dryden; Pope; Literature of the 19th century (1830-1860).

27. First year: Instruction in speaking Spanish, and oral translation from English into Spanish. Sight-reading of modern authors. Commercial correspondence. Second year (1885-6): Spanish literature. Instruction exclusively in Spanish.

28. Advanced Italian; Tasso; Modern Plays; Composition; Dante, Boccaccio.

29. First term: Selections from the first six books of the *Annals*: the Latinity of the Silver Age; the character and reign of Tiberius. Second term: Critical and exegetical studies in the *de rerum natura*; papers on the poetry, philosophy, and Latinity of Lucretius; readings from Vergil's different works.

30. Satires and Epistles of Horace.

31. Quintilian, Books 10 and 12; Latin literature; Latin philology; rapid readings from Cicero's orations (or rhetorical works); Roman oratory.

32. Writing and speaking Latin.

34. The *Phædo* of Plato as an introduction to the literary and philosophical study of Plato.

37. The *Iliad* of Homer ; a rapid reading of its principal parts.

38. Introduction to the critical study of the Homeric poems. Lectures on Epic poetry ; the Homeric poems in antiquity and their transmission to the present time ; the Homeric dialect and versification ; life in the Homeric age. Critical interpretation of the first book of the *Iliad*.

39. Exercises on the interpretation of Greek inscriptions, based upon Cauer's *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

43. A first year's instruction in Sanskrit, beginning with the instructor's Sanskrit Grammar, and passing on to Professor Lanman's Reader. A sketch of Sanskrit literature will be given in connection with the exercises during the latter part of the year.

44. A series of exercises—mingled lecture, recitation, and discussion—on the leading topics of the general study of language, following and using as text-book the instructor's *Life and Growth of Language*, will be given if a class of six or more is formed.

45. Dissection of a small number of typical animals. Lectures on classification of animals. Lectures and recitations on physiology. Huxley and Martin's *Elementary Biology* ; Huxley's *Elementary Physiology*.

46. An elementary course in Structural and Systematic Botany.

47. Practical study of the more important mineral species by means of blowpipe analysis and other methods ; mathematical study of crystals by the methods of analytical and spherical geometry ; also the optical properties of crystals including the phenomena exhibited by them in polarized light. Dana's *Text Book of Mineralogy*, 1882.

48. Chiefly practical work in the physical laboratory, with measurements, especially in heat, light, and electricity, each exercise occupying two hours. Recitations of one hour each, upon the theory and methods of physical measurements, will occasionally take the place of the laboratory work. Kohlrausch's *Physical Measurements* ; Everett's *Units and Physical Constants*, etc.

49. Lithological and (in alternate years) Historical or Dynamical Geology. Dana's *Manual* ; recitations and field-excursions.

50. Continuation of course 49 during the first half of the second term. In the second half of the second term this course will be continued by Prof. E. S. Dana as a course in Petrography, including the examination of thin sections of rocks under the microscope. Some preliminary work on the optical properties of minerals will be done by the class.

51. Loomis's *Meteorology*, with daily study of the current weather-maps of the signal service.

52. Limited to six persons who have studied phænogamic Botany. The work will be largely histological, involving the use of the compound microscope.

53. Four exercises a week, of which three are laboratory practice in qualitative and quantitative analysis of three hours each, and one a recitation.

55. Orthographic projection and linear perspective.

56. Advanced work in map-projection.
57. Loomis's Practical Astronomy. Students have the free use of a portable transit-instrument for observations.
58. Calculation of orbits, ephemerides, and perturbations.
59. Definite Integrals, Multiple Integrals, Mean Values and Probability, Differential Equations.
60. Tait and Steele's Dynamics of a Particle. Maxwell's Theory of Heat.
61. Todhunter's Analytical Statics.

ARTICLE II.—PROFESSOR LEWIS R. PACKARD.

IN the record of those who have lived an honorable life at Yale College and rendered an honorable service to the University, the name of Professor LEWIS R. PACKARD deserves a place. A scholar of no ordinary attainments, a teacher whose ability was recognized by the best of his pupils, a college officer of much efficiency and unselfish devotion to the highest interests of the institution, a Christian preacher fitted by his richness of thought and refined taste to meet the wants of cultured minds, he moved onward in his quiet academic career for a quarter of a century, gaining the respect of the entire community and giving to many the elevating thoughts and influences of true scholarly life. The best testimony to what he accomplished is found in the character and lives of those who enjoyed his instructions and his friendship; and they are in all parts of the world and in all lines of useful working. Nothing can be added to what they already know, to tell them what he was. But it is due to his memory that here at his home, and in this Journal which has so often spoken of the life and thoughts of Yale College, a brief story respecting him should be told. There are friends here and everywhere, who will fill out its details from their own pleasant recollections.

The birth-place of Professor Packard was the city of Philadelphia. The date of his birth was the 22d of August, 1836. His father, the late Frederick A. Packard, Esq., after spending the earlier portion of his mature life in Springfield, Mass., where he was successfully engaged in the practice of the law, removed to Philadelphia in the year 1829. The occasion of his change of residence was his election to the office of Secretary of the Ameri-

can Sunday School Union. He had long been an earnest and active Christian, devoted to the work of the Church, and recognized by all as a man of strong mind and eminent usefulness. No more efficient person could, probably, have been found in the country, at that time, for the important place to which he was called. Regarding the invitation as a Divine summons to duty, he abandoned his profession, left the region of his early home, and devoted himself ever afterwards to the Sunday School work. He was a man who had many of the finer qualities of the old New England character. He had a striking and commanding personal appearance, a vigorous intellect, delightful humor, the manners of a cultivated gentleman, the kindly spirit of a loving Christian. His wife, whom he married in 1822, while he was a resident of Springfield, was Elizabeth D. Hooker, eldest daughter of Judge John Hooker of that city, and a descendant of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the first pastor of the First Church in Hartford. Of these parents Professor Packard was the youngest child. From them both he inherited mental powers of a high order, as well as the refined nature and virtuous disposition which belong to the nobler order of Christian families. His early childhood, and his boyhood until he had reached the age of fourteen, were passed in Philadelphia. But as the time for his special preparation for the college course arrived, his father deemed it best to give him the advantages of one of the more excellent schools of his own native State. Accordingly he was sent to Northampton, Mass., to an institution of much repute which had been recently established there, and was then under the charge of Mr. Lewis J. Dudley, a scholar of high attainments and a teacher of marked ability. Here he remained until the summer of 1852, when he entered Yale College. He was, at that time, a youth of sixteen. He had a bright, intelligent face, of more than usual beauty. His dark eye, regular and classic features, animated and eager look, honest and manly bearing, arrested the notice and attention of all who saw him. He seemed to be one of the choice spirits from among whom we could desire that the membership of our college classes might always be composed. Abundantly and thoroughly prepared for the new stage of his education, he at once took a commanding position as a scholar. His mind worked with great quickness and great effectiveness. He readily mastered the difficulties which met him in any branch of his studies. He had clear insight, intelligent perception, vigorous

grasp, quiet enthusiasm, earnest desire for knowledge, a wide outlook into the illimitable field. His powers developed, as they do in the case of all bright-minded youths, in the years of his college course, but from the beginning he manifested clearly to those who watched his progress the same mental characteristics which were displayed in later life. It is not remembered that he was more successful in any one particular department of study than in others, but it is believed that, from an early period, he was deeply interested in the classical languages, and especially in the language of ancient Greece. His mind was of the peculiar order which made it natural that the life and history and literature of the Greek race should awaken his enthusiasm. As a student, he won the respect of his instructors and classmates alike. But he was not merely esteemed because he recited well, or because he learned what he had the opportunities to learn. He was successful, also, as a writer while in college, exhibiting the same neatness of style, the same calmness and clearness of thought, and the same thoroughness of research, in proportion to his years, which made him afterwards an interesting preacher. He was, moreover, a manly man among his fellows—thoughtful, earnest, upright, a man whose mind and soul impressed all with the thought that he was moving upward in his inner life, and was worthy of their regard. His college associates thoroughly respected him for his character. They prized his friendship, if they won it for themselves, and found in it a blessing which they could never cease to appreciate. Without striving for popularity or position, he gained some of the best rewards which the Academic course has to offer. He graduated with honor, acknowledged by all to be one of the ablest and most gifted members of his class.

On his graduation, in 1856, he found his tastes and inclinations leading him to the quieter and more scholarly pursuits in life. Accordingly, he determined to continue his studies at the College for a year or more, as a resident graduate. He easily secured, on examination, a graduate scholarship which afforded him a small income, and returned in the autumn of that year to pursue a further course, giving himself especially to the Greek language and to Mental and Moral Philosophy. At the close of the year, in the summer of 1857, he sailed for Europe in company with a college friend. After a brief period of travel, he connected himself with the University of Berlin. There he spent a year, attend-

ing lectures and still further pursuing Greek studies. The advantages and privileges of his foreign residence he greatly enjoyed, especially as he was associated with three or four of his most valued college friends, who happened to be in Germany at the same time. He had not, however, any definite plan or expectation, when in Europe, of devoting himself to scholarship as his life's employment. He was, on the other hand, intending to enter the clerical profession, and to become a pastor of some church when his preparatory theological studies should be completed. For the carrying out of this purpose, he began the critical examination of the New Testament on his return to his home. In the autumn of 1859, however, he received an invitation to become a tutor in Yale College, which he accepted, and thus the main work of his career, as later years proved, was determined for him. Two gentlemen connected with the instruction in the Greek department in the College—one of them, the late Professor James Hadley—had their minds turned especially towards him as one who might probably make a useful and valuable teacher, and at their suggestion he was elected to the tutorship. Four years afterwards, when he had abundantly proved his fitness for his work, Professor Hadley and the other members of the Faculty felt him to be, beyond doubt, the best qualified person to fill the Hillhouse Professorship of Greek, which was then newly established. He was chosen to the office at once by the Corporation, but was allowed the privilege of spending a year in Europe. At this time he went not only to Germany, but also to Greece. He had visited the latter country, indeed, in 1858, but only as a passing traveler. He now became a resident there for a considerable period, and acquired a knowledge of the modern language, as well as of the region itself and its objects of interest to the scholar. Upon his return in the autumn of 1864, he immediately entered upon the duties of his new office, pursuing his own studies and instructing his classes in the ordinary routine of university life. In December, 1870, he was married in Brooklyn, N. Y., to Miss Harriet M. Storrs, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of that city, who with their only child, a daughter, made the life and joy of his household in all his after years. He was a lover of home, always left it unwillingly and always returned to it with gladness. For a period of eight years following the beginning of his work in his professorship, he labored in his chosen field side by side with his older col-

league, Professor Hadley, until the death of the latter in 1872. He found in his colleague the genial, helpful, stimulating, inspiring, wise, generous friend, whom all the older officers of the College so well remember. The educating and strengthening influence of such an associate and friend could not be too highly appreciated. Professor Packard knew how to estimate it at its full value, and to profit by it in the highest degree. Professor Hadley, on the other hand, found in his young friend one in whom he could confide—a scholar after his own heart, a careful, intelligent, enterprising, conscientious, ardent student, a man of Greek mind, as it were, and peculiarly suited to Greek culture. American scholarship has met with no greater loss in the last thirty years than that which it suffered through Professor Hadley's death. He was a man whom it was a privilege and an inspiration to know. But, happily for the University, at the time of his death Professor Packard had been so long in service, that he was abundantly qualified to take the leading place in his department of study. He did not have that wide range of interest in studies of every sort, or that wonderful memory retaining everything once acquired for future and instant use, which characterized his colleague. But he had a knowledge of his own field which would have been creditable to any man, as well as that readiness to gain knowledge, or to give it, which marks the true scholar. He worked with and followed after one of the most many sided and remarkable men of the time. That he filled the place assigned to him well, is the testimony of all, now that his work is finished. It was no wrong or mistaken choice, when he was called by the trustees into the College service. He was a true citizen in the University sphere, a lover of learning for learning's sake, a helpful guide for all who loved the ways of learning as he did himself.

The life of a college teacher is a calm, quiet, uneventful life. The charm and glory of it are closely connected with the quietness of its course. To a certain class of refined and cultivated minds it is peculiarly attractive for this reason. It moves on with little of excitement, and when it ends there is but little to tell the world about it. But it requires no long observation or experience of human life to prove that usefulness is not measured by eventfulness,—that the lessons and influences which move the souls of men and make many hearts better or nobler come forth, oftentimes, from those who are withdrawn in retire-

ment from the activities of the world. What the University gives to the young men who enjoy its privileges, is felt by them all to be one of the greatest and most wide-reaching blessings of their lives. No part of what it gives is of higher value or more manifest in its enduring results, than that which comes from association with a helpful, stimulating teacher.

As a teacher, Professor Packard was both helpful and stimulating to the students whose minds were most open to receive the scholarly impulse. He was a faithful, accurate, careful, earnest investigator himself. He studied conscientiously, with a critical judgment and a fair and honest spirit. Whenever he found his pupils acting in the same manner and with the same impulse as himself, he was ready to do everything in his power for them. When he had a class entirely made up of such persons, as was often the case with the graduate classes who selected his department of study, he was in the sphere for which he was peculiarly fitted. He labored for them unsparingly, and guided them with wisdom, with deep interest in their progress, and with gratifying success. What a good gift of fortune it would be for any college instructor worthy of his place, if he could find all the students, whom he meets, thus heartily willing to work with him in his chosen field. But alas! the millennial period in this regard has not yet arrived. The good and the bad are still mingled together, and the teacher is obliged to come in contact with them both. What is to be done for the dull minds, for those who care little or nothing for particular studies, for the wilfully negligent, is ever a great question in the Academic life. For all these, especially for the last two classes, Professor Packard believed that the true method was to hold them strictly to the discharge of the assigned duties. As one of his most intelligent pupils has recently said, "He had no sympathy with evasion of work, and made the student feel that in teaching him he had a right to his best efforts." By reason of the critical character of his mind, which seized upon minor details and made much of accuracy and finish with respect to them, he was impatient—no doubt, at times too impatient—of those who overlooked or passed them by. His standard, which he set up for himself, was beyond the possibilities of many minds having different characteristics from his own. Their failures, therefore, grated upon his sensitive feeling. The minor things, which they could not appreciate, seemed great to his thought. He was, doubtless, unable to help them sometimes

as he might have wished, because he could not take their position, or leave the finer matters of which they had little knowledge for the broader and greater ones, which alone were open to their easy vision. No doubt the inferior teacher, when estimated by the standard of those who learn most quickly and with clearest insight, or the less accurate and penetrating scholar may, occasionally, be more helpful than one of higher powers than himself to students whose minds are not of the more active order. With less ability and taste for minute criticism, he may give the greater awakening and stimulating influence. But it is a most healthful thing for young men in college to have before them an example of accurate, minute, thorough scholarship, and to be called to the stern and full discharge of every duty. No student ever passed a year under Professor Packard's instruction without knowing what accuracy and thoroughness in learning are. No one ever failed to see in him a teacher who was as faithful himself as he asked his pupil to be, and one who would lead him carefully if he was only willing to follow. But if he would not follow—Professor Packard demanded the fulfillment of duty as a task, and thus often taught the lesson of faithfulness where the lesson in Greek was not willingly learned. "The living example," says the writer to whom we have already referred, "which he presented of earnestness of purpose, conscientious discharge of duty, and thoroughness of work, has carried more with it in its influence upon a generation of young men toward manliness than would many books."

Professor Packard, as an officer of the College, was, with respect to the administration of its government a strict disciplinarian, a careful observer of all rules, even those of minor importance, in his own conduct, and disposed to require a similar observance on the part of others. As related to the welfare and prosperity of the institution, he was heartily devoted to its interests. It has been characteristic of the teachers in Yale College in the past, that they have thus consecrated their lives to its service, and have unselfishly labored for it with much of the same spirit with which men give themselves to the support of their households. To this fact are, in no small measure, due the prosperity and success which have marked its history. Professor Packard belonged to the honorable line of those who have thus built up the University. To the best of his ability and knowledge, he worked for the highest style of education, for the truest scholar-

ship, and for the extermination of all show and pretense. He was full of confidence that, if the College could be made a home of sound learning, in the largest degree, and of solid mental and moral character, it would permanently secure the approval of the world. He was not an enthusiast by nature. He was not much of a believer in the more ardent sort of enthusiasm. He was not even disposed to bestow commendation with great freedom, where, in his heart, he approved of what men around him did. But he pressed forward with energy all sincere and honest work, and desired the College to be full of such working.

In his own studies, he was constantly moving forward through all his career. Though assailed by the power of an insidious and deadly disease, when he was not more than thirty-five years of age—at a time, thus, when most men begin their most vigorous working—he never wavered in his course or failed in his energy. He resisted the power of his malady to the utmost, rose manfully from every new and severe attack, sustained his courage in the darker and brighter hours alike, found his intellectual powers renewing their strength even while his physical energy was growing weaker—and for long years he pressed on in his acquisitions, as well as in his work for others, until he obtained recognition everywhere in the country as one of the most cultivated scholars in his own department. He was deeply interested in the work and success of the American Philological Association, and, a few years ago, was elected its president for the year. For the *Transactions* of that Association, as well as for this Journal, and for the *American Journal of Philology* and the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, he prepared, from time to time, a considerable number of valuable articles. Had his health allowed, he would doubtless have given evidence of his learning and ability by published books. Had he lived a few years longer, he would, notwithstanding the limitations which his health imposed, have carried out plans which he had already formed or thought of, and would have shown to the public what he had already manifested to his friends. He patiently labored when his strength was unequal to his work, and attained honorable results and fame, where less courageous men would have accomplished nothing.

As has been already intimated, he made choice of the ministry early in life as the profession to which he would devote himself. Though he was turned aside from this work by his call to the College, he completed his theological studies while he was holding

the office of tutor, and received a license to preach. He began preaching almost immediately, and was successful and acceptable wherever he went. He occasionally occupied the College pulpit. His sermons were listened to attentively and gladly. They were fresh, original, thoughtful, like himself. They had the peculiar element in them which made them interesting to thoughtful men. The hearer found himself carried along without an effort, and felt at once that he was listening to a man who wrote from his own experience and his own thinking. He had none of the artifices of rhetoric and cared little for the graces of oratory, but he spoke as with the charm of the pleasing conversation of an intelligent and scholarly friend. The students, it is believed, always liked to hear him; certainly the professors and older members of the congregation did. But his ill health closed for him the possibilities of public speaking, and the memory of him as a preacher is now a memory of years gone by.

What has been already said of him in connection with his work and life has indicated largely what he was as a man. His mind was a strong one. It was especially characterized by clearness, ease and, if we may so express it, neatness in its working, careful scrutiny of details, minute criticism, severity and purity of taste, independence in thinking, intelligence, and a certain scholarly coloring. He had much of quiet humor, was appreciative of humor in others, knew the amusing side of life, and manifested a kind of playfulness, which was peculiar to himself and which even continued illness could not overcome. His mind, like his character, was thoroughly honest. There was no pretense about him, no show behind which the corresponding reality was wanting. He was as sparing in his commendation of himself as he was in his words of praise to others, and was sparing of both as a matter of principle. He had a certain enthusiasm, but not of the fresh and bubbling sort—ardor in study, but no rush of ardor in common life. He had, as has already been said, a Greek mind and spirit, and he moved most fitly in his own field. He asked for perfection in the little things of life, and not merely in the great things. He was not content with the wide outlook, but looked into every nook and corner. He loved art and music. To music he gave many hours in all his life, and found in it delight both for his mind and soul. In his character, he had the solid and strong foundations on which virtue and righteousness in the human soul rest. All who knew him well felt that they could be sure of

him. They felt that when he entered the Christian life he moved by the power of no momentary impulse, but by the force of an intelligent will. They were sure afterwards that he would not fail when beset by temptation, or fall away in the hour of trial. He was not what we ordinarily call an emotional person; he was rather the opposite. But he was true, sincere, consecrated to the right, a follower of the truth. He was adapted to pure friendship and won, in his college days and afterwards, many friends. He loved them, we think, more ardently than they ever knew. They loved him with an affection which survived the years. His face told the story of his mind and spirit. Its Greek beauty came forth anew after the fatal disease had finished its work and as he lay calmly in death waiting for the hour of his burial.

The last year of Professor Packard's life was mainly spent in Athens. From the time of the first proposal to establish an American School in that city for purposes, especially, of archaeological research, he had taken great interest in the matter. He pressed its claims upon the attention of educated and benevolent persons in New Haven and elsewhere, and urged the authorities of the College to coöperate in carrying out the plan so far it was possible for them to do so. A part of the merit of securing for the school an established and permanent existence belongs, no doubt, to him. He, certainly, worked for it faithfully and bore its welfare upon his heart. As Professor Goodwin, of Harvard College, who had charge of the School during the first year of its existence, was about returning to his home, the general feeling of all Greek scholars interested in its success was that Professor Packard should become the head of it for the second year. He was accordingly appointed to the office in the spring of 1883. With some hesitation and misgiving, he accepted the appointment. His friends felt that a year spent in Europe might, not improbably, be serviceable to his health. As for himself, he rather yielded to their views and wishes than admitted to his own mind similar hopefulness. But the call had come—the College had given him the required leave of absence—it might be the summons to duty, possibly the way to greater strength and longer life. He roused his energy and courage to obey the call, and went forth bravely and manfully. Scarcely, however, had he passed beyond the sight of the American shores, when he was prostrated by a new attack of his malady, and his whole life abroad was one of severe struggle with disease and disappoint-

ment of his plans. He reached Athens, indeed, and remained there during the allotted time. He was ready for the work assigned him at any moment when his physical strength should be adequate to it. But he waited for the desired hour in vain. He was scarcely able to get even a sight for himself of anything which interested him as a scholar, much less to give the aid, which he would so gladly have given, to the students who had gone to Greece to be with him. During this period, however, as oftentimes within the last fourteen years of his life, his will power rose triumphant over its enemy. The friends who had known him from his boyhood had seen most of his qualities of mind and heart, as they had watched him throughout his whole career. But the manliness, the wonderful heroism of his will they had never imagined, until they saw its manifestation of itself in the later years, or heard of it as exhibited in the struggle and disappointments of the last year. It was the grandest thing, perhaps, in all his life, but a thing which could not be fully known to others, or even to himself, until the fiery trial called it forth. The calm, critical, undemonstrative, truthful scholar was a hero when the hour—yes, when the slowly moving hours of a long year—demanded it. He fought a long-continued battle and a hard one, but he never faltered.

Recovering his strength in some measure as the later spring months came on, he sailed for home when the annual School session in Athens had reached its end, and safely arrived in New York near the close of the month of June in the present year. His health seemed to improve, in some degree, for a few weeks, but soon after the middle of September he had an alarming attack of illness, and from that time he gradually failed, though with intervals of hopefulness, until the 26th of October, when he died. By the arrangements of the college studies, during the past few years, only the Junior and Senior classes had met him as an instructor. As he had been absent for the year previous to his death, the classes whose acquaintance he had formed were already graduated, and he was consequently unknown to most of the students now within the college walls. The members of nearly thirty classes, however, who preceded those of the present year, have been familiar with him either as a teacher or a fellow-student. To any of them, who might have seen him two weeks before his life came to its ending, he would have appeared—not in his face, indeed, and in his failing strength, but in his spirit—

as he did in the former years. He had the same cheerfulness, the same way of looking at the world, the same mode of expressing his thought, the same readiness to do and suffer what might be necessary without complaining, the same apparent belief that a man should be manly and not speak of it, the same feeling towards his friends, which he manifested ten or twenty years before. We could not persuade ourselves, after a half-hour's conversation with him in which he seemed ready for a longer struggle and hopeful for life, that the end was in reality so very near as it was. But it came suddenly and without his being conscious of it. It came just after midnight on Sunday morning. The peacefulness of the Lord's day seemed the fitting close of the long conflict with fatal disease. The enemy, from whom victory had been wrested many times before by the power of a courageous soul, had at last triumphed, but, in the hour of its triumph, the heroic spirit was at rest.

ARTICLE III.—COLLEGE ATHLETICS.

1.—YOUTH THE TIME FOR PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT.

BY WALTER CHAUNCEY CAMP.

The pleasure of riding a hobby-horse lies in the imagination of the rider. It may be excellent exercise to rock backward and forward upon the same spot, but progress is confined to accidental lurching, and the view is limited. The subject of college athletics has proved for certain imaginative critics a favorite steed. The only change of view they have had was when some one moved the rocking-horse from the back to the front piazza. Cartooned and caricatured for years as a hollow-chested consumptive, all brains and no physique, the student opened his eyes one day to find himself portrayed as all muscle and no brains. The college man has felt the unfairness of both views. As far as they go they are both true but the entire main field is omitted. Types of brain and brute can both be found, but the vast majority intervenes between these two and consists of the men who are continually deriving benefit from contact with the extremes.

How many parents urge their sons on coming to college to study hard and stand high! How few exhort them to play hard and be athletic! Statistics can show that at least half need the latter advice, but statistics are dull and unconvincing. There is,

however, in Nature's own method a lesson that will sometime be learned and an argument that must be accepted. She develops the body before the mind. A man is in the prime of his physical power long before the maximum of his mental strength is reached. Indeed, in many cases the mind never retrogrades but improves in force and calibre to the very end. MacLaren, Blaikie, and others have attempted in various ingenious ways to make physical culture attractive to professional men and men of business. Why have they met with comparative failure? Because they have neglected Nature's prime lesson—that a man must be physically developed before, not during, the rush and swing of his life's work. Once thoroughly developed, he can prevent retrogression by almost a minimum of exercise. No expression can put this fact more clearly than that heard from every man who attempts vigorous physical exercise while working to the full extent of his powers at his business or profession. "I feel that it takes too much out of me." That is the truth. It does take too much out of him and burns the candle of life at both ends. It is during school and college days, before life's burdens feel heavy upon his shoulders, that a man should increase his biceps and expand his chest. After that, exercise must mean to him *relaxation*, not *development*. From two-thirds physical development in early life, Nature gradually but steadily changes the proportion until in old age it is more than two-thirds mental. Would it be right for us to attempt to reverse these proportions—to make the man of sixty run, jump, and wrestle? Is it any the more right to take these very things away from the youth when Nature is begging for them in order to make a physical manhood for him, just as she refuses them in the case of old age?

How to accomplish the best results for and by college athletics, time alone can tell. Some obligatory exercise is already conceded. Unfortunately for perfect harmony of action at this day, the case stands in this way. Neither the faculties nor other critics assisted in building the structure of college athletics. In fact, they put some obstacles in the way. It is a structure which students unaided have builded, and with pride they point to their labor, and love it the more dearly for its very difficulties. Not a stone but what calls back to their minds the struggle of placing it in its position, and not a room in that building but is, to them, full of memories of the flush of victory or the grim realization of defeat, and the resolve to retrieve the lost ground. Is it any wonder that the attempts at interference of the last few years

have been met by determined resistance, and that students rising *en masse* to protect their work have rebelled against arbitrary demands to take out a stone here or close up a room there? Faculty participation in interest would have been and is now not only acceptable but eagerly sought for by the student athlete. A few years of such treatment would do away with the necessity for repressive measures. The growth of college athletics is a most fascinating study for any man; it ought to be a matter of duty for any one intending to legislate upon them. Yet how little it is so. How many Faculties appreciate the fact that step by step sports which began in rudimentary struggles governed only by precedent have led to the formation of associations with constitutions and printed rules, legislated upon annually and enforced by regularly appointed servants of these associations at the time of contest? Student athletes unaided by outsiders have met their own difficulties and conquered them until they have systematized every sport and made their own way clear to satisfactory settlement of their own affairs. From some costly experiences they have learned rule-making, and from actual trial the best methods of governing their sports. They understand the two meanings of "professionalism." The use of unfair means they leave to dishonest tricksters, while the expert's methods of doing the one thing well they strive to follow.

If the critics who call one of the college sports brutal and dangerous could be persuaded to spend the necessary time in learning the game, they would change their opinion. Would any one of them think of running at the rate of a mile in five minutes around the track outside of the field during the hour and a half of the game, without some previous preparation for the task? Well, neither do these players think of tumbling about so violently on the ground without a previous preparation which accustoms them to the falls and renders them safe by the very hardness of their muscles. Can the critic walk out on the field and kick a drop-kick—that apparently simple thing? Can he tackle a man who uses his arm? He has told college players how they ought to do the latter—will he not enlarge on the former or perhaps illustrate? All that college athletes ask is fairness. Nature backs them in desiring vigorous sports. They have themselves developed those sports. They ask interest from the Faculties, not interference without knowledge. And, finally, from the public, and especially from the press, they ask that justice which in everything else is conceded—namely, knowledge of the subject before criticism.

2.—GENTLEMANLINESS IN COLLEGE ATHLETICS. BY ALFRED L. RIPLEY.

In spite of much discussion, the problems presented by college athletics cannot be said to have been even clearly set forth, much less to be definitively settled. That this outlet for the student's energies, so rapidly developed and now so potent a factor in the student life in our colleges, has its good side, few will deny; that the absorbing interest awakened by athletics has its dangers as well, the candid observer must also admit. Some of our college faculties are showing a laudable desire to regulate supposed excesses, but in their efforts they have displayed little acquaintance with the facts and have used means of questionable value. But evils do exist; what are they?

The complaint is made, in a very general and often hazy manner, that our college athletics are getting to savor more and more of "professionalism;" though just what is meant by this, nine-tenths would perhaps be unable to say. But it is obviously meant as a reproach; in what sense is it a just one? It is certainly no ground for censure that students are anxious to excel in their sports, to accomplish a certain athletic feat or to execute a muscular movement with the ease, force, and precision of the man who makes his livelihood thereby. They are aiming at an ideal, though it be a low one. The true cause for alarm is rather the appearance in our college sports of a certain professional spirit.

The student is gradually losing sight of what should be the leading principle in contests between gentlemen, the desire that the *best man should win in a gentlemanly way*. The opposite of this desire is the essence of "professionalism." Examples seem wholly unnecessary. Now looking at college athletics generally, the difficulties and dangers arise in this way. In every code of rules, whether relating to moral conduct, or the conduct of a foot ball game, many possible cases must be left unprovided for. In our athletic contests it is assumed that gentlemanly courtesy will provide a satisfactory solution for such cases. Now to the impartial observer nothing could be more evident than that this sense of gentlemanly courtesy is seriously declining in our inter-collegiate sports. The notion seems to be prevalent that what is within the letter of the law is not merely technically justifiable but also becoming to a gentleman; nay worse, that unseen viola-

tions of the law do not count. Look only at the present game of foot ball. The warning for foul play is now made so light of, that the player is expected to get as many warnings as is possible without his being disqualified, a penalty but seldom enforced. This disposition to disregard true courtesy, in a matter untouched by law, was seen to a marked degree in the conduct of certain ball games during the past year. It would be absurd to hold that a large number of men deliberately set to work to win a game by howling; but that so many men could so far forget what they owed to themselves as gentlemen, indicates a deplorable lowering of the general tone of college sentiment. It was an argument which created much merriment, that the existence of laws against ungentlemanly practices was a bad sign; none the less would we venture to use it. The law does not stand in the code for nothing; and the worst of it is that the students are fast coming to regard conduct according to the law as all that is demanded of them. Self-interest becomes the sole controlling motive and so well recognized a one that even umpires and referees are both suspected and charged with being actuated by it. It is only a short remove from the professional ball game, where one player interferes with another, runs past bases without touching them, if the umpire be looking the other way, and where the umpire is mobbed because he does not suit the majority. The code of rules provides severe penalties for such offences; have they become less frequent because of the rules?

The writer is convinced that there is much work for the reformer in the field of college sports; but can our college faculties remedy an evil whose causes lie in the decline in college sentiment? Undue waste of time they can easily and properly prevent by maintaining a rigorous standard of scholarship; into the rest of the field they can hardly venture, and prohibitory legislation must fail to touch the evil, while arousing resentment. The college communities themselves must work the change; and first of all it is necessary that they be brought to see the evil. *In the first place gentlemen, in the second place athletes*, should be the principle characterizing college sports; they should be engaged in by rivals and friends, not, as now seems to be the case, by rivals and foes.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY.*—In view of the discussion and conflict that are provoked by the presence of Christianity amidst Oriental systems of thought and ritual, it is eminently desirable that the public mind should be informed from trustworthy sources what these systems really are. A popular exposition of the Hindu philosophy as represented in its so-called orthodox schools has not a few reasons for attracting to itself a special interest. It would seem also that this work of exposition would be best done by a native scholar, who should be able to apprehend and sympathize with the genuine significance of forms of reflection and discussion which may seem incomprehensible and even grotesque to an alien, but who should also be able to assume that superior point of view toward them all which belongs to cultivated and rational Christian investigators. All these advantages we might expect would be possessed by the work of Ram Chandra Bose. His book on Brahmoism has already been noticed in the *New Englander*. Parts of the present volume have appeared as articles in the *Calcutta Review*, the *Indian Evangelical Review*, and the *Methodist Quarterly*.

This volume contains chapters on the Sources and Age of the Hindu Philosophy in general, and a summary statement and polemical discussion of the six phases or forms of Hindu thought, called here the Orthodox Systems. These six are the Sankhya or Hindu Theory of Evolution, the Yoga or Hindu Asceticism, the Nayaya or Hindu Logic, the Vaiseshika or Hindu Atomic Theory, the Purva Mimansa or Hindu Ritualism, the Vedanta or Hindu Pantheism, and the Maya or Illusion Theory. It closes with chapters on The Hindu and Christian Philosophy contrasted, and on Hindu Eclecticism. Its style is clear and vivacious enough to make it interesting. It is well worthy of being read by the classes for whom especially it was prepared;—namely, for “missionaries and clergymen or mere lovers of literature who wish to have a bird’s-eye view of Hindu Philosophy without taking the trouble of going to the sources (p. iv.).

* *Hindu Philosophy popularly explained: The Orthodox Systems.* By RAM CHANDRA BOSE, A.M., of Lucknow, India. Funk & Wagnalls. New York: 1884.

Neither the spirit, the method, nor the conclusions of Bose, however, seem to us wholly commendable. His evident purpose in writing is polemical; he is intent upon opposing that "morbid sentimentalism" which is "arrayed in behalf of what is called the ancient civilization of India" (p. 361). Such intention is in itself commendable, but has led the author in this volume to press too hard toward the side of depreciating and even denouncing the views and practices admired by this "morbid sentimentalism." Nor is the attitude of Bose toward the attempts of men to reach God and his truth by means of philosophical reflection and ascetic practices, sufficiently intelligent and sympathetic. Several times he appears quite at the point of flouting all so-called non-Christian philosophy in its attempt to deal with problems of religion; and especially the ancient philosophy of his own country. He speaks (p. 72) of these attempts as wasting the loftiest intellects; he declares that *failure* must be ascribed on the banner of both ancient and modern philosophy (p. 73). At the same time the perfectly wild declaration occurs that, the moment the solutions of these abstruse problems offered by a "primeval revelation" or by the "primary beliefs of humanity," are accepted, "all difficulties vanish into thin air" (p. 75 f.). But the comprehensive and genial Christian thinker sees in all these non-Christian systems the result of noble strivings after God that have never been wholly without reward; he knows that the difficulties are largely inherent in the nature of the human mind and by no means "vanish into thin air" before even the most enlightened Christian philosopher; and he believes that one of the most conspicuous tenets of what Bose calls "Christian philosophy" is the truth that the same light of divine reason which shined in Jesus has lighted every man coming into the world. Even the ascetic regulations as to breathings and posturings, which Bose ridicules, appear to such a genial mind immeasurably pathetic as tokens of the longing of all souls to find the way to freedom, peace, and God.

The method also of this book awakens criticism. To class the Nayaya or Hindu Logic with the Sankhya and Vedanta Philosophy, as a *system* of comparable philosophical principles, is misleading. Nor is Yoga—whether understood as the means, or as the end of attaining freedom by union of the individual with the supreme soul—to be spoken of as a *system* of philosophy.

Moreover, Bose is scarcely fair in his interpretation of several

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disappear, whenever the blind guides shall cease to lead the blind, and honest self-knowledge shall take the place of self-flattery and religious delusion." This is not a very cheerful view of the age and its prevailing tendencies, and it is quite certain that, whatever may be the truth of our author's views and whatever their importance (and they are probably of far less importance than he thinks them to be), he will never succeed in making the impression he desires by approaching the men of his time with such assumptions as these. It were to be wished that themes so grand and weighty and significant as those chosen here should be so presented that men will attend to them. But there are few who will be attracted by this volume and many that will be repelled.

Prof. Shedd is a man of positive convictions and of thorough honesty, candor, and courage. It is always in order for a man to speak out what is in him to speak. But the preacher must have something more than a message from his own head and heart. Something more even than a message from God. He must have a message to the men of his time of such sort as will adjust itself to their ways of thought, to their difficulties and doubts, to all that is best in their experience, and shall bring them the word of light and cheer and courage for the battle of life.

THE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF OUR LORD.*—Prof. Blaikie is a writer upon Homiletical subjects of unusual freshness and of excellent judgment. The volume entitled, "For the Work of the Ministry; a Manual of Homiletical and Pastoral Theology," which has already passed to its third edition, and is used as a text-book of Pastoral Theology in many theological seminaries in different parts of the world, is a work of uncommon value. It would be of service to any theological student who means to make the most of his ministry, for which he would find reason to be thankful in after years. The importance of Homiletical and Pastoral Theology is more thoroughly recognized in Scotland than it is in this country. Perhaps this is one reason why the Scotch are the better preachers. More attention was given to this department of theology under the earlier method of training ministers. That method had some advantages. It brought men into close contact

* *The Public Ministry and Pastoral Methods of our Lord.* By WILLIAM GARDNER BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Apologetics and of Ecclesiastical and Pastoral Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1883.

with strong and earnest pastors and theologians. No theological school with class-room method of training men can ever take the place of the personal intercourse and influence of the living teacher. The modern theological teacher and pupil live at too great a distance from each other. The volume before us reminds us of the personal power of our Lord's ministry. It is impossible to over estimate its worth to those Apostles. It was expedient for him to go away, but not before he has profoundly impressed himself upon the living souls of a few men. We rejoice in Christ's spiritual presence, but we have to remember that it was of little avail apart from its connection with the earthly and historical presence. His priestly and kingly functions have obscured his pastoral function. We are reminded anew by this work that Christ in his earthly life was preëminently the pastor and teacher, and that he had the "cure of souls" in a parish that taxed all his skill. His ministry is here discussed in all its aspects, in his preparation for his work, in the inner spirit and in the outer features of it, in its private and in its public aspects, in its Galilean and in its Judean peculiarities. In every aspect of it our author finds something that furnishes examples for every Christian minister. Special attention is given to his work as a teacher. Its characteristics are well treated and his dealing with different classes of people carefully indicated and wisely emphasized, the author writes with affluence and sometimes with genuine eloquence. It is pervaded by the evangelical spirit in the best sense. Prof. Blaikie would do the Christian world good service if, following the same general method, he should discuss the public ministry and pastoral methods of Paul for homiletical and pastoral uses.

DR. HOPKINS' *BACCALAUREATES*.*—These Baccalaureates have had several publications, of which this is the latest and the best. The simple elegance of the volume is becoming to the contents; for with Dr. Hopkins there are neither patches nor spangles in thought or style; without and within, the beauty of this book is in its strength, and its strength is in its beauty. Modestly the preface says that "the subjects of those discourses are of permanent interest;" with greater assurance the reader can say that "the discourses themselves are of permanent value." In its

* *Teachings and Counsels: Twenty Baccalaureate Sermons, with a discourse on President Garfield.* By MARK HOPKINS, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

completed form this book is a fine tribute to the power and worth of a man of wisdom for years at the head of a literary institution. These outlooks from the calm altitude of the instructor, have a value of their own, with which the successes of the knights of the rostrum enter into no competition. Beginning in 1850 with "Faith, Philosophy, and Reason," and ending some twenty years later with "The Circular and the Onward Movement," at intervals of a year we have such themes as "Higher and Lower Good," "The Manifoldness of Man," "Providence and Revelation," "The Bible and Pantheism," "Zeal," "Life," fully, fairly, and yet only suggestively discussed; and discussed in a way in which the preacher does not seem to wish his word to be taken any farther than shall seem reasonable in the judgment of the reader. These admirable addresses teach, by showing, the candor and the skill necessary to keep the rays of truth separate from the flashing meteors of delusion. They also show to those covetous of genius the existence of such a thing as a genius for care and diligence, as well as a genius for originality and sagacity.

To specify the excellencies or to criticise the philosophies of these treatises, for such in substance they are, would be to review a shelf of books. We can only give the comely volume a welcome and a commendation as a piece of work creditable alike to the printers, the publishers, and the author. The graduates of Williams, and all friends of our New England colleges, and college system, have the right to express their satisfaction with this new tenure of life granted to these weighty "teachings and counsels."

PROF. LADD'S TRANSLATION OF LOTZE'S OUTLINES OF METAPHYSICS.*—The translation of the Outlines of Lotze's Philosophy will render an important and timely service to philosophical culture. We think Prof. Ladd has made a wise selection in the choice of these outlines for the presentation of the philosophical views of Lotze. These volumes will be admirably adapted to this twofold object in their publication, viz: to promote a larger style of thinking among those who aspire to culture, and to open for English students one of the most important developments of German philosophy.

Though appearing under the title of Outlines of Philosophy the present volume and those that are to follow are by no means mere

* *Outlines of Metaphysics: Dictated Portions of the Lectures of Hermann Lotze.* Translated and edited by GEORGE T. LADD, Professor of Philosophy in Yale College. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1884. 66 pp.

compendiums or resumé statements of the philosophical teaching of Lotze; they disclose at the same time his peculiar method of treating the questions of philosophy and the student is taken through discussions, so original, so vigorous and stimulative, that, however much he may dissent from the final conclusions of the author, he cannot fail to have his own apprehension of the subject broadened and his thinking quickened and elevated. The philosophy of Lotze is pervaded by a spirit of such elevation and by an attitude of mind so reverent and truthful that no one need fear to surrender his mind freely to the influence of this great German thinker. The most orthodox Theist has certainly nothing to fear from a system of philosophy that makes a Personal God the "All and in All," in a sense profoundly true; how can there be any prejudice to ethical interests in a philosophy which teaches that the ultimate explanation of all reality must be sought in the realm of moral worths and ends.

The translation of the volume before us is marked by that carefulness, accuracy and thoroughness that characterize all of Prof. Ladd's work. The task he has accomplished was by no means a slight one as those familiar with the German of Lotze will recognize, and if the English reader still finds difficulties in the way of a clear apprehension of the teaching of Lotze we must remind him that these difficulties cannot be removed by a translation however excellent it may be. Only a mastery of the German language and a familiarity with those conceptions peculiar to German philosophy can render the study of any German author free from obstacles.

BJERRING'S THE OFFICES OF THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.*—The introduction to this volume sets forth the authorities for Dogma in the Eastern Church; the rites, as regards the form and decoration of the church edifice, the holy vessels, the vestments, the services, and the ecclesiastical officers of different grades; and the religious manners and customs in vogue in the east. Then follows the Nocturnal service on the eve of a festival, the Liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil, and the forms in use in special services, baptism, marriage, ordination, etc. The increased interest that is felt, from different motives, in the Eastern Church will conspire with the greater attention now paid to the whole subject of public worship, to secure attention to this compilation

* *The Offices of the Oriental Church*, with an Historical Introduction. Edited by Rev. NICHOLAS BJERRING. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

by a priest of the Russian Church who is doubtless qualified for the task which he has here accomplished.

MEYER'S COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW.*—Professor Crooks of the Drew Theological School is the editor of the American reprint of the translation of Meyer's volume on Matthew. The editor has not furnished much additional matter from his own pen. In an extended preface, however, he enters into an examination of Meyer's views on the origin and mutual relation of the synoptical gospels. In the course of this discussion he controverts the German scholar's opinions on various topics which bear on the subject of inspiration. Dr. Crooks is an excellent scholar. We cannot, however, sympathize with the tone or contents of all his strictures. We trust that Meyer will be read by our American students, and that they will judge of his criticisms for themselves, without a preconceived prejudice derived from the protests of his American editors.

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN EUROPE.†—The unity of this volume is only such as could be imparted to it by the very general title given above. Its contents were contributed by more than a score of different writers, mostly women, and were originally composed in six different languages. We have Woman in Suffrage, Education, Medicine, Industry, Philanthropy, etc., according to facts collected from no fewer than sixteen European countries, and from the Orient. It is emphatically a book of details, rather than principles,—“a store-house of facts rather than a philosophical study” (vii.). As such it is worthy of commendation to all who either have an interest in this class of facts for mere purposes of information, or wish to build theories concerning the sphere and capacity of woman upon a wider than the usual induction. There is danger, of course, that the impression made be one of confused interest in so much matter of fact, rather than of intelligent conviction, on the ground of well-defined principles.

* *Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Gospel of Matthew.* By H. A. W. MEYER, Th.D. The English translation, edited by George R. Crooks, D.D., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1884.

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Under this style and title, I intend to publish, early in 1885, a description of the roads explored by me on the wheel, in 24 States and Provinces. The book will be a handsomely printed 12mo, comprising about 400 pages of brevier type, bound in cloth, with gilt top and side-stamp; and the edition will be 5,000 copies. The first 3,000 of these will be assigned to advance-subscribers at \$1.00 each, and the remaining 2,000 will be sold at \$1.50 each. An alphabetical and geographical appendix will preserve the subscribers' names; and as 2,146 of these are already enrolled (Dec. 6), I hope to secure the remaining 854 in season to print the book in February. My contents-table, exactly describing the character of each of the 36 chapters (one of which presents a biography of “the best of bull dogs,” to whose memory the book is dedicated, and whose heliotype portrait fronts the title-page) will be mailed free to all applicants. Readers of my “Four Years at Yale” (1871), or of my weekly “College Chronicle” (1876-82) in the *New York World*, may perhaps be pleased to renew their acquaintance with me in this later enterprise, and they are therefore invited to forward their postal-card pledges in form following: “I agree to send \$1, on receipt of your book as described in the *NEW ENGLANDER*.” If any prefer to remit the cash in advance, I will make prompt acknowledgment of the same. All communications should be addressed to me as

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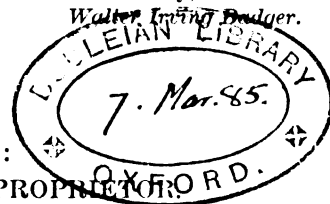
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Under the editorial direction of ALEXANDER WINCHELL, CHARLES K. ADAMS, and WILLIAM H. PAYNE, professors in the University of Michigan, and CHARLES H. J. DOUGLAS, instructor in the University of Wisconsin.

With the remarkable activity in educational affairs that kept pace with the rapid development of the material resources of the Western States after the close of the civil war, there came to be felt among far-seeing educators and thinkers scattered through that immense region a growing necessity for an educational journal, of such high character that it should command universal respect, and of such breadth of scope that it should include the discussion not only of purely pedagogical questions but also of all those varied branches of human thought and activity that have entered into the making of the great and influential portion of our country, of whose progress it should thus become in a true and peculiar sense the constant index, and that so have contributed directly to the growth and character of the nation itself.

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THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

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MARCH, 1885.

ARTICLE I.—THE LORDS AND THE PEOPLE.

THE defeat of the Representation of the People Bill by the Peers last summer and the resulting political crisis have led many Englishmen to ask again, shall the House of Lords continue to exist as a legislative assembly? Those who hold that in these times such an assembly, "irresponsible and unrepresentative," is an anomaly and ought to be abolished have increased in number and have denounced the action of the Lords in very emphatic language. Large public meetings have been held to express the feeling of the people, and the resolution passed by the House of Commons in the year 1649 "that the House of Lords in Parliament is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished," has been adopted with great enthusiasm. At the last Trades Union Congress, which was held at Aberdeen, in September, it was resolved "that this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the hereditary principle should be removed from our constitution, and calls upon the government to bring in, as soon as possible after the passing of the Franchise Bill, a measure dealing in a vigorous and comprehensive manner with

this important subject." A Liberal Conference, composed of delegates from a large number of Liberal associations, and presided over by Mr. John Morley, in July last, resolved unanimously, "that in the opinion of this meeting the habitual disregard of the national will by the House of Lords in delaying, mutilating and rejecting legislation demanded by the constituencies and approved by the House of Commons renders necessary such a reform of the constitution as will put an end to the power of the House of Lords to thwart and delay the will of the people." Mr. Gladstone, in the great speeches which he made to his Midlothian constituents last September, was careful to abstain from using direct threats against the Lords, and tried to allay the general feeling of hostility to them. Notwithstanding his magical eloquence and the great love of the people for him, many of his hearers heard his appeal for calmness and moderation and his declaration that the House of Lords might still be of great use to the nation with impatience, and received with enthusiasm any words of censure of or warning to the Peers. The vote on Mr. Labouchere's resolution in the House of Commons, November 21, 1884, "calling for the reform of the House of Lords," was very significant. Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Gladstone, and all the other ministers, except Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, opposed the motion, the vote stood 71 in favor to 145 against the resolution.

Much dissatisfaction has been expressed among certain sections of the English public with the compromise brought about by the government with the Lords on the Franchise Question. It was asserted that since the Lords had placed themselves in opposition to the will of the people in a matter of the greatest importance, it was a great mistake to neglect so good an opportunity for bringing about a radical change in the composition or powers of the Upper House. The *Spectator* thus expressed the sentiments of a large number of intelligent Englishmen on the subject: "The existence of their House has become inconsistent with the political methods of the time and with popular self-government; the House can not and will not aid in those reforms in municipal government and the tenure of land which the people demand; and the struggle to

suppress it cannot be postponed for more than a few years. As it must go, it had better go now while men can still reason calmly, while Mr. Gladstone is present with his moderating weight, and while the country is preserved by the all-pervading loyalty to the present Queen from the otherwise inevitable rise of an avowedly Republican party."

These are some of the indications that the drift of public sentiment is setting more and more strongly against this "most ancient and honorable House." On the other hand large conservative meetings have approved and commended the course of the House of Lords in resisting the attempt of the Liberal majority in the House of Commons to force the Conservatives to agree to such a rearrangement of the constituencies as should perpetuate the power of the Liberals in the government. The leader of the Conservative Peers boldly asserted in closing a defense of the action of the Lords, "Far from it being the fact that there exists a feeling in the country against the House of Lords, that assembly stands higher in the public estimation than the House of Commons." "We require," says a vigorous defender of the Lords, "some safeguard against the fatal rashness of popular movements and against the disregard of justice, honor and prudence to which popular excitement would sometimes in its haste drive us." As "it is the duty of the House of Lords to delay matters until it is certain of the full and perfect assent of the people," its action must often be for the time at variance with the impulse of the multitude, and unpopular. It is in the nature of the populace "to be always asserting itself, always proclaiming its rights and grievances, while aristocracy is by nature calm, dignified, observant, and speaks and acts only in the emergency." Lord Salisbury has declared that as a check to hasty legislation the operations of the House of Lords have been "highly and singularly beneficial," that the path of progress has been "in one straightforward line, deformed by no sinuosities and by no reversals;" that "each step has been a certain step, and its permanence and security have been consecrated by the full knowledge and acquiescence of the people."

Notwithstanding these confident declarations there can, I think, be no doubt that there is a rapidly growing conviction

that the House of Lords as at present constituted, is out of harmony with the political methods and aspirations of the times, and that, if it is to exist at all, as a legislative assembly, either its composition or its powers or both must be considerably modified.

The great majority of the English people are, however, not yet ready to see an institution so venerable and with a history and traditions so noble and honorable abolished. For centuries the House of Lords did good service in behalf of the liberties of the people, standing between them and the absolute power of the sovereign. Its present position and relations to the other branches of the government are the results of accident and development rather than of the design of its founders. The Witenagemot of Saxon times was in theory an assembly of all the noble and wise men of the nation. Practically it was doubtless composed of the more wealthy and powerful who could afford to leave their ordinary pursuits and bear the expenses of the journey. The Norman conqueror and his successors followed the example of the Saxon rulers and called together an assembly of the wise and noble men of the Kingdom—the bishops, abbots, earls, and barons—to deliberate on the customs and interests of the realm. The lesser barons, unable to bear the expense of all appearing in person, sent representatives. The king summoned by name the bishops and greater barons and directed the sheriffs to send representatives of the lesser barons. The whole council was an assembly of the king's tenants in chief, even the clergy being summoned because they represented great real estate interests. The landed interests were the only interests represented. In time towns grew populous and rich and the mercantile interests became important. Simon de Montfort in 1264 found it desirable in an emergency to have representatives from these towns and he accordingly directed the sheriffs to return not only two knights for each shire, but also two burgesses for each borough, and soon afterwards the crown began regularly to follow this precedent.

Down to the middle of the fourteenth century there were three and possibly four houses of Parliament. The clergy formed one house; the Lords a second, and possibly the knights of the shires and the borough members each another, although

the better opinion seems to be that the knights and burgesses together formed one house. The chief function of these Parliaments was to vote supplies of money for the government. The barons at Runnymede compelled King John to agree not to exact any aids, except the three regular ones, without the consent of Parliament. In 1295 Edward I. adopted as a constitutional principle the legal maxim of Justinian, that "that which touches all must be approved by all," and in 1322 Parliament embodied this same principle into a formal statute. It early became a well settled principle that no tax was legal unless sanctioned by those who paid it. As often, therefore, as the crown had need of money, so often was it necessary to summon the taxpayers to make contributions. The clergy in their own separate chamber voted taxes to be paid out of the church revenues, the Lords temporal agreed by themselves to pay their scutages and aids, and the knights of the shires and the representative burgesses, possibly in separate chambers, levied their tenths and fifteenths. The clergy, finding that they could vote their taxes in the provincial convocations, were excused from attending the meetings of Parliament, that were held for raising revenue only. For a time it was doubtful whether the knights of the shires would unite with the Lords or with the borough members to form one chamber. In the end the method by which the various members of these Parliaments were summoned seems to have formed the basis for their division into two houses. The Lords, spiritual and temporal, who were summoned by name and who by reason of their individually representing great estates in land, came regularly to the successive Parliaments, in time coalesced into one house, while the representatives of the commoners, whether chosen for the counties or boroughs, serving in many instances only for a single session, finally found their way into one and the same assembly. The lay peerages were at first not hereditary, but the custom naturally sprang up very early of summoning the son who inherited the lands of the great tenant who had been summoned regularly, and, as the tendency to hereditary succession was very strong in those ages, the custom speedily came to be regarded as binding on the king.

The legislative powers of the early Parliaments were by no

means so well established as their powers over taxation. The formula now in use, "Be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled," is a relic of the time when the Crown actually did to a very considerable extent make the laws. Sometimes the ordinances of the king in council had the force of laws equally with the statutes enacted in Parliament. Sometimes the king claimed the sole power to enact laws. In the long struggle against the claims of the king to make the laws and to lay taxes without the consent of the taxpayers, the Lords by reason of their wealth and power, made the most effective opposition.

During the civil wars that preceded the accession of Henry IV. many of the most powerful nobles fell in battle, and others lost their heads on the scaffold, so that the Lords were greatly weakened and no longer able to oppose successfully the pretensions of the crown, to which the Commons could offer but a feeble resistance. For a century and a half the sovereign ruled with comparatively little restraint from Parliament. Parliament, which had before met regularly every year, was summoned only at such times as suited the purpose of the crown, which practically made and unmade the laws. Benevolences, nominally granted but really extorted, frequently took the place of taxes in supplying the king's treasury and obviated the necessity of holding Parliaments to vote supplies. While Parliament still retained the shadow of authority, the substance of it was yielded up to the king. The despotic powers which Henry VIII. and Elizabeth wielded, their disregard of the rights of the Lords and Commons alike and the methods by which they contrived to do without meetings of Parliament, taxing the people without the people's consent and substituting their own personal wills for the laws, and the struggles against arbitrary taxation under later reigns, are matters of familiar history.

Meanwhile, however, the country was gradually recovering from the terrible effects of the wars of the Roses; the Commons were becoming more and more prosperous, and the Lords also were regaining some of the wealth and power which they had lost. On the dissolution of the monasteries something like

a fifth of the land in the kingdom was distributed to the nobles and gentry. The old noble families were enriched and a new nobility was created. Before the dissolution the Lords spiritual had outnumbered the Lords temporal; after the dissolution and the removal from the upper house of the heads of the monasteries, the Lords temporal predominated. The great families founded by the lands and peerages conferred by the sovereign on his favorites soon joined the old aristocracy and the Commons in their struggle against the despotic power of the Crown. The Tudors had in the main ruled with but little check from the opposition; the Stuarts in the end found the opposition too strong for them. The power of the Crown was broken by Cromwell and his followers, and with the revolution of 1688 the struggle ended, the balance of power passing to the Lords and rich commoners.

The noble and wealthy families practically ruled England for a century and a half. Their influence was all powerful in the House of Commons. Down to the middle of the seventeenth century, the Crown had from time to time summoned representatives from new boroughs, as they became rich and populous, or for personal reasons. After the revolution of 1688, however, this power ceased to be exercised. The old boroughs, many of which, by reason of the fluctuations of trade and population, had sadly declined in importance and were owned by the aristocracy, continued to send representatives to Parliament, while the rich and prosperous new towns were unrepresented. In the early part of this century Corfe was a ruin, Gattos a park, Old Sarum a mound, Dunwich submerged under the sea, and many of the other boroughs had but few electors. Whether the electors were few or many, the will of the patron was commonly all powerful with the voters, and with the member who was chosen. It has been said that in 1801, of the 658 members of the House of Commons, 425 owed their elections to the nominations or recommendations of 252 patrons. As the great new manufacturing communities in the North of England became important from a business and industrial point of view, they asserted their claim to be heard in the legislature of the nation, and Parliamentary Reform became the burning political question of the time. In the

latter part of the eighteenth century proposals for reform had been made but to no purpose. The wealthy oligarchy who constituted the House of Lords and owned so large a part of the House of Commons, were unable to see the inevitable tendencies of things, and refused to give up their pocket boroughs or to extend the right of voting beyond the very limited circle to which it was restricted in most of the constituencies. It was only after the most obstinate resistance that the Lords were finally forced to yield to the movement for reform. Even the limited and often dependant constituencies had become thoroughly convinced of the need of great changes. The great distress prevailing throughout the country in 1829-30 added to the intensity of the discontent, and to the violence of the agitation. The revolution in France, that drove Charles X. from the throne, gave additional impetus to the movement for more popular government in England. On the defeat and retirement of the Duke of Wellington from the government in October, 1830, Lord Grey agreed to form a ministry only on condition that Parliamentary Reform should be made a government measure. The slender majority of the government on the second reading of the bill, and its subsequent defeat on an amendment, led to a new election in which reform was made the chief issue. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Peers and great boroughowners, and the persistent and systematic obstruction when the reform bill was brought before the new Parliament, the measure passed in the Commons by a majority of 106. When the Lords threw out the Bill, the country became intensely excited. But even the "tumultuous meetings" that were held everywhere, the mobs and riots that occurred in many places, and the attacks that were made on castles, churches, cathedrals, and on some of the Lords whose opposition had been conspicuous failed to convince the Lords that they could no longer resist the popular demand. When after a brief prorogation Parliament again met and the Commons passed the Reform Bill, the upper house indicated a determination to again defeat the measure. The King under tremendous pressure and with a most bloody revolution threatening the country, finally gave his permission "to Earl Grey and his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create

enough new Peers to insure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling up Peer's eldest sons." Further resistance was of course useless and the Bill was allowed to pass without the actual use of the power to create new Peers.

The revolution thus accomplished transferred the balance of power to the House of Commons, and recognized the right of popular representation in that house. One hundred and forty-two seats were taken from the decayed boroughs and distributed among the new and more populous and prosperous communities, and nearly half a million more of the people were given the right of voting for representatives. Rarely, perhaps never, in the history of the world has so great a revolution been accomplished without bloodshed. The victory of the Commons and people was twofold; first, over the Crown which would probably now not dare to oppose their will, and second, over the Lords, who no longer pretend to have the right to carry their opposition to any measure that has been passed by the Commons further than to give the latter time in the light of public sentiment to reconsider their former decision. Lord Salisbury has frequently declared that "it is not the function of the House of Lords under any circumstances to reverse any decision of the constituencies clearly expressed by them at the polls," and in a recent speech he said, "We do not shrink from bowing to the opinion of the people, whatever that opinion may be."

Nevertheless the influence of the Lords in legislative affairs since the Reform Act of 1832 has been by no means insignificant. It has been exerted, however, almost entirely in preventing, delaying or modifying legislation rather than in devising and hastening the passage of new laws. From the very nature of its constitution the House of Lords must be conservative and often in opposition to popular movements and progressive tendencies. Hence it has come to be regarded as its duty to delay and prevent hasty legislation. The Lords would not now dare to place themselves in opposition to a measure which the voters of the United Kingdom had clearly declared themselves in favor of at an election. When, however, there has been any room for doubt about the will of the people or when the measure has not been of

enough interest to the great body of electors to make its rejection likely to lead to violent agitation, the Lords have not hesitated to defeat or delay very desirable legislation. Great wrongs have sometimes been maintained for many years by the exercise of this obstructive power. The movement for the removal of the disabilities of the Jews was without doubt a most just and righteous movement, and yet the Lords resisted it most stubbornly for twenty-five years, and not until the Bill had been passed a number of times by the House of Commons, and the agitation had been kept up for a quarter of a century, did the Lords permit it to become a law. The Bill to enable Dissenters to take degrees without signing the Thirty-nine Articles first passed the House of Commons in 1843 by a majority of 321 to 147. It was, however, rejected by the Lords, and only after long continued discussions and agitations was it finally allowed to pass in 1872. Then there is the case of Ireland. It has been obvious ever since the beginning of this century that remedial legislation of some sort was necessary for the peace and prosperity of the Irish people. The moderate measures of relief which were from time to time introduced into Parliament were defeated either by the Lords or mainly through their influence until the accumulated discontent compelled the enacting of measures of a much more radical character. In these and numerous other instances of less importance the Lords dared to oppose the will of the Commons and the people because the popular interest in the measures was not so great and general as to be likely to lead to riots or dangerous agitation in consequence of the defeat of the Bills. It is claimed that in almost every instance these measures are now generally conceded even by the Lords to have been "salutary and expedient at the time of their rejections."

The influence of the Lords is exerted not only in defeating, delaying, or modifying such Bills as come before them, but also in preventing the introduction of measures that are certain to encounter their opposition, and in greatly changing and restricting the scope of some measures in the hope that in this way they may be allowed to pass the hostile Upper Chamber. Sometimes perhaps this silent influence is good; often it defeats or delays or mutilates much needed legislation.

The claim of the Lords that they have represented the deliberate judgment of the nation and not merely a momentary impulse or feeling which a little deliberation would reverse, is pretty clearly not borne out by the facts. On the contrary, as the people have come to be more fully represented in the House of Commons, the power of and respect for the House of Lords has declined. Of the twelve Parliaments elected since 1832 ten have been Liberal, one Conservative throughout, and one Conservative at the beginning and Liberal at the end of its existence. For about forty-four of the last fifty-two years the Conservative majority of the House of Lords has been opposed to the Liberal majority in the House of Commons, the latter representing, although imperfectly, the people. Each extension of the suffrage has proved advantageous to the Liberal party. The House of Lords has lost a good deal of ground during the past fifty years. Formerly it exerted no small influence in taxation and in the financial affairs of the country. It lost this however by its unreasonable objection to the bill to remove the tax on paper. It was for centuries the Supreme Court of Final Appeal from the highest courts of the realm, and, in theory, it is so still; practically, however, the jurisdiction has been exercised only by those Peers who were holding or who had held high judicial positions, and in 1876 an arrangement was made by which the Lords vested the appellate power in a small number of Lords of Appeal created Barons for that purpose for life only. The hereditary Peers therefore practically no longer constitute the Supreme Court of Final Appeal. The right of voting by proxy, once considered of importance, is no longer exercised.

The House of Commons on the other hand has gained immensely in power and influence. Important legislation regularly begins in the Commons. Parliamentary government is now understood to mean government by the majority of the House of Commons. The power of the Prime Minister, representing the majority in the House of Commons, to resort to the royal prerogative to create enough new Peers to overcome a hostile majority, makes it impossible for the Lords in any case of importance to carry opposition to the Commons beyond a certain point. This well nigh absolute supremacy of the

House of Commons in the government seems to many, who are accustomed to regard two legislative chambers as essential to the safe working of representative government, fraught with danger. Mr. Blackstone considered the distribution of power between the Crown, Lords, and Commons as essential to the preservation of the liberties of the English people. He thought that the excellency of the English Government consisted in the fact that all its parts formed a mutual check upon each other, the nobility being a check upon the people, the people a check upon the nobility, and the king a check upon both. In this country we are accustomed to regard the checks placed upon our Congress by the veto power of the President, the Supreme Court, and our written Constitution, and upon the House of Representatives by the Senate, as among the greatest safeguards of our country. Those who understand how greatly needed the strength and good influences of our Senate are in legislative matters, will expect to see an unsteadiness in the course of the English Government, hasty and ill-considered legislation, a larger amount of corruption, and not a little oppression, as the results of government by wholly unchecked temporary majorities. The experience in our national and State governments, in the British colonies and in France is decidedly in favor of two legislative chambers.

Many Englishmen who are strongly opposed to the hereditary principle recognize this, and are unwilling to see the House of Lords deprived of its legislative functions until a new and better second chamber has been devised to take its place. Many, admitting that it is by no means an ideal second chamber, still claim that it is of great use to the nation, that the social influence of many of its members, by reason of their rank, wealth, and intelligence is great and salutary, that the work of its select committees is of great value, and that the discussions of important measures by its members, who are entirely independent of popular passion and many of whom are men of great ability, are sometimes extremely valuable.

Mr. John Bright, recognizing the fact that the English people are not ready to abolish the House of Lords, proposes that the Lords be allowed to veto a bill passed by the Commons once, but that if the same bill is passed, by the Commons at

the next session they shall be bound to accept it, not even having authority to insist upon their amendments to it. This would give the Commons an opportunity to reconsider doubtful legislation in the light of the criticism of the Lords and of the sentiments expressed by their constituents during the vacation of Parliament, and might sometimes prevent hasty legislation. Mr. Bright thinks such a limitation of the legislative power of the Peers would not diminish their dignity or their social and personal influence, as the disuse of the veto power did not lessen the dignity of and respect for the Crown.

Most of those however who desire to reform the Upper House are looking toward such changes as shall increase rather than diminish the power and influence of the Lords in legislative matters. To this end it is strongly urged that the House should be made more representative. Lord Roseberry, in a very important speech made a few months ago, in moving "that a select committee be appointed to consider the best means of promoting the efficiency of this House," directed attention to its non-representative character as one of the chief sources of its weakness. The assembly contained a number of men of the very highest distinction, of great ability, great business capacity, and great common sense. "We have in this House twenty-seven Bishops, every one of whom must be considered to have won his way to his position in this House by sheer merit and by hard work. . . . We have twenty-four Cabinet Ministers, or Peers who have been Cabinet Ministers; we have four Ambassadors, or Peers who have been Ambassadors; we have six Governors General, or Governors-Principal; and, we have eight very eminent Judges, besides the two Chancellors who sit in this House. . . . Besides these there are no less than forty Admirals, Generals, and Ministers of rank inferior to Cabinet rank, past or present. . . . I have designated 116 individuals who would gladly be included in any second chamber in the world." The decisions of these men did not have anything like the weight they deserved, largely because they represented too much one class—the landowners. The Church of England was well represented by the Bishops and there were some representatives of the Catholic Church but hardly any Dissenting Peers. Law was fairly

represented and there were some representatives of science and literature. There were, however, no representatives of medicine, while the great colonial, commercial, and manufacturing interests of the empire were not adequately represented. We have seen that with its large Conservative majority the House does not represent the political views of the country fairly. Scotland and Ireland are Liberal by great majorities, but of the sixteen Scotch representative Peers only two are Liberals, and of the twenty-eight Irish representatives not one belongs to the popular party.

It would be an easy matter to create a large number of new Peers and in this way make the House of Lords represent the various classes and interests of the nation far more fully, and there are many advocates of this plan. The great number of new Peers who have been created during the past three centuries have done something towards keeping the House from drifting altogether away from the people, although the selections were rarely made for that purpose. One is surprised to find that Henry VII. summoned only twenty-eight lay Peers to his first Parliament, and that the largest number summoned by Henry VIII. to any Parliament was fifty-eight. By 1640 the number had increased to 119; at the death of William III. it had reached 192; at the death of George II., 229; at the death of George III., 339; at the death of George IV., 396; at the death of William IV., 456, and in the reign of Queen Victoria it has been increased to about 520. It would be necessary to create at least a hundred new Peers now in order to give the popular party anything like its proper representation. There are grave objections to this; it would take out of the House of Commons and the more active and influential political career which it offers, too many of the ablest and best men; the expense of sustaining a peerage is so great that many of the men best qualified in other respects to represent important interests would be unable to accept the honor; and in the next generation many of the sons of the new Peers would fall into the old conservative grooves and another reinforcement from the men who would represent the popular movements and interests of the times would be demanded.

In view of the apparently inevitable tendency of hereditary

legislators to become conservative, it has been strongly urged that the new Peers should be created for life only. The House of Lords has never been wholly hereditary. For some time before the dissolution of the monasteries the non-hereditary spiritual Peers outnumbered the lay hereditary Peers. The recent arrangement in regard to the judges introduced an additional non-hereditary element. Formerly the Crown had an undoubted right to create a Peer for life. The right, however had not been exercised for several centuries, when, in 1856, Sir James Parke was created a baron for life. The Lords, however, refused to give him his seat until a new patent was issued which extended the barony to his heirs. The revival and exercise of this ancient right of the Crown could, in time, change the House so that it would be largely a non-hereditary assembly. If men were made Peers for life only, for distinguished merit in the House of Commons or in some one of the important professions, enterprises or industries of the country, the decisions of the Upper House would carry far greater weight than they do at present. The chief objection urged to the plan is that if the selection were made by the Prime Minister, it would place too much power in his hands. The number could be limited, however, or there could possibly be some better way of making the selection than by entrusting it to the Prime Minister.

While there are a large number of very eminent and able men among the Lords, there are also a large number who have no ability or aptitude for, or interest in legislative matters, and who rarely or never enter the House except to vote on some important measure, at the direction of the leader of their party. This fact has led many to advise that the legislative functions be transferred to a select body of Peers chosen from the whole number, just as the judicial functions have been transferred to the law Lords. The important question would be, who shall make the selection? If the whole body of Peers should make it, the representative Peers might be all Conservatives; if the Prime Minister, they might be all Liberals. The suggestion that when the sphere of county government is extended, they might be chosen by the county government boards and represent the counties, as our Senators represent the States, has,

from an American point of view, much in its favor. Great admiration has recently been expressed by several eminent English statesmen for the great efficiency and power of our Senate as a second chamber; Mr. Gladstone has repeatedly spoken in the strongest terms of its merits, Lord Roseberry has declared that probably no intelligent man would deny that the United States Senate is "in point of weight, of power and of authority the greatest second chamber in the world," and many others have uttered similar sentiments. This plan may therefore prove acceptable to the people generally. Its successful working would involve the conferring of life peerages on large numbers of men who have become distinguished in various pursuits and professions, and the opening of the House of Commons to such of the Peers as chose to become candidates for election. In this way those of the Peers who have either inherited or acquired great ability as statesmen would have much more useful and influential careers opening before them than are now possible, for if they should be chosen to be representative Peers their deliberations and decisions would carry far greater weight than at present, because of their representative character, and if they should enter the House of Commons, they would find opportunities for exerting a much more direct and powerful influence on the legislation and government of the country than they now have in the Upper House.

The growth of the power of the masses of the English people in governmental affairs during this century has been marvelously rapid. The franchise has been extended from its very narrow limits until now household suffrage has become an accomplished fact, while successive redistributions of seats have taken the greater part of the political power from the nobles and great borough-owners and distributed it among the householders of the United Kingdom. We cannot, of course, predict the outcome of these great transfers and distributions of power. There can, however, scarcely be a doubt that if the House of Lords is to continue to exist, either its legislative functions will be more and more restricted, giving the people more absolute power in the House of Commons, or its composition will be so changed that it will represent far more fully and fairly the people of the country.

ARTICLE II.—A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND SERVICES
OF THE LATE S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN YALE COLLEGE.

WHEN one who has been widely known and highly honored, and has drawn to himself a large share of the respect and affection of his fellow men is removed from his earthly labors it is prescribed alike by regard for the dead, and by what is due to the living, that some record of the chief incidents of his life and services be presented to the public, and some expression given to the just estimate and affection in which he was held. The only fitness the writer can claim for undertaking such a task in regard to the distinguished author and missionary, the late S. Wells Williams, LL.D., tidings of whose death have been recently received in China, is a sincere respect and affection for the deceased, and a friendship extending over almost thirty years.

Samuel Wells Williams was born in Utica, in the State of New York, Sept. 22, 1812. His father, William Williams, was in a prosperous business as a publisher and bookseller of that city. The family, after having come from England among the earliest settlers of New England, took up its residence in Massachusetts, in the town of Roxbury, now a part of Boston, from whence his father removed to New York. Dr. Williams was the eldest of thirteen brothers, three of whom engaged in business, while one, the late W. Frederic Williams, became a missionary to Turkey. While a lad he acquired the art of printing in the office of his father, and he also improved his ample opportunities for study. Subsequently he went to the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, N. Y., to complete his education.

In his boyhood he was an associate and school-fellow of James D. Dana; and the two, who had always been warm friends, were brought together again in later years as Professors in Yale College, the one of Geology and Mineralogy,

which chair he had long and honorably filled, and the other of the Chinese Language and Literature.

His coming to China was a sudden movement. The invitation to take the charge of the mission press at Canton was answered in the affirmative within twenty-four hours from the time of its reception. Although the decision was so hastily made, it was never repented of during his forty-three years of labor in China. On the contrary, he often spoke of it as a cause of rejoicing and thanksgiving to God. He reached China on the day before he was twenty-one years of age, and landed in the city of Canton with his fellow voyager, the Rev. Ira Tracy, on the 26th of October, 1833. The name of the ship on which they came, the *Morrison*, and their gratuitous passage, given by Messrs. Oliphant & Co., indicated the attachment of that firm to the cause of missions in China.

On his arrival Mr. Williams found but three Protestant missionaries in China proper, the Rev. Dr. Morrison, who with unwearied diligence had pursued his solitary labors since 1807; also Messrs. Bridgman and Abeel, who arrived in 1830. The Rev. Edwin Stevens, who afterwards became a missionary to the Chinese, was then Seaman's Chaplain at Canton; and Mr. Charles Gützlaff had already excited great interest by his voyages along the coast of China. Besides these there were six missionaries to the Chinese scattered in different places in the Indian Archipelago.

Mr. Williams' work was ready to his hand. A press, sent from America in 1831, had been put into operation early in 1832 under the direction of Mr. Bridgman, who then commenced the publication of the *Chinese Repository*, of which he was also the editor. The superintendence of this press devolved upon Mr. Williams from the time of his arrival in 1833 to the time of its destruction by fire in 1856. He also assisted Mr. Bridgman in editing the *Repository*, which in its last three volumes fell entirely under his care.

The object of this journal, issued monthly, was to make Europeans acquainted with the great empire of China, its dominions, government, language, literature, religions, social customs, and all that pertained to the Chinese people; to promote also in every way the spread of the Christian faith

among all the multitudes of Eastern Asia. With such an object Mr. Williams was heartily in sympathy, and he entered with avidity into the necessary studies and researches, so that we find no less than eighty articles from his pen scattered through the twenty volumes of the *Repository*, besides many shorter paragraphs, notices of books, and passing events.

Mr. Williams also assisted in the preparation of Bridgman's *Chinese Chrestomathy*, furnishing about one-third of the 700 pages of this volume (royal 8vo), which was published in the year 1841. In the year 1842 he published his *Easy Lessons*, 304 pages, 8vo, a work intended for beginners in the study of the Chinese language, which was followed in 1844 by an *English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect*, also an octavo volume of 440 pages. This effort shows that his mind was early directed to the study of lexicography, and was a preparation for his later and more complete works in the same direction.

In the same year appeared from his pen a small manual of *Chinese Topography*, of 103 pages, 8vo, being an alphabetical list of all the Provinces, Departments, and Districts of the Chinese Empire, with the latitude and longitude of each; also his *Commercial Guide*, consisting of a collection of important facts in regard to trade with China, a description of the open ports, sailing directions, etc., etc. This work he re-wrote repeatedly, and enlarged as trade expanded, new ports were opened, and new treaties formed, until in its fifth edition, printed at Hongkong in the year 1863, and containing 658 pages, 8vo, it has become a most valuable source of information in all business transactions with the Chinese.

During this early period of his life he availed himself of the opportunity, afforded by the presence of several shipwrecked Japanese sailors in Macao to gain some knowledge of the Japanese language, into which he translated the book of Genesis, and the gospel of Matthew. The Japanese referred to, after a great variety of misfortunes had been brought to Macao by the humane efforts of Europeans to have them restored to their native country. To carry out this purpose the ship *Morrison*, belonging to Messrs. Oliphant & Co., and fitted out by them, had made an unsuccessful attempt in 1837

to land them on their own shores. Mr. Williams accompanied this expedition, which was not without peril, owing to the unaccustomed navigation, and to the hostile fire from Japanese batteries upon their ship, and he subsequently published in the *Chinese Repository* an account of the various events of this early visit to the Loo Choo Islands and Japan.

Although the intended kindness was so rudely repulsed, yet he was not discouraged thereby. The expedition incited him to the study of the Japanese language, and to put forth efforts for their good. "We hope," he writes, "that the day of their admission into the family of nations is not far distant; when the preacher of peace and truth shall be allowed access to their hamlets and towns. When the arts of western lands shall be known, and commerce, knowledge, and Christianity, with their multiplied blessings shall have full scope." . . . "Bye and bye, if God permits, we will try again." These hopes of his earlier years he lived to see realized in his later visits to that country; and he himself bore a part in the transactions by which that nation was opened to western intercourse.

In the year 1844 Mr. Williams left China on his first visit to the United States, being then thirty-two years of age. He had spent eleven years in his mission field, years filled with important events in the history of foreign intercourse with China. The control of the East India Company over British trade with this empire ceased in 1834, the year after his arrival. He had seen the last of that remarkable adjustment of trade between the West and the East in the "Thirteen Factories" of "Old Canton." Here, in this little settlement on the north bank of the Pearl river, in the western suburb of Canton, the wealth, pride, culture, power, unscrupulousness, greed of gain, benevolence, learning, Christian piety, of the West had met the timidity, ignorance, weakness, duplicity, pride, contempt, politeness, acuteness, business sagacity, and probity, of the Chinese. Here the Hoppo and Cohong had met the trading companies and merchants of the English, Americans, Dutch, Prussians, Austrians, Swedes, Danes, French, Spaniards, and Italians. Here had commenced that system of trade and intercourse with China, which has in our day assumed such vast proportions. Here had been nursed and fostered the opium

traffic, which now spreads its baleful influence all over the land. Here had been initiated those efforts for the enlightenment, healing, and Christianization of the Chinese, which now extend to all the provinces, and constitute the only hope for the future of this great nation. Canton was no longer to be the focus of influence and power. What had there been commenced during two centuries of foreign intercourse was to be extended and diffused throughout the empire.

The unsettled state of trade after the withdrawal of the East India Company, the adjustment of terms of direct intercourse between China and other nations, the protests of the Chinese government against the opium traffic, the seizure and confiscation of the opium, the war with China, the forming of treaties, and the opening of the five ports, all had occurred during these early years of the residence of Mr. Williams in Canton.

Returning to the United States at this time (a journey which he accomplished by way of Egypt, Syria, and Europe), it was natural that his mind should be filled with those events of absorbing interest, which had so recently transpired in China. A general interest had been excited in this far-off land, and Mr. Williams soon commenced a course of public lectures on various subjects connected with China, its geography, history, government, religions, literature, education, intercourse with other nations, and such topics, by which he delighted and instructed many audiences. These lectures attracted general attention, and became the basis of his first edition of the *Middle Kingdom*, which was published in 1848, the year of his return to China. This work, which had an extensive sale, and reached its fourth edition in 1857, did much to enlighten the public mind, and substitute accuracy and veracity for romance and fiction in western views of the celestial empire. By it the author was brought prominently before the public, and he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Union College, New York.

It was during this visit to the United States that the Secretaries of his Society and other friends urged him to receive ordination as a minister of the gospel. This he steadily declined. While he had always held religious services with

the men in his office, and had preached to the Chinese on the Sabbath and other days, yet he did not feel himself called to the work of the ministry. Another line of effort had opened out before him which he conceived it his duty to pursue, and he chose to return to China in the same capacity in which he had gone there at the first.

During the period before the war of 1842, the missionaries to China were unmarried. Foreigners were not allowed to bring their wives to Canton. But now, owing to the recent treaties, the conditions of life had become very different, and Dr. Williams, having been united in marriage to Miss Sarah Walworth, embarked with Mrs. Williams in June, 1848, for Canton. Here he resumed his duties as superintendent of the press, being also the editor and publisher of the *Chinese Repository* until it was discontinued in 1851.

In the year 1853 Commodore Perry, under commission of the U. S. government to negotiate a treaty with Japan, came with his fleet into Chinese waters, and invited Dr. Williams, as the American best qualified to act as interpreter, to accompany the expedition in that capacity. For this office he was eminently fitted by his knowledge, both of the Chinese and Japanese languages, as well as by his experience in the voyage to Japan in the year 1837. In the discharge of its duties he won high commendation for his skill, tact, and fidelity. The expedition, having successfully completed its negotiations, returned to Hongkong after an absence of less than four months, and Dr. Williams then resumed his usual duties at Canton. In January, 1854, he again accompanied the squadron to Japan, and returned again to Canton in the latter part of the summer, the treaty having been secured, and all things arranged in a satisfactory manner. He has given an interesting account of these voyages to Japan, and of the negotiation of the treaty, which is published in *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

Excepting these periods of absence Dr. Williams remained at his post, engaged in his usual employments, after his return from the United States in 1848 until the year 1856. During these years he published annually an *Anglo-Chinese Calendar* of about 130 pages, 8vo, containing much valuable informa-

tion for residents in China. His principal work however was the preparation and publishing of his *Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect*, an octavo volume of 832 pages, which has proved a valuable aid to students of that dialect, and has been recently republished in an edition carefully revised by Dr. Eitel of Hongkong. Dr. Williams' services in the expedition to Japan had attracted the attention of officials of the United States government, who so represented the value of his skill and attainments at Washington that he was invited to become Secretary of the Legation of the United States in China. In the providence of God, while his decision in regard to this offer was pending, the mission press of which he had been superintendent, was consumed by fire, together with many copies of the *Chinese Repository* and his *Tonic Dictionary*, besides other valuable works; while his copious fonts of Roman, Chinese, Manchu, and Japanese type were entirely ruined. There was little prospect that the press would ever be restored. Under these circumstances his way seemed plain to accept the offer of the government. In his letter resigning his connection with the American Board, which had then continued twenty-three years, he writes: "I do not however regard this as a final separation from your body, far less a dissolution of my connection with Christian missions in China, and therefore desire you to look upon it as only a temporary interruption of a relation which has many probabilities of being resumed."

Dr. Williams held the office of Secretary of Legation for twenty years, during which period, in intervals of the absence of any resident minister, he acted as *Chargé d'Affaires* nine times. When he resigned his position in 1876 he held the oldest commission in the diplomatic corps of the government. Having so extensive an acquaintance with the language and usages of the Chinese, with all that pertained to foreign trade, and also an accurate knowledge of the history of American intercourse with China from the first, he was always the intelligent adviser and assistant of the Minister for the time, and was abundantly capable of directing the affairs of the Legation in his absence. His services were of the greatest value to the government during his whole term of office, but especially so

during the negotiation of the treaties at Tientsin, in 1858, and in the adjustment of subsequent difficulties. The securing of the clause regarding the toleration of Christianity in the American treaty with China was almost entirely due to his exertions. The writer well remembers with what satisfaction and gratitude to God his report of those negotiations was made at a united meeting of missionaries in Shanghai after his return to that city.*

After the destruction of the foreign residences at Canton by fire in 1856, Dr. Williams removed his family to Macao, where they remained during the unsettled state of political

* Dr. Martin, of Peking, who was interpreter to the Legation when the treaty was formed at Tientsin in 1858, gives the following account of the insertion of this article in the treaty. The Russians and the French had arranged articles in reference to the toleration of the Christian religion in the Greek and Latin forms; which they were to have inserted in their respective treaties. Dr. Williams was very desirous to have a similar article in the American treaty, in which Protestant Christians might also be recognized by the Chinese government, and claim equal protection of the laws. The United States Minister, Mr. William B. Reed, did not object to such an article, but was not inclined to take active measures in its favor. He had fixed on a certain day for the signing of the treaty, and if the article on toleration could be gained prior to that day he offered no objection; but he would not consent to delay the signing of the treaty in order to secure it. Dr. Williams proposed an article to the Chinese commissioners, but it was so modified by them as to destroy its virtue. Another form was sent to them with no better success. The day before the signing of the treaty, a form which had been proposed by Dr. Williams was returned to him, with such changes, made by the Chinese, that it could not be accepted. Failure seemed inevitable. The next morning Dr. Williams, as he rose from his bed, said to Dr. Martin that he had slept but little during the night on account of the danger of a failure of inserting any article on the toleration of Christianity in the treaty, which was to be signed that day. He had now a form to propose which he had thought over during the night, and which he believed would be satisfactory to both parties. The form was stated to Dr. Martin, who also approved it, and urged that both of them should go in person at once to secure its adoption, instead of sending by messengers as heretofore. This suggestion was approved, and they went accordingly to the headquarters of the Chinese officials, where they were kindly received, and in no very long time, to their great joy, had attained their object. The article was approved, and inserted in the treaty. The article on the toleration of Christianity in the British treaty, which was signed subsequently to the American, was due, it is believed, to this successful effort.

affairs in China, until their return to the United States in 1858. The treaty, formed in 1858, having been ratified in 1859, Dr. Williams the next year followed his family to the United States to make his second visit to his native land, and was there during the war of England and France with China, in 1860, as also during the exciting scenes of the opening of the late war in the United States. Returning to China in 1862 he left his family in Macao, and came to Peking in July of the same year to make preparation for the residences of the American Legation. The following year he brought his family to Peking, and this city continued to be his residence so long as he remained in China.

Having waded through the necessary delays, vexations, and interruptions incident to the negotiating for and putting in order residences for the families of the Legation, the same to be repeated at a later day, he gave himself in the intervals of relief from official duties to that, which after all must be regarded as the great work of his life, the preparation of his *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese language*. For this work his earlier efforts in the *Easy Lessons*, the *Chrestomathy*, the *Vocabulary*, and the *Tonic Dictionary* proved helpful in the way of preparation. Of course he availed himself of these, and also, as far as possible, of the labors of all his predecessors in the work of lexicography. He well knew that a complete dictionary of the Chinese language, which should satisfy permanently the demands of students, must be the work of a company of men, many of them specialists, each laboring in his own department; but he judged that, with the blessing of God, he might embody with the results of his own labors those also of his predecessors in this department, and thus produce a dictionary which would supply a manifest need for the current years, and be very useful to those engaged in Chinese studies. To this undertaking he now gave himself with unwearied diligence. His eyes and ears were ever open to catch some new form of expression of thought in the Chinese language, whether from books, or the speech of men. With his own pen he wrote out in Chinese every character, and every example to illustrate its meaning, throughout his dictionary.

What with the materials already accumulated, and his fresh acquisitions, his work progressed so rapidly that he was able to commence the printing in Shanghai in 1871, and to give his dictionary to the public in 1874. It is in the form of a quarto volume of 1336 pages, containing articles on 12,527 characters of the Chinese language, besides his lengthened introduction on the structure of the language, its tones, dialects, and primitives, and systems of spelling its sounds. In the conclusion of his preface he writes: "I have the satisfaction of feeling that the labor spent upon this work during the past eleven years in the intervals of official duties will now be available for students in acquiring the Chinese language. Its deficiencies will be hereafter supplied by others, who will build upon their predecessors, as I have done; for the field is too vast to be explored or exhausted, even by many laborers. The stimulus to past effort and the hope that it would not be in vain, both sprung from the desire to aid the labors of those who are imparting truth in any branch to the sons of Han, especially those religious and scientific truths whose acquisition and practice can alone christianize and elevate them. At the end of forty years spent in this country in these pursuits I humbly thank the good Lord for all the progress I have been permitted to see in this direction, and implore his blessing upon this effort to aid their greater extension."

It was characteristic of the author that he gave, in reduced prices of his dictionary as sold to missionaries, the sum of \$1,200 as a thank-offering to God for having enabled him to bring this work to a conclusion; and it must have been a gratifying testimony to the value of his work that a new edition of 750 copies was required in 1882, every copy of the first edition of 1000 copies having been already sold.

Dr. Williams returned to Peking from Shanghai in 1873. His health had now become seriously impaired. The strain upon his powers in preparing and publishing his dictionary had proved too great. Doubtless his days were shortened thereby. While at Shanghai in 1872 he was obliged for a time to suspend all work, and seek relief in a voyage to Japan. The respite from care after the completion of his dictionary in 1874 did something in the way of restoring his health, and in

the year 1875 he made his third visit to America, which gave him an additional period of rest. It is worthy of remark that however much of care and labor Dr. Williams had in hand, he never seemed burdened by it, but always appeared sprightly and cheerful, ready for every good work, and not annoyed by frequent interruptions.

His last return to Peking was in the year 1876, his family remaining in the United States. He spent some months in the city and at his usual summer resort at the western hills. He seemed more tenderly attached than ever to the places in which he had labored, to the people for whom he had given his life of toil, and to the friends who had been his co-workers in efforts for their good. It was difficult for him to break off so many tender associations and leave finally the land of his adoption.

However at his period of life, and with his impaired health, he judged that his work in China was done. For years he had been urged to take a place among the faculty of Yale College, who thought that the language and literature of China should have some representative in this institution of learning, and earnestly desired that Dr. Williams should accept such a position. This he consented to do, after some deliberation, and accordingly in 1877 commenced a residence in New Haven, where he remained until his death.

The revision and enlargement of his *Middle Kingdom* had been long in contemplation, and the materials for it accumulating. Indeed he had already begun the work before leaving China in 1876. This revision, with occasional articles for various reviews, attendance upon the meetings of societies, and public gatherings where matters relating to China were in discussion, seem to have occupied his time during these later years of his life. Among other things he entered very warmly into the question of Chinese immigration, protesting against the injustice done to the Chinese in raising this wall of separation to keep them out of the United States, and writing long articles in favor of unrestricted immigration. In the year 1881 he was chosen President of the American Bible Society; and he was always present at its monthly meetings when his health would allow it. He was also chosen President of the

American Oriental Society, and held both these offices at the time of his death.

His health at this time was far from being robust, and his eyesight was very imperfect. In 1882 he had a serious fall upon the ice. This was followed by an attack of paralysis, from which he gained only a partial recovery. Happily at this time he had completed his revision of the *Middle Kingdom*, and made arrangements for its publication. In the latter part of his work, and in carrying it through the press he was greatly assisted by his son, Mr. Frederick Wells Williams. "By the blessing of God most manifestly," he wrote to a friend about this time, "do I see the probable completion of this work, and I praise the God of all grace." After its completion he wrote again, "I have made my last effort, and implore the blessing of God on this work which has for its object to further Christ's kingdom. That is all I want." Still later, about seven months before his death, he wrote, "I am glad to say that the last proof sheet of the *Middle Kingdom* went last week to the publishers. If it has the blessing which the first edition had I shall be content. I had great difficulty in writing the preface. . . . I did not realize how weak my brain was. . . . I must decrease, others must increase; and God be praised that the work, in which he has promised that the kingdoms of this world shall be given to his Son, will never lack his ministers and servants."

Of the work thus completed it is safe to say, that as it was his last, so it will probably be the most widely read and of the greatest permanent usefulness. It has been well received, both in the United States and in England. Among the many favorable notices of the book we find the following. "Written by a thorough scholar forty-three years resident in China, it seems to us unlikely that for fulness of information, fairness of statement, and freshness of style, this work will be excelled as a comprehensive statement of the whole subject. One may expect, rather, to see the most attractive portions of this immense territory apportioned among the specialists." This is a just estimate of the value of the work.

Dr. Williams did not long survive its completion. Still later in September, after the work was published, he wrote,

"On every side I see men and women active in the affairs of life, but I have no part in their activities. I feel that the brain is crippled, and continuous labor or thought impossible. I do not repine. My heart is resigned to that will which is my happiness, so far as I know, and he will provide. I have all that I want for this life, more would be a trouble, and perhaps would be a temptation. The outer world must be henceforth to be seen by me, as if I were in a gallery, looking down on the arena. Happily the mercy seat is ever open, and there are family, missions, China especially, and many objects nearer by, to implore divine blessings upon. How we are bound to one another through and by that mercy seat, and up to the Head of the One Fold." This was written only five months before his death. During the interval his condition remained much the same.

One who was present at his funeral writes, "Dr. Williams died on Saturday, the 16th of February, in the evening. He had been failing fast since the first of the month, but his mind was clear until a few hours before his death. On the last day he fell into a comatose condition and died without pain. The evening of his life was very peaceful and happy. He was held in high honor at New Haven, and had great influence there. He took great pleasure in the completion of the new edition of his *Middle Kingdom*, and in its favorable reception. His son read him flattering notices of it from the English press only four days before his death. His funeral took place in the Battell Chapel, all the faculty and the college attending. Dr. Barbour the college pastor, President Porter, and Dr. Clark, Secretary of the American Board, spoke of his life and services with discrimination and feeling. He was buried in the family cemetery in Utica, New York."

In reflecting upon such a life one is impressed with its completeness. Many of those who have entered the race in China with the fairest prospects have been cut down in early manhood; others in riper years. It was not thus with Dr. Williams. He was spared to complete that which he had purposed. His life was well rounded out. His usefulness commenced early and continued late. This was owing on the one hand to his patient, industrious, well-directed efforts, and

on the other to the protection and blessing of God amid the dangers incident to so long and eventful a course. Dr. Parker, his early friend and medical adviser at Canton, said of him: "His health was such in the first part of his life in China that I feared we should lose him." Yet he survived and was able to perform a great amount of diligent labor until the end of his days.

The life of Dr. Williams covered an eventful period in the history of foreign intercourse with China. Mention has already been made of the cessation of the monopoly of the East India Company in 1834, the war with England in 1841, 1842, the withdrawal of power from the Hong merchants, the opening of the five ports, also of the opening of Japan to western nations. Later followed the capture of the city of Canton in 1857, the new treaties of 1858, the war of England and France with China in 1860, and the supplementary treaties; the opening of new ports of trade in different parts of China and her dependencies; the establishment of the Legations in Peking, and the peaceful settlement of the question as to the audience with the Chinese Emperor. The new order of things thus inaugurated was followed by a vast expansion of trade and evangelistic effort. Dr. Williams in his own person formed a connecting link between the old and the new, between the trade confined and shackled at Canton and the now unrestricted commerce with all important parts of China; between Dr. Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, who in order to secure a permanent residence in the land became interpreter to the East India Company, and the present generation of missionaries scattered all over the empire.

It must be evident to any one who knew Dr. Williams that he was a man of quick parts, active intellect, retentive memory, and patient industry. He took a sensible, comprehensive view of subjects brought before him, and adhered to it consistently. What he saw, he saw clearly, and at once. He did not dwell too long in elaborating his views or in modifying what he had written. Content with that degree of excellence which he was able easily and naturally to attain, he passed on to other subjects and fresh labors.

Dr. Williams was known by all to be a man of humble, consistent Christian piety. He received the gospel in its simplicity. His mind seems never to have been exercised by skeptical doubts although he was familiar with the objections of scientific men, and had lived long among unbelievers. Religion was to him altogether true and a very practical concern. His Christian character adorned his domestic and social intercourse and gave inspiration and direction to his whole course in life. His bible lessons with his children and his sabbath forenoon exercises with his Chinese servants were faithfully maintained. In all society, and among all classes of men he won respect as a follower of Christ.

A part of his religion consisted in giving of his substance to charitable purposes. One-tenth of his income was the rule Dr. Williams followed in such bestowals. It is believed that in one way or another he quite repaid to the Board which sent him to China all the expense they had been at on his account; and many other missionary societies, as well as a great variety of objects, shared his benefactions.

If he had a large measure of prosperity he had also no small measure of adversity, and in both he bore himself with Christian equanimity. His eldest three children, two sons, Olyphant and Walworth, and a daughter were stricken down by death in the United States while he was absent from them. He bore their loss not only with resignation, but with the cheerfulness of Christian hope.

His Christian principles and kindly feelings were conspicuous in all his intercourse with the Chinese, both of a public and private nature, as also in his writings. This is very observable in his *Middle Kingdom*, one object of which he declares to be, "To divest the Chinese people and civilization of that peculiar and indefinable impression of ridicule which has so generally been given them by foreign authors," and "to show the better traits of their national character." In reading these volumes one can but feel that the Chinese are in the hands of a friend. The underlying principles of the writer are kindness, benevolence, justice. The faults of the people do not excite his hatred or derision, but rather move him to greater efforts to impart to them knowledge and truth. He

speaks plainly and boldly of the wrongs done them by Christian nations, while he acknowledges also the necessity of decided measures at times for their own good.

In the preface to this work, at the close, he writes: "The stimulus, which in this labor of my earlier and later years has been ever present to my mind, is the hope that the cause of missions may be promoted. In the success of this cause lies the salvation of China as a people, both in its moral and political aspects." . . . "The promise of that Spirit will fulfill the prophecy of Isaiah, delivered before the era of Confucius, and God's people will come from the land of Sinim and join in the anthem of praise with every tribe under the sun." These were the last words he ever wrote for the press, and they form a fitting close to the life work of the writer; a close also to this imperfect tribute to his life and services.

ARTICLE III.—SANITARY TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

THE present age is not one of tranquil confidence in the perfection of existing institutions; and the criticism, sometimes harsh, but often helpful, which is so characteristic of our time, finds a fruitful theme in the subject of education. Our still crude and indefinite conception of its scope, and the disastrous overdoings and shortcomings of practical pedagogics is stimulating the laudable effort to determine the precise functions of education, and to employ them in such an orderly manner as to insure the maximum of benefit, and at the same time to guard against positive injury to the brains and bodies educated. In the prevailing scheme it is evident that too prominent a position is occupied by the ornamental branches or "accomplishments," and relatively little importance is attached to practical training and the cultivation of original thought and forethought.

For more rational and salutary methods, we should look to those earnest students in many countries who, while individually urging the advantages of special studies and phases of training, are in the aggregate steadily and surely moulding the future of public school and collegiate work. Among those whose broad and deep comprehension of the whole meaning of education has given color to all partial treatment of it, we should not fail to name Herbert Spencer and Alexander Bain. As to special topics of peculiar interest to us as Americans, our educators have spoken fervently and plainly. Pres. Gilman calls attention to the influence exerted by science, wealth, and religious freedom on college training. Pres. Andrew White summons the youth away from the strictly mercantile application of their schooling into the fields of literary, scientific, artistic, and political thought. Rev. R. Heber Newton and other writers in the *North American Review*, and in *Education*, urge the introduction of ethical culture into the public schools. Prof. Felix Adler, R. G. Huling, Prof. H. W. Farnam in the *New Englander*, and others, advise industrial and manual work as a necessary training to the hand and eye

as well as to the mind. The education of the color-sense finds an able advocate in Dr. B. Joy Jeffries. The defects of the present system, the evils of over-education, physical and political training, Froebel's kindergarten and the Quincy methods, the tonic sol fa system of music—these and other innovations and improvements find their exponents in a series of eminent names, including Canon Kingsley, H. C. Stephens, Pres. Thomas Hunter, G. Stanley Hall, Rev. M. J. Savage, Dr. Mary P. Jacobi, and others.

Thus each active friend of education helps by wise criticism or presents a new candidate for a place in the improved curriculum; and, out of all this high endeavor and discussion are to emerge, we trust at no distant day, schools and colleges far better adapted to the needs of the mass of the people, the improvement in whose condition is the measure of truest national prosperity.

In a superior order of study, what place should be occupied by Sanitary knowledge in its wider sense?

Here let me premise that although such training must necessarily be elementary yet it should nevertheless be comprehensive. The study of animal and plant physiology in colleges and high schools does not answer the requirements of a great majority of the youth who cannot have these advantages; and even if they could, such knowledge would be altogether one-sided and inadequate. As inconsistent would it be to confine musical instruction to the teaching of solos as to limit the study of health exclusively to physiology and a smattering of personal hygiene. The fact should be emphasized, that the individual or family may be in excellent health, and yet be defenceless against diseases that are the result of public ignorance, or the neglect of concerted action; and some of the most difficult problems of civilized life grow out of this fact.

It is then the pitiful results of ignorance of these two knowledges, *individual* and *public* hygiene, that impresses me, and the urgent need of some elementary training of this kind, not only in our institutions of advanced learning, but also in the graded schools where are being taught boys and girls, who at the age of thirteen or fourteen must begin a life of independence and come daily under these laws of life of which they are now so ignorant.

Whenever perplexed by the conflicting claims of this and the other study, I find a helpful test of the order of their worth in the classification of Mr. Spencer, which will recommend itself to all: "How to live, is the essential question for us," and pertinently he arranges in the order of their importance the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life. They are naturally arranged as follows: "1st. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation; 2nd. Those activities which, by securing the necessities of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation; 3d. Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring; 4th. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations; 5th. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings."

This is also the rational order of subordination of knowledges, and there should be a due proportion between the degrees of preparation in each: "That education which prepares for direct self-preservation," stands first in importance; and then follows that which prepares for business; "that which prepares for parenthood; that which prepares for citizenship; that which prepares for the miscellaneous refinements of life." If we contrast this broad and humane conception of education with the prevailing methods it will be seen that this order is nearly reversed; the miscellaneous, ornamental and business studies are pursued almost to the exclusion of the others. Now let us follow a schoolboy out into the world and observe how he gets along without the training we advocate, and judge if he has been equipped for the life before him.

A certain good man, out of the kindness of his heart and from a sense of religious duty, admitted the members of a poor family to the shelter of his roof for a few days until they should have time to find a home for themselves. That they had been sick and were needy and discouraged was a sufficient appeal to his humanity. The name or nature of the malady imported was unappreciated. It however turned out that Scarlatina was the disease, that these people had been evicted for non-payment of rent, and that the landlord was a prominent health-official who presumably knew that the bodies and clothing of such convalescents were liable to carry a deadly miasma. It seems unjust

that an act of kindness so disinterested should result in misfortune, but the hard fact remains that non-fulfillment of the conditions of health, ignorant or willful, leads to sickness and death, and boards of health do not shield the public from the penalties of its own ignorance. In consequence of this law our benevolent host had to bury his favorite girl, and after nursing the three remaining children back to safety the little reserve fund had given place to debt, and the burdens of life, always heavy enough, pressed exceedingly hard upon these parents debilitated and discouraged by anxiety, over-work, and bereavement. Incidentally the town suffered pecuniary loss on account of this disaster; private charity was for a time diverted from the relief of unavoidable suffering; the children's school life was shortened, and their constitutions permanently weakened. Who will venture to follow out the remote evil results of sanitary ignorance in a single example of the thousands occurring all about us?

I am taxed with the care of a case of chronic pelvic peritonitis relighted into acute activity by exposure and wet feet. The patient, a talented and unmarried woman of twenty-four years has been assistant principal of a ladies' seminary. Algebra, geometry, music, chemistry, Latin, and history are some of the branches in which she is supposed to be proficient, and to that end she has overstrained a sensitive constitution and committed innumerable hygienic sins without realizing their import. In early life she had been trained to study her books faithfully at all hazard, to subordinate every natural and healthful inclination and hence practically to ignore the fact that she was a woman. She has for years persisted in this course in spite of repeated attacks of endometritis, peritonitis, and cystitis. She has in consequence been obliged to resort to expensive consultations in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston in the hope to rid herself of pelvic, spinal and ocular trouble, and has now the hard task of reconciling herself to the status of an invalid for life. This deplorable state has been caused and maintained by the excessive use of eyes and brain, by colds, by exposures, and by standing at her work for hours at a time while fatigue and the painful and congestive effect of gravity on the pelvic organs and circulation was almost unbearable. Who can compute the suffering, the wrecked lives, the

immediate and remote disaster; the countless consequences of ignorance and disobedience of hygienic law as applied to the individual and his or her offspring?

We feel like holding up cases like these as object lessons to the young who start out with such wide possibilities for disaster or success; and surely there is abundant material for such teaching,—but where and how shall it begin? We may readily admit not only the pecuniary cost of unnecessary death, but the vastly greater aggregate distress resulting from such death, and especially from the more lamentable maiming of life,—but we have still to ask, where shall the helpful knowledge be inculcated? for not to the schools exclusively do we look for education. There are the home influences, and that democratic educator, “the college of the street.” Can we rely upon contact with parents indoors and upon the social atmosphere outside for intelligence in health matters?

Surely the children owe almost all of their practical knowledge of life to these sources, but are they not also the sources of prejudice and superstition? Whence the examples and passion for unhealthy clothing, tight-lacing, late hours, the early resort to stimulants, the tobacco habit which is fixed at an age when only harm can result, and before a boy has a fair chance to decide what ought to be his life-long habits?

These influences are also responsible for the maintenance of quackery, for the ridiculous and harmful therapeutic folk-lore, for the dogma that death and disease are dispensed for moral purposes. May we expect sanitary instruction to issue from the popular literature of the day? from the Seaside library, from Harper’s, from the daily press—that educator for which so much has been claimed and from which too little that is true and elevating proceeds? I fancy that when the ball-games and dog-fights are reported and some false ideas of politics are inculcated, there is room for little else except the advertisements, some news, and a love story or a Spooopen-dyke. The Sunday school cannot teach hygiene, for its chief function is to excite interest in the attractions of another world. It is to counteract these very influences that hygienic training is especially needed, and this training should stand second to none in any system of elementary education and to

some extent I think it should be considered essential in every department of liberal or professional study.

A visit to the public schools of New Haven is well repaid by the gratification of witnessing the marked development in the direction of better methods. If one is pressed for time let the visit be to our new training school where an enterprising management consisting of Supt. Dutton, the Misses Reed, Wilcox, and Fogle and Mrs. Van Tassel has set itself the task of creating a model institution. The first impression will be one of surprise at the cheerful atmosphere and the absence of much of the old chalk-line restraint and nagging, and the bewilderment of children with a confusing multiplicity of detail in studies of minor importance, regardless of their power of assimilation. The hum-drum, sing-song A, B, C, class of former days will actually be found at play with colored blocks and balls and under the most natural conditions possible drinking in a love for kindness, and orderly habits, and that modicum of knowledge which is appropriate to their age. In the higher grades also improvement is marked. Reading is studied not simply as rhetoric but chiefly as a means of acquiring ideas and facts. Instead of many numbers being employed to illustrate a single arithmetical process all the elementary processes are illustrated with one pair of numbers at a time. Geography is taught by making each child a little creator on a small scale and, furnished with sand and miniature trees and towns and lakes, the children acquire a knowledge of the earth's surface by actually reproducing its form.

But an examination of the whole scope of public instruction reveals inconsistencies that claim earnest attention, and the most profound inconsistency of all is this to which I refer—the teaching of everything and anything but the most necessary and rudimentary knowledge of the preservation of life and health.

This public school course comprises an imposing list of studies. Beginning with the graded schools we have music, free-hand drawing,, reading, grammar, spelling, writing, arithmetic, mechanical drawing, geography, and history. Passing on to the high school course we have French, German, Latin, Greek, algebra, geometry, Roman and Greek history, physics,

chemistry, physiology, botany, physical geography, science of government, geology, astronomy, English literature, and rhetoric. In addition to these there are in three schools daily lessons in natural history and in two schools the experimental weekly lessons in carpentry to boys, and lessons to girls in sewing, fancy work, gluing photographs on glass, and other manual studies that may be determined by the taste or proficiency of the individual teacher. The conspicuous absence of all health instruction in the graded school course, taken with the fact that the great majority of boys and girls can have no further school preparation for life, would lead one to infer that such beings were mere automatons to be fitted only for business, stored with the conventional accomplishments of polite society, and utterly independent of the laws of individual or general life and health. In the high school, physiology is not to be considered a substitute for the sanitary instruction needed. In the Scientific Department of Yale a few special students in biology are given lectures on public hygiene, regardless of the requirements of individual health, and the rest are sent on into life without even this important knowledge. In the Academical Department all are required to know something of personal hygiene, being left as ignorant of the functions of sewerage, the essentials of the drainage and ventilation of their houses, or the desirable social management of the communicable diseases as though this knowledge had no fundamental relation to life or were unworthy a place in a plan of high culture. Even in that department where are trained the physicians, who ought to be the natural allies of sanitary science, we look in vain for the slightest interest in its culture.

But let us return to the public schools, for it is only here that direction can be given to the main stream of youthful life as it flows out beyond the sources of systematic Education. Deplorable as it is that the cultured rich should be so vulgarly ignorant, yet the resulting evil is as a drop in the ocean to that which is begotten of such neglect of life-training among the great masses of our people who think themselves fortunate if their schooling has not been abridged to three months a year or to the age of 14 which is all that our statutes require. The special needs of these children will be evident from a con-

sideration of their probable after lives. The following statement accounts for most of the boys and girls who attended No. 12, in our local grammar schools from 1870 to 1875, and is taken from the last excellent report of Supt. Dutton. Of the boys there are—

Clerks and book-keepers.....	175
Mechanics	89
Merchants	19
Laborers.....	17
Printers	15
Manufacturers	14
Druggists	10
Grocers.....	10
Joiners	10
Machinists	9
Teachers.....	6

and the rest scattered among 42 chiefly industrial occupations, making a total of 533.

Of the girls there are—

Married.....	226
At home (which I suppose means willing to be married).....	145
Teachers.....	89
Clerks and book-keepers.....	59
Dressmakers.....	37
Shop hands	18

and the remainder scattered among 12 other pursuits, making a total of 661.

It should be borne in mind that most children are obliged to leave school before reaching this grade. Those who are familiar with people whose circumstances forced them into industrial occupations and the active struggle of life at an early age with merely the training of the common school, know what slight chance there is in after years for acquiring the essential knowledge for which we contend. These reflections recall the lives that were from this cause hampered and perhaps destroyed by personal and social sins, the result of ignorance and false teaching in those years that were set apart and most competent for preparation in the prime requirements of life.

Believing that some elementary instruction in Sanitary Science in the graded schools is both feasible and desirable I have suggested the following addition to the course, if neces-

sary, at the expense of the least important studies. To make a beginning I propose a weekly conversation on this subject in one school, the pupils of the two highest rooms to be divided into two classes according to sex, and the exercise to be conducted by a physician or other person specially qualified for this work. In these talks there should be no confused effort to grasp a multitude of details. The instruction should include at first such of the essential principles of Sanitary Science, including personal hygiene, as can be readily understood by children of thirteen to fourteen years. The youth should be taught first of all to give conscientious thought to the conditions of life and health, and then they should be helped to knowledge appropriate to their age and mental capacity. An average boy or girl of 14 years should know what clothing is best calculated to insure health, and when and what to eat. They should know the evils that follow heavy lifting and straining, the compression of the chest and abdomen, and the exposure of the feet and extremities to climatic influences. They should know the chief dangers of resorting to nostrums of unknown composition for maladies of the nature of which they know nothing. They should know what the death-rate is and why it varies; the function of quarantine; the essentials of house drainage, heating and ventilation. The chief results to be gained by the cleansing of cities, the avoidance of soil pollution, and the pollution of drinking water. They should have an idea what worry is, and the effects of worry and of mental or physical work without sufficient relaxation.

They should know the hygienic as well as the moral bearing of vice and intemperance and that these are *immoral* chiefly because they are *injurious*. Especially would I recommend illustrations of the laws of heredity and their applications, so far as we know them, to those diseases and traits which are the most baneful.

Thus through even elementary training would I hope for valuable results. These children would be taught to be thoughtful and observing and they would be dismissed well furnished with the material to continue these studies and prepared to exert a wholesome influence on public sentiment.

ARTICLE IV.—THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

I.

A GOOD deal of needless suspicion, not to say of theological odium, has of late been aroused in connection with this term as used to indicate what is supposed to be a new departure in theology. This fact illustrates what is familiar to the student of modern thought, the power of *words* to become symbols not of ideas merely but of opinions and prejudices. The word *freedom* or liberty, which stands for one of the most central truths and sacred rights of humanity, by becoming the watch-word of political or theological theorists, has lost caste with many, and has come to represent socialism in the State, and rationalism in religious thought. Even freedom of will, or the self-determining power of man, the very essence of personality and the condition of all moral action, was once controverted by Edwards as the synonym of Pelagian heresy. So potent is the influence of a word, when loosened from its radical and true meaning and colored by partisan feeling or sectarian prejudice, to falsify itself, and bring odium on the deepest and most sacred of truths.

It will be the object of this Essay to rescue if possible this term *Christian consciousness* from the color of theological prejudice which seems to be gathering about it, by defining as clearly as possible its true meaning, and to set forth the truth or reality for which it stands. We do this under a profound conviction that the highest interests of Christian truth as determined by a true and spiritual understanding of the Word of God, are involved in this discussion.

We shall endeavor to show that there is a consciousness peculiarly and distinctively *Christian*; to consider how it differs from natural or ordinary consciousness, both as regards its objects and the faculty or power by which they are known; to define so far as possible its place and authority in Christian doctrine; and lastly, if our limits allow, show something of its presence and working in the history of the Church and of theological opinion.

Of course, a subject so profound and far-reaching, comprehending in its scope so much of Christian experience and Christian philosophy, can be here treated only in outline, and suggestively, rather than scientifically.

We know not how better to introduce what we have to say—or in miner's phrase, to sink a shaft into our subject, than to cite the words of Coleridge in respect to what he terms the "philosophic consciousness."

"There is," he says, "a *philosophic* (and inasmuch as it is actualized by an effort of freedom, an *artificial*) consciousness, which lies beneath, or, as it were, *behind* the spontaneous consciousness natural to all reflecting beings. As the elder Romans distinguished their northern provinces into Cis-Alpine and Trans-Alpine, so may we divide all the objects of human knowledge into those on this side, and those on the other side of the spontaneous consciousness. The latter is exclusively the domain of *pure* philosophy, which is therefore properly entitled *transcendental*."

Now, as there is this philosophic consciousness below the ordinary surface current of thought on which most minds drift among the *shadows* of material things, falling passively upon it,—a depth unreached and undisturbed by these shadows, and holding in itself truths transcending things of sense and the mere notional understanding, and unconditioned by the laws of time and space, (and whoso would be a philosopher must descend into these depths and grasp these truths); so there is a divine or *Christian* consciousness of things or realities beyond the reach of the natural or unregenerate mind—a consciousness as real, as true and as *transcendent* as that; and whoso would be a Christian must apprehend these realities.

The objects or contents of this consciousness are not things of sense, nor of reason in its ordinary acceptation and activity, not those laws and relations of matter or mind with which science and philosophy are concerned, but things, as we say, of faith, spiritual and divine things,—*the things of the Spirit of God*.

Here we have struck the vein or substratum of Scriptural truth and philosophy as disclosed in the New Testament, and especially by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Corinthi-

ans,—so far below our shallow and superficial metaphysics and utterly ignored by the materialistic philosophers of our day, and it may be well to explore this vein a little and see what wealth of spiritual ore may be found in it.

I. There is a distinct and positive recognition in the Scriptures of a Christian consciousness, or a knowledge and experience which is peculiar to the regenerate soul.

This will not be denied by any who read the Bible with unclosed eyes, and is even one of the commonplaces of religious discourse. But the reality and import of this fact is obscured to many minds by the prevailing naturalism with which our whole theology and religious teaching is tinctured.

In our current philosophy of religion our conception of the change called *regeneration* is so far below the terms employed by Christ and his apostles to describe it, that they have a strained and extravagant look, and can only be fitted to it by the most forced interpretation. Let us look at a few of these terms of description, beginning with one from the Old Testament: "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you." "Except a man be born again (or from above) he cannot see the knowledge of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature." "And you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins." "Ye were sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." "Ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of Christ dwell in you." "He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit."

A change that will warrant such terms as these, is not to be measured or described by calling it a *moral* change merely, a change of the ruling purpose, or a new direction given to the faculties and activities of man. These indicate some of its effects, not its cause or reality. It may be said that these are figurative expressions, and figures must not be pressed into literalities. But a figure or symbolic utterance implies some analogy and correspondence between the spiritual fact and the natural symbol. A new birth and a new life implies something imparted which was not possessed before—something not merely developed from within, but received from above—a

divine life. "Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." If it be said that no new faculties are created by regeneration,—neither does the child receive any new faculties by being born, but he enters a new world and a new life. Senses and powers, before dormant, existing but in germ and potency, are awakened to activity by communion with their proper objects. So in regeneration, the spiritual powers of man, before dormant and unexercised, are awakened or quickened by the Spirit of God brought into vital communion with the spirit of man. He is born into a new world and a new life—the world of *spirit*, and the life of *God*, while before he lived only in the world of sense and the life of nature. That profound and radical distinction drawn out by St. Paul in the 8th chapter of Romans, between the *flesh* and the *spirit*, and between the natural and the spiritual man, which lies at the root of all true Christian philosophy, seems to be ignored or explained away by many religious teachers. So low and earthly are some prevalent conceptions of the religious life, and so unmeaning the distinction between natural and spiritual, that the same *motives*, namely self-love and the pursuit of happiness, are applied to the regenerate and the unregenerate life, the only difference being that of degree; the one pursuing a present and temporal, the other an everlasting happiness—ignoring the meaning of that divine word: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for *my* sake (not for salvation's or happiness' sake) shall find it,"—find it *in* the losing, and the selfless love that prompts it.

The same shallow and unspiritual philosophy limits regeneration, or its effects, to two of the three great departments of consciousness. It gives a new "experience" in the realm of *feeling*, and a new purpose to the *will*, but not a new power of *knowing*, not a new revelation. Whereas in the New Testament philosophy, the first and distinguishing effect of regeneration or Christian faith, is described as the opening of a new sense or knowing power, the power to discern and know divine things,—i. e. a *revelation* of them not to a "natural" faculty possessed and exercised by all men, but to a *spiritual* faculty hitherto closed.

Let us look at some of the passages in which this new sense or spiritual faculty of knowledge is described.

"The Son of God is come, and *hath given us an understanding* that we may know Him that is true." "God who caused the light to shine out of darkness *hath shined in our hearts*, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." That this is no mere outward knowledge or revelation, see Paul's language respecting his conversion: "When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb and called me by his grace, to *reveal his Son in me*, that I might preach him among the Gentiles." "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. *But God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit.*" This is sometimes understood as referring to the rewards of the future life: but the context shows that the "things" referred to are those divine things which are beyond the reach of sense and reason whether here or hereafter, and are known only by an immediate revelation of God to the soul.

The contrast between the regenerate and the unregenerate state is marked chiefly by this distinction, of *knowing* and *not knowing* God and divine things. Thus the condition of the Gentile world is described in this wise: "Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." "And ye were sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." "And this is life eternal," says Jesus, "to know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

"Compare, too, what St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 14) says of this spiritual sense opened by regeneration, as contrasted with the natural understanding. "For the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth (or discerneth) all things, yet he himself is judged (discerned) of no man."*

*The distinction here recognized between the natural and the spiritual man, which modern psychology is seeking to efface, will appear more evident as we proceed. It is sufficient here to observe that its basis is found in the difference in *kind* between the *soul* (*ψυχή*) includ-

Again, St. John declares (1 Jno. ii. 20, 27): "But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." "But the anointing which ye have received of Him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you,"—referring to our Lord's promise of the Comforter who should "teach them all things," and "lead them into all truth."

In connection with these passages read those other words of Christ Himself: "If any man will do his will he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God,"—and again, "My sheep hear my voice and they follow me; but a stranger will they not follow, for they know not the voice of strangers."

Now these passages teach, if they teach anything, that there is a consciousness peculiarly and distinctively Christian; a *knowledge* possessed by or possible to the regenerate mind which is not possessed by the "natural man" or the unregenerate and unbelieving soul. This knowledge differs not in degree merely, but in *kind* from that which we call natural knowledge, and which comes through the natural faculties of man. This will appear evident by considering,

II. The distinctive *objects* and transcendent *source* of this knowledge.

These objects are manifestly not those which can be known through the *senses*. Here the spiritual philosophy leaves behind all the materialistic and positive philosophies of the day, which allow no real knowledge of anything not apprehended by sense, even supposing—which they deny—such realities to exist. Furthermore, these objects are not those of the *understanding*, meaning by this term "the faculty judging according to sense"; which forms *notions* or conceptions of things revealed by the senses, and constructs from them sciences and theoretical systems that are purely mental or subjective, airy structures of the brain, which may or may not have a corresponding reality in the senses and the sensual understanding, desires and passions,—all of which the brute possesses in some degree,—and the *spirit* (*πνεῦμα*) including the reason, conscience, and will,—the express image of God in man. Its *realization* is found only in the free communion of the human with the divine Spirit, by whose indwelling influence and inshining light, the spirit of man realizes its true powers: as the eye realizes its power of vision only in communion with the light of day. What the sense of touch is to clear vision, that the natural understanding is to spiritual knowledge.

the world of things. Whether these notions and the structures built of them are true or false, they are clearly not direct and immediate *perceptions*; they are the result of processes of thought or reasoning, which, however demonstrative and correctly reasoned, can never give absolute certainty of knowledge; since they are *inferences*, not perceptions, and the conclusion is ever conditioned on the truth of the premises. Moreover, all this knowledge of the mere understanding is materialistic and sensual in its ground, since it relates chiefly, if not wholly, to things of sense. It is of the earth earthy; its whole range and sphere is within the natural world; the laws and relations with which it is conversant are those that pertain to things temporal and material, not those which belong to things spiritual and eternal. Such knowledge is fitly compared by Plato to that of *shadows* cast upon the walls of a cavern by objects passing by in the upper world, but beyond the view of the cave-dwellers, who mistake the shadows for realities.

Lastly, these objects of spiritual knowledge are not those of the *reason*, considered as the faculty of intuitive and abstract *ideas*. That such a faculty exists, distinct from the understanding as above defined, higher and grander in its range, not fettered by sense or the laws and limitations of the natural world, but having its own world, and governed by its own laws and discerning intuitively the true and the good, we need not stop to argue against those who deny any intuitional power of the mind. Such a power evinces itself to every clear consciousness in such ideas as *cause*, *right*, *beauty*, the *infinite*, etc., and in that primary idea which comprehends all these—*God*; none of which can be derived from or explained by the knowledge of the senses, or the mere notions of the understanding.

The knowledge which comes through the reason is a more certain and absolute knowledge than that which comes through sense or the understanding. We are more certain of the truth that every event must have a cause, that every quality implies a substance, and that right and wrong are irreconcilable contraries, than we are of the law of gravitation or even the existence of matter. These truths are universal and necessary, while those of the understanding are relative and contingent. But the *objects* of rational knowledge are what

we call *abstractions*, not realities or substantial entities. The ideas of the speculative reason belong to the ideal or intellectual world, rather than the real world of things and persons. They have to do with attributes and laws and relations, rather than with substances. They are regulative and interpretative canons of thought which we apply to things in order to know them rationally—the light in which we read and interpret the universe, not the universe of *being* itself.

If then the senses, the understanding and the reason, with the objects of these faculties, be excluded, what faculties and what objects, it may be asked, remain for spiritual knowledge? This question discloses at once the shallowness of our ordinary psychological methods, and the need of learning what be the first principles of a true spiritual philosophy.

If we ask, what is the most immediate, the most real, the most positive and certain knowledge we possess?—the answer is, *Self-consciousness*—the knowledge of the *self* within us and its states or experiences. But this knowledge comes through *neither* of the faculties hitherto considered. Its objects are not the material world of the senses, nor the notional world of the understanding, nor the ideal world of the reason; yet they are more immediately and positively *known* than either and all of these.

Here are no intermediate links or processes interposed between the knowing faculty and the object known, since both are identical. The subjective and the objective are here one. Here we are in contact not with *phenomena* or relations, or ideas, but substance itself. What we are conscious of, when we go deep enough, is reality or real *Being*, viz: our own spirits and their activities. (Of course this applies only to that region of consciousness which is below mere sensation: this, if subjective to the soul, is objective to the spirit). Or, if it be said that these activities—our thoughts, feelings, volitions, etc.—are themselves inner phenomena, we at least see consciously *through* them to the ground or substance from which they spring, and of which they are manifestations, since we *are* that substance. We know, in the light of reason and conscience, their inmost nature and quality—as right or wrong, good or evil, rational or irrational; know them, too, as *our own*,

and not passively wrought in us; and so know ourselves more intimately and truly than we can know things without. Hence Descartes was right when he laid down this act of self-consciousness—*I think*, involving the deeper consciousness of *I am*, as the sure foundation of all knowledge and philosophy. On this original intuition of this *immediate* fact of being and consciousness, all the *certainty* of our knowledge depends. Self-consciousness is involved in all knowledge, even of sensible things, since with the consciousness of the object, or the sensation, is conjoined the consciousness of *self* as knowing and feeling—though this is commonly latent, and emerges only in reflection. But the self may be the *immediate*, and not merely the reflex object of consciousness, as in the primary act and affirmation of all spiritual being—*I am*.

Self-consciousness, then, is spiritual knowledge in its primary ground and essence; for it is the knowledge of *self* as *spirit*; not something *inferred* to exist and known only through its signs or phenomena, but *immediately* and *consciously known* as real and present and permanent—a self-acting power or *cause*, and thus the conscious realization of the idea of cause.

We may also see the relation of self-consciousness to all other knowledge. In proportion as other knowledge can be resolved into this, or identified with it, so that subject and object become consciously *one*, in that degree is our knowledge certain. Take the intuitions of reason and conscience, which are revelations from within and not learned from without. I *know* that the whole is greater than a part, that right and wrong are moral and essential contraries, and that I am under eternal obligation to do the one and avoid the other, with greater and more immediate certainty than I know that an external world exists as it appears to the senses. The one kind of knowledge is self-evident and innate, or at least connate to the soul, a part of its mental and moral being—for ‘reason *is* her being,’ according to Milton; while the other is, if not an inference, a blind and instinctive belief, which is refuted by science. And this universal belief in a material world so different in its apparent properties from the intelligence that apprehends it, has driven philosophers to the two opposite and extreme theo-

ries, of the materiality of the soul, or the spirituality of matter—not to mention the *tertium quid* theory recently propounded by Prof. Tyndall, of a material and a spiritual *side* pertaining to what we call matter. So deep-grounded is the conviction that there must be unity of subject and object in order to any true and real knowledge.

To come now to the highest of all knowledge, the knowledge of *God*. How is man really and truly to *know* God? We answer—and the only answer possible is—by *spiritual knowledge*—a knowledge of Spirit by spirit; in a word *through Self-consciousness*.

The affirmation *I am*, is not the ultimate truth of consciousness: If explored to the bottom it will reveal another truth within it or below it, equally certain and self-evident, viz: that *God is*. This is not an inference of the reason, but an intuition of the spirit, which the clearest and deepest minds have seen most distinctly, but of which all are obscurely conscious. How this truth, the divinely implanted root of all religion, emerges into full knowledge in the Christian consciousness, is an inquiry well worthy of our deepest thought.

It were superfluous to argue that God cannot be known *objectively* and *scientifically*, either through the senses or the understanding, as we know external things; since neither our own spirits nor those of other men can be known in this way. And yet theologians are continually attempting to *prove* the being of God from the world of nature, as they prove the laws of heat and gravitation from observed phenomena. The futility of such attempted demonstrations is shown by the refusal of those most skilled in natural laws and scientific proofs to accept the conclusion. Atheism and agnosticism cannot be overcome by such weapons. But does not St. Paul argue the existence of God from his works? as in Romans i. 20. "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead." But here the argument is, not that these invisible things can be demonstrated to the reason, or proved by a syllogism or an induction. Just the contrary to this, he affirms in the previous verse, "Because that which may be known of God is *manifest*

in them; for God hath showed it unto them." And a truer translation of the next verse takes away all color of scientific proof. "For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen,"—not inferred—"being *perceived through* the things that are made;" so that even the heathen are "without excuse." But they are 'clearly seen' only by those who have eyes open to see what is invisible and spiritual. And their condemnation is that they do *not* see God in the creation, even as it was of the Jews that they did not see the divine in the works and character of Jesus. Spiritual insight only can discern spiritual things; and this is a power not of the intellect but of the heart.

A writer in a recent number of the *North American Review*, in an article entitled "Mystical Theism," attempts to discredit the validity of all methods of proving the existence of God but the logical or syllogistic one—i. e. a deduction from certain universal facts universally admitted; which facts or premises, he allows, are few and hard to find, and harder still to authenticate. Discarding the testimony of the spiritual consciousness as "mystical," and not possessed by all, he demands scientific proof for that which is confessedly beyond the domain of science and does not admit of its methods. It is a question not of reasoning, but of *consciousness*, and that not the consciousness of all men—"for some have not the knowledge of God"—but of those who are spiritually enlightened. Some men are physically blind; others are deaf to the harmony and charms of music; still more are insensible to the beauties of nature and art. Will any amount of reasoning convince such persons of the existence and nature of light, or the sweetness of music, or the inner meaning and truth of poetry? or give them any but a verbal and notional knowledge of these things? We might suppose a blind man demanding logical proof that the sun exists; and we might attempt to supply this proof by arguing from its physical effects—the fact that plants grow, and the clouds and sky reflect its light, and other men *see* these effects, all of which implies a cause adequate to produce them. But these facts he must take on testimony which he cannot authenticate; and he may refuse to accept the conclusion, as many now refuse to admit the validity of the argument from design

in nature. But let his eyes once be opened to *see* the sun and the light, and how far-fetched and superfluous do all such arguments become!

He who does not *see* and *feel* the divine in nature and in his own soul, will not be convinced of it by all the arguments of all the Bridgewater Treatises which have or can be written.

Another argument sometimes adduced, is the *ontological*, or the proof from the *idea* of God in the mind. But this, as has been often shown, does not give us the *reality*, or any real knowledge of it. That there *is* a God from whom this idea emanates, together with the cognate or included ideas of *cause*, the *infinite*, the *right*, the *beautiful*, etc., which are found or revealed in the reason, is the most rational hypothesis to account for this idea and its universality; as the light that irradiates the cloud above the unrisen sun *probably* comes from the unseen luminary. But science cannot demonstrate this to one who never saw the sun, or disbelieves in its existence; since matter, he will argue, is or may be, self luminous. So Christian faith, and spiritual philosophy *believes* that these rational intuitions are not self-generated, or derived from any sensuous or empirical source, but are the inshining of "that true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." But this is not scientific demonstration.

We come back then from all external and attempted logical proofs of the being of God, to the immediate knowledge given by *consciousness*. Within ourselves, if anywhere, is God to be found, and his being attested by his own self-revelation. Since God is a Spirit, he must be spiritually discerned, i. e. discerned *in* and *by* the spirit, in the same way that we know our own spiritual being. "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of the world (mere natural knowledge and scientific speculation), but the Spirit which is of God; that we might *know* the things that are freely given to us of God.

This luminous word of the Apostle flashes a wondrous light into the depth we are seeking to explore. It implies, *first*, that the spirit of man and the Spirit of God are *one* in their

essential nature, and so are capable of the most intimate union and communion with each other, making possible a knowledge of God deeper, more *immediate* and more *real* than any other knowledge. This profound truth, the foundation truth of Christian philosophy, we will not stop to vindicate, although the ignoring or denial of it lies at the root of all the agnosticism, and most of the skepticism of the present day.

Secondly, it implies that the knowledge of God and divine things can be imparted to man only by *revelation* or *inspiration*. But here the all-important question arises, *what is meant by revelation?* and how are divine things revealed, so as to be *known* by us?

The common answer to this question is, that the Bible, and especially the New Testament, is this revelation; meaning the written words that make up what we call the Christian Scriptures. But a little reflection will teach us that this is only the *record* of a revelation, not the revelation itself, which must be made *by Spirit to spirit*; which was really so made to the Apostles and first teachers of Christianity by the Holy Spirit, and by them embodied, so far as it could be embodied, in written documents for the use and edification of the church. The *inspiration*, therefore, was in the minds of these inspired teachers, and attaches not to the words as such, but only to the thoughts or spiritual truths of which they are the symbols.

A revelation in any true sense, cannot be an outward or verbal one; for mere *words* cannot convey or impart truth to another, least of all spiritual and divine truth. Words are but physical signs or symbols, whose meaning is not a fixed and constant quantity, but varies ever with the degree of intelligence or insight that reads them. We do not mean that words have not a fixed logical or dictionary meaning, the equivalent of certain notions of the understanding, which are the mere *forms* or lifeless images of thought; but their meaning for the spirit, all that gives reality to thought, and life and power to language, must be brought *to* the words through a vital sympathy with the mind and spirit that utters them,—it can never be extracted from them. What meaning can the declaration "God is a Spirit," convey to one who has never entered by reflection into the sanctuary of his own spirit, and whose only notion of spirit

is the negative and ghostly one of a soul without a body, compared with what it means to him who is most at home in this temple not made with hands? Or how can one know the real meaning of that other wondrous word "God is love," who has never really loved another with a spiritual affection, whose only experience of love is that of a blind passion or natural instinct? When the love of God is "shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost," i. e. when we are conscious of the *reality* signified by this word, and not the mere *notion* of it, we know its meaning, and never before.

So of all spiritual things, that is, of all things whose reality is *within* and not without, *personal* and not material or abstract,—they must be "spiritually discerned" by immediate and personal consciousness, if known at all. How do we know the thought or feeling or character of a friend? Will it be answered, by his words and outward demonstrations? But these must be interpreted from within by a sympathy or spiritual discernment that reaches below all outward signs, and reads the unuttered meaning. And the more entire the sympathy, the less need and the less account of mere words. Spiritual things can only be revealed objectively *through* some outward form, as language or bodily manifestation. They can be *discerned*, or really *known*, only as they become *subjective*, or one with our own consciousness. What need then, it may be asked, of words or outward signs, if the spiritual reality can be known immediately and without their aid? We answer, they are needed for *suggesting*, not conveying, the truth; i. e., putting the mind of the reader upon finding or generating the reality of which they are the symbols. They are needful also for *conception*, to make them subjects of *thought*, as well as of feeling, or experience, to give form and fixedness to that which else would be vague and formless, and so though vividly felt and known, impossible to be communicated. The idea of *right*, e. g., is an intuitive idea revealed in the conscience, which cannot be imparted from without, which no *word* can possibly convey to another; and yet this idea is represented symbolically by the word *rectus*, straight. The image of a straight line is the *form* or *conception* which sets this idea before the understanding, and enables us mediately to commu-

nicate it to another as a *notion*, which must be inwardly interpreted by the *idea* before it can be known.

And here we see the radical error of those who claim that we can *know* only what can be clearly and logically *conceived*; who have never thought below the region of the understanding which deals with notions and conceptions drawn from sensible things, to the deeper realm of spiritual truth; who ignore the distinction between *ideas* of the reason, and *conceptions* of the understanding.

We all know what help is given to thought and feeling by the expression of it in words, which give it objectivity, but at the same time limit, and cannot fully measure the inward reality. So the utterance of the soul's deepest feelings and aspirations in audible prayer is in one view a help by giving form and conception to these feelings, while in another view it is a restriction, limiting that which is illimitable and unutterable. The truest prayer is that which is below all definite thought, a conscious union and blending of the divine and human spirit—when “the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.”

Since, then, spiritual things can only be spiritually discerned, since words cannot convey a knowledge of them, but only certain notions or conceptions which are not the reality—if this reality be already *within* us, as in the idea of *right*, or the sense of *duty* or *sin*, we have an immediate consciousness of these things, in the light of which we interpret the words of Scripture. If the spiritual reality be not within as part of our own consciousness; if this reality be divine, or what the apostle terms “the things of God,” they may indeed be *indicated* symbolically—as Christ set forth divine mysteries in parables which they only understood to whom it was “*given*,” but they can be really *known* only by immediate *inspiration*. In other words, *Inspiration is as truly necessary to interpret a divine revelation as it is to write it.* If this statement appear extravagant, it is only because we have fallen so far below the true conception of Christianity in our naturalistic and rationalistic methods of thought as to be unable to believe the plainest declarations of the word of God. We have also fallen so wholly away from the true idea of *man* as a spiritual being,

and his immediate relationship to God as the Father of spirits, as to conceive that to be abnormal and miraculous, which is the most normal fact and truest law of spiritual being. We need to come back to the recognition of a truth, as old at least as the Book of Job, that "there is a *spirit* in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding," which may certainly be as true of man, the offspring of God, as that he should give instinct to the bird, and teach it a wisdom beyond itself, and even beyond human intelligence to acquire.

If we may be permitted to quote here what we have said elsewhere—"We shall not attain to a solid and steadfast footing on this question till we cease to regard inspiration as a miraculous gift which has ceased, or something wholly separated from present and ordinary experience. Even what we term natural knowledge or endowment may have in it a supernatural or inspired element. Conscience is inspiration—a light shining from God into the soul of every man who does not shut it out or quench it; even that true light which lighteth every man that is born into the world; or as the old and true phrase is, the 'voice of God' speaking within us. All truest thought, in its genesis as intuition, is God's tuition; i. e., inspiration, as the wisest thinkers have ever acknowledged. Genius is inspiration; 'the inspired gift of God,' as Milton calls it, who, if any man, may be supposed to know. And this gift, like that of prophecy, is sometimes bestowed on bad men, who, like Balaam, are compelled by their better genius to speak true and divine words while their hearts are full of wickedness. All true goodness and love is inspiration, the product and fruit of the Spirit of God, as the Scriptures abundantly declare; and this certainly is no miraculous or obsolete experience.

"If it be asked, what is the difference between this so-called natural inspiration and that of prophets and writers of Scripture, the answer is, not a difference of kind—if we except positive revelations miraculously communicated by voice or vision—but of *quality* and *degree*. By their fruits ye shall know them. As the character and words of Christ, so superior to those of all other men prove him to be divine, yet none

the less really human, so the utterances of Scripture, so superior, in a religious sense, to those of all other writers, yet akin to them in their human and individual traits, prove their divine origin and authority." *

At the same time, while the superiority of the Bible to all other books is manifest to ordinary discernment, its truest and deepest divinity is spiritually discerned, or revealed only to the inspired consciousness; just as the superiority of Jesus was acknowledged by the multitude, who called him a prophet, while his real divinity as the Son of God was revealed to Peter only by the Spirit of God. (See Matt. xvi. 17.) Inspired truth, says Coleridge, is "that which *finds* me in the deepest and most sacred depths of my being." No other test but this—the witness of the Spirit within, can suffice to authenticate permanently a divine revelation. All outward authority of canon or council or tradition is human, and may be fallible. But here is a divine and self-authenticated proof.

It is remarkable that this truth of inspiration, or an inspired consciousness, as essential to spiritual knowledge, is acknowledged practically in all prayer for divine illumination, but is lost sight of or denied in our philosophy and rationalizing theology, where the only faculty and method which is allowed of knowing divine things is one which never can know them, however much it is "enlightened." The sharpest and keenest eyesight, even though armed with telescope or microscope, cannot discover *God* in the creation, or *love* in the heart as a physical organ. No more can the understanding, sharpened to the subtlest point of logical acumen, discern spiritual truth, or the meaning of the words, "God is love." But let God reveal himself in the consciousness, and then, and then only, do we know both God and love.

This may be illustrated from another sphere of inspiration and interpretation. The poetic spirit is essential not only to the creation but the interpretation of poetry. The inspiration of the poet—if he be a true poet—is higher and deeper than that of the mere reader; but without something of the same spirit the reader cannot apprehend or interpret the poem. As has been well said, and is even one of the canons of literary

* *Christ and Humanity*, pp. 812-18.

criticism, "The true interpreter of poets becomes their confidant, and they reveal to him what they say to no one else." So, "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant."

It was the doctrine of Malebranche that "we see all things in God." It is the doctrine of Christian or spiritual philosophy that we see all spiritual and divine things in God, by immediate revelation. "In thy light shall we see light." This was also the doctrine of the Reformation. "The Protestant theology taught that the truth of the Scriptures is apprehended in a penetrating, living way, only through 'the testimony of the Holy Spirit,' who gave it. The spirit that inspired the sacred writers must move on the heart of the reader. Otherwise he stands on the outside, and will never get beyond an intellectual assent to the facts and propositions which they record. It may be that he will not reach even that." *

But granting that divine things, the things of the Spirit of God, cannot be known except by inspiration or inward revelation, what shall be said of the *being* of God himself? Can this be known immediately by the spirit of man, or only indirectly, by inference or reasoning? This question will be answered differently according to the school or philosophy we adopt.

Looking no further than the Scriptures, interpreted in their simplest and most obvious meaning, we should certainly understand an immediate knowledge or revelation of God as implied in Pa. lxxxix. 15; Math. v. 8; John xiv. 19, 20, 21. No one in reading these passages would think of a secondary, mediate or inferential knowledge.

But the true appeal, as in all spiritual facts, and preëminently in this supreme fact, is to *consciousness*, and that, not of the unreflecting and unspiritual many, but of the elect and kingly spirits who have walked most closely and communed most deeply and intelligently with God.

When David, the man after God's own heart, reads that heart, as a lover the heart of his mistress, sensitive to the smile or frown of God as a flower to the sun's light and shadow, saying: "My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." "Lift thou up the light of thy

* Prof. G. P. Fisher. *Faith and Rationalism.*

countenance upon me," and "Hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit." When St. Augustine, in his "Confessions" converses with God familiarly as a man converses with his friend; when Jonathan Edwards, whose crystal intellect was like a mountain lake for calmness and clearness, and whose bare logical understanding in its cold dry light was as free from enthusiasm as the snowy head of Mt. Blanc is from the heated vapors of the valley below—when such a man writes thus of his religious experience: "This I know not how to express otherwise than by a calm, sweet abstraction of soul from all the concerns of this world, and sometimes a kind of vision, of being alone in the mountains, or some solitary wilderness, far from all mankind, sweetly conversing with Christ, and rapt and swallowed up in God;" or when the philosophic poet, Wordsworth, through communion with nature is lifted into ecstatic consciousness of a Presence within its visible glories, and "far more deeply interfused," which he thus describes:

"In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired. .
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request;
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
That made him; it was blessedness and love."

—or when humbler saints, of all degrees of culture, in all ages and climes, testify of the nearness and *presence* of God to them in times of special need,—a presence as near and as consciously felt, as that of the dearest friend, when without the mediation of words or even of sight, heart communes with heart and soul with soul;—is it an explanation, or a true rendering of such consciousness of God to say, it is an inference of the reason, and not an immediate revelation to the spirit?

If it be asked, how to distinguish this God-consciousness, from self-consciousness, the divine movement and inspiration from our own thought and feeling? it may not always be possible, since both are blended in one. God is revealed within not objectively, but subjectively. We do not know that the writers of Scripture were able to distinguish infallibly the divine

from the human in their utterances, (see 1 Cor. vii. 40); nor is this essential, any more than to distinguish between the divine and the human in the person and acts of Christ. It is the very nature of inspiration, as it is of the incarnation, that the two elements are one and inseparable, constituting in their unity the *divine-human*. But the character, the conscious elevation and sanctity of the thought and feeling, mark it as *divine* and not merely human. We have an instance of this in the *conscience*, which is a part of consciousness and yet somehow aloof from self, a divine light shining in the soul, a voice other than its own, speaking with a tone and authority that compels even thoughtless men to regard it as the voice of God.

A still higher example is furnished in every Christian experience, when the new divine life is born within. "For it is a fact," to quote the words of an eminent spiritual preacher, "as every soul thus enlightened will testify, that he is now conscious, not of himself only, but of a certain *otherness* moving in him; some mysterious power of good that is to him what he is not to himself, a spring of new-born impulse, a living of new life. It is not that he sees God without, by the eye, any more than he sees himself in this way when he is conscious of himself; it is not that he has any mind-view of God awakened in him, any more than he has in consciousness a mind-view of himself. It is only that he has the sense of a sublime *other* not himself; a power, a life, a transcendently great, felt Other—who is really and truly God. Hence the rest, and strength, and peace, and luminous glory into which he is born—it is nothing but the revelation of God and the immediate knowledge of God."*

The fact and the mystery are both contained in that word of the Apostle John: "God is love; and whoso dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him." True love is a human affection, and not less a divine inspiration; a subjective feeling, yet one *in* which we are immersed as an all-surrounding consciously divine element.

* Horace Bushnell. *Sermons on Living Subjects*, p. 120.

ARTICLE V.—THE FIRST COMMON SCHOOLS OF NEW ENGLAND.

“The education of the people ought to be the first concern of a State.”—*Macaulay*.

NEW ENGLAND was most fortunate in the character of her colonists. Doubtless the first projects of emigration to the New World had their origin in commercial adventure and the expectation of a higher political liberty, yet nothing can be clearer than that the actual settlers, who fled hither from the ecclesiastical and political tyranny of Europe, were filled with thoughts of establishing a commonwealth based upon religion and learning. In their adventurous spirit they might perhaps be compared to the Greeks who colonized the lands bordering the Mediterranean, but they differed widely from them in most respects, and especially in the measure of their religious faith, and in the intellectuality of the objects which they sought to attain. According to the testimony they have left us, they had become weary of the corruptions in the church in which they had been born and nurtured, and went out to the new England “to practice the positive part of the church reformation, and to propagate the gospel in America.” But this determination to seek a new land was aided much by the great reform movement which was then agitating all Europe, and quickening the desires and ambitions of men for new fields of activity, wealth and honor. To the Puritans, accordingly, America seemed to offer a proper theater for the development of that “master principle,” a religious reformation. Exiles from the country they loved, they asked only that, “in quiet insignificance,” they might lay the foundations of civil and religious liberty. But these men of such strong convictions who, for principle, were willing to pay the price of banishment, were alike worthy of honor for the nobility of their lineage and for their high intellectual acquirements. A New England writer says that they “were the most highly educated men that ever

led colonies."* We shall not then be surprised to find that they devoted themselves with such earnestness to the cause of education, being fully aware that without the school-master and the school-house nothing could save them from sinking into barbarism.† Such was their conviction on this point, that scarcely a lustrum was allowed to pass before they placed the school-house beside the church, determined that upon these two—education and religion—they would lay the foundation of the new government. This was before they had any body of laws, and when the people, living in a few score log huts, were only numbered by hundreds. Naturally the first thought of the founders was to so educate the young that they might be able to maintain and strengthen the Christian commonwealth which they had established. As often happens they builded better than they knew. They came to establish a theocracy: they established it. They came to establish free schools: they established them, but, in doing so, they laid the corner stones of a great republic; they sowed the fruitful seeds of liberty, in whose abundant harvest we are all sharers.

The Pilgrims, the earliest settlers on the Massachusetts coast, after many vicissitudes and much poverty and suffering, made for themselves a home, and established the first civic community in New England. The idea of this community was not an outgrowth of their circumstances or necessities, but it was the old world idea of a community of interests based upon land; and this was "older than Saxon England, older than the primitive church, and older than the classic states of antiquity."‡ Though the pilgrims have received and justly hold

* G. B. Emerson, education in Mass., p. 17, (Lowell Institute Lectures for 1869) who also says that of the ministers of the first fifteen or sixteen towns in Massachusetts, the greater part had been educated at Oxford or Cambridge, many of them being men of eloquence and famous preachers. Had it not been so, they would scarcely have been persecuted, and driven from England.

† Educational Progress in the "First Century of the Republic," p. 279.—The spirit of these early times is well expressed in the prayer of the Apostle Eliot, "Lord, for schools everywhere among us! That our schools may flourish! . . . That before we die we may be so happy, as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country."—*Mather's Magnalia*, vol. i., book 8, p. 498; Ed. 1820.

‡ *The Germanic Origin of N. E. Towns*, p. 24. By H. B. Adams, Ph.D., Baltimore, 1882.

a high place in our early history, still they ought not to be honored as the progenitors of the dominant New England race. This honor belongs rather to our Puritan ancestry, to "those men illustrious forever in history"*—who first in 1630 in the *Arbella* sailed from England, and in the next ten years were followed by three hundred ships and over twenty thousand people. These landed at the mouth of the Charles River, and settling on its banks or in the vicinity, soon formed themselves into separate townships which they named Charlestown, Boston, Newtown, (afterwards Cambridge), Watertown, Roxbury and Dorchester.

In 1633 a happy accession was made to the little colony in the person of the Rev. John Cotton. After the coming of Gov. Winthrop, and his associates, with the first charter in 1630, probably the arrival of no other person caused so great felicitation, or had a more important bearing upon the future welfare of the new colony. One has said that "in all its generations of worth and refinement, Boston has never seen an assembly more illustrious for generous qualities . . . than when the magistrates of the young colony welcomed Cotton and his fellow voyagers at Winthrop's table."† These were men and women who were indeed "fit to be concerned in the founding of a State."‡ To Mr. Cotton§ who was chosen pastor of the First church, the praise has been given (justly as it

* *Macaulay's Speeches.*

† *Pulfrey's History of New England*, vol. i., p. 387.

‡ *Ibid.* Many of them brought their libraries, consisting of standard theological and classical works,—such as still hold an honored place in our schools and universities.—*Emerson's Education in Mass.*, p. 18.

§ Cotton came from Boston in Lincolnshire, England, where, as rector of the "most stately Parish church," in the land, he had taken great interest in education. It is known that in the English Boston school, Latin and Greek were taught, and it is probable that the American school was formed, as far as circumstances would permit, after the English model. Though we have no positive knowledge that Mr. Cotton was the founder of the Latin school, (see R. C. Waterston on Boston Schools, etc., *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1878), it would seem natural to a man of his ardent temperament, to surround himself with institutions and observances, reminding him of his English home; and besides we do know that the famous Thursday Lectures and accompanying Market Day originated with him, and that these had their counterparts in the English Boston.

would seem) of establishing the first school in Boston. Certain it is that in April, 1635, one year and five months after his landing, the free Latin school was opened on the north side of School street,* on the south easterly portion of ground now covered by King's Chapel. Probably from the beginning the elementary branches were taught, yet it is not a little remarkable, that as designed by the founder, it was to be a High School, that is, principally for the study of Latin and Greek. This design was happily carried out, for it became the principal classical school, not only of the Massachusetts Bay, but, according to the Rev. Dr. Prince, "of the British colonies, if not of all America." For its support it depended partly upon the donations of liberal friends of education, and partly upon the income of a tract of land. Barnard, in his life of Ezekiel Cheever,† says that a tract of thirty acres at Muddy Brook, now a part of Brookline, was given in 1635 to the first teacher, Mr. Permont; and that besides donations and legacies, the income from Deer Island‡ was received for the maintenance of the Boston school. For two centuries and a half this school has enrolled among its members, many who were destined to occupy high places in the State and nation. Such during the first century and a half were President Leverett, of Harvard College, Dr. Cotton Mather, Judge Hutchinson, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, and others whose eminent public services form no unimportant part of New England history. As one small meeting house sufficed for many years for all Boston, so one school met all the needs of public instruction, until 1682, when other schools for writing and arithmetic were

*The record that assures us of the existence of this Boston school, dated "13th of ye 2^d month," says "it was generally agreed upon that our brother Philemon Permont shall be entreated to become school-master."—*Mass. Rec.* as quoted by R. C. Waterston, *Ibid.* There is no notice of a school among the regular entries of Boston records until 1642. But on the last leaf of the first volume is a list, dated 1636, of subscribers and their donations towards a school of this kind. Had this leaf been lost "Boston would have been deprived of its best evidence to prove the honor of having preceded every settlement of the Colony in so honorable an enterprise."—*Felt's Annals of Salem*, vol. i. p. 439.

†*American Journal of Education*, 1855, p. 301.

‡This was in 1641. In 1649 they began to give the rents also from Long Island and Spectacle Island to the school.

established. Whether it was thought an unusual thing to establish a free school or a school of any kind, and whether the leading men of the colony were interested in the first Boston school, we have no certain knowledge. Governor Winthrop's journal, which gives minute accounts of nearly every circumstance affecting the welfare of the colony, makes no allusion to it, nor do we find from the same authority any reference to free school education until some years later. At first both in the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies the children were doubtless educated at their homes in the elementary branches, while a few of the brighter boys were sent to the village pastor to receive from him instruction in Latin and Greek.

In studying the origin of the first American schools a very interesting question arises, namely, whether in essentials they originated in America, or were largely modeled after the schools which had long existed in England. The author of "*The Germanic Origin of New England Towns*,"* tells us that one of the most curious and suggestive phenomena of American history is the reproduction under colonial conditions of the town and parish systems of old England. These little communes "were the germs of our State and national life. They gave the colonies all the strength which they ever enjoyed. It was the towns, parishes, and counties that furnished life-blood for Church and State, for school and college, for war and peace. In New England especially, towns were the primordial cells of the body politic." "The town and village life of New England is as truly the reproduction of old English types as those again are reproductions of the village community system of the ancient Germans." "In the customs of the Court Leet and of the old English Parish meeting, which is but the ecclesiastical outcome of the old Saxon self-governing assemblies, is to be found the prototype of the New England town-meeting."† Now if this be true of the

* Pp. 5, 8, 21.

† Baylies in his "*History of Plymouth*," vol. i., p. 241, as quoted by Richard Frothingham, says that "the origin of town governments in New England is involved in some obscurity. The system does not prevail in England. Nothing analogous to it is known in the Southern States." Frothingham further says that "Baylies traces their origin to the independent churches," and that "the nearest precedents for the

town systems may not the same be said of the New England school system? We are told.* that "the idea of popular instruction was brought to the New World by our ancestors in the seventeenth century, and has here found its appropriate home." A free school, that is a school for gratuitous instruction of poor children (and in that sense alone were the early schools in this country free)† can be traced back to the early ages of the Christian Church. The monasteries were originally seats of learning, as well as places of religious retirement, and their cloister schools, which were free, were "the hearthstones of classical education in every country of Europe, and were the germs of the great universities."‡ In the cathedrals a master was appointed whose duty it was to give free instruction both to clerks and poor scholars.

Admitting that the first Latin school was modeled after the English, it is reasonable to suppose that the other early schools of New England were formed in a similar way, though whatever model was followed, it should be remembered that the common schools of America originated among the people, and did not, as in Germany and elsewhere, owe their establishment

New England towns were those little independent nations, the free cities of the twelfth century; or the towns of the Anglo-Saxons where every office was elective. Webster in his Plymouth oration of 1820 says that it was the division of lands that "fixed the future frame and form of this government."

* "Educational Progress in the First Century of the Republic," p. 279.

† Originally in England the term free school meant not a school in which instruction was to be given without fee or reward but a public school free from the jurisdiction of any superior institution, open to the public of the realm, and in some instances a school of liberal education. So at first here in New England, as appears by the records of the towns and of the General Court, both in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and also in the early acts of Virginia and other States, the term was used much as in England "to characterize a grammar school, unrestricted as to a class of children or scholars specified in the instruments by which it was founded, and so supported as not to depend on the fluctuating attendance and tuition of scholars for the maintenance of a master." (Barnard's "Ezekiel Cheever" in *Amer. Jour. of Educ.*, 1855.) It had then not only no reference to a charity school, but meant something quite different from "the common or public school, as afterwards developed, particularly in Massachusetts, supported by tax and free of all charge to all scholars rich and poor." (*Ibid.*)

‡ Barnard's "National Education in Europe."

to the forethought and liberality of some princely ruler. We know that in a few years they were established in each town about Boston and in New Haven and Hartford—the latter place having been settled by Massachusetts colonists.* These schools varied in efficiency according to the sums appropriated for their support, the competency of the instructors and the measure of public interest they awakened. The idea of these schools was compulsory education, and the liberality with which they were generally sustained shows that we have no reason to claim for ourselves a deeper interest in educational matters than was taken by our ancestors. This liberality found expression in grants of land, in gifts and bequests of individuals, and by payments of tuition or rates by parents; or in allowances made out of the common stock of the town which were designed especially for instruction in Latin and Greek. Thus gradually was developed a system upon which the later schools have been established, namely, “that the property of all without distinction shall be applied to the education of all,”† the successful operation of which has undoubtedly contributed more than all other causes to bring happiness and prosperity to the people of New England.

SCHOOLS IN THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.

To Boston apparently belongs the honor of establishing the first school in New England.‡ It was, like all the schools of that period, a boys' school, and the studies were principally the ancient languages, as the chief object in view was to train up a learned ministry. Besides the annual allowance of £50 to the master and £30 to the usher,—who was to teach the children to read, write and cipher,—an excellent custom was introduced of attaching a house to the school with a few acres of land for a garden, orchard, and the feeding of a cow. This custom became general in the early history of New England

* New Haven was settled by a party of the most wealthy colonists who came to New England during these early years. But Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, and Springfield were settled respectively by parties which went out in 1635 from Cambridge, Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury.—Mather's “*Magnalia*,” book I, p. 75, ed. 1820.

† J. G. Carter, “*Letters on the Free Schools of New England*,” p. 48.

‡ The first free school in America was founded in 1631, and located in Virginia.

and had a most salutary influence as it tended to make the schoolmaster's tenure of office permanent.

Under the lead of the Apostle Eliot divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury, for the maintenance of which "every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever."* The Indian children were to have free tuition,—the expense to be defrayed by a yearly contribution, voluntary, or by rate if any refused; and the order was confirmed by the General Court.† Besides the income from some of the islands, Thomas Bell, one of the early settlers of Roxbury left by will in 1671 lands and other property for the maintenance of a "free school." This property under the able management of a board of trustees (who, by act of incorporation, were never to number more than thirteen nor less than nine) became of great value. With the large income derived from it the best teachers were employed, so that this school early acquired a foremost position among the schools of New England. Cotton Mather says, "that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New England."‡

Of the appearance of the Roxbury school-room we are told that it was fitted up with "benches and formes for the scholars to rite" on, and that in 1652 "a desk to put the Dictionary on" was provided.

The grammar school§ at Cambridge in which young men were fitted for college by the famous Master Corlett "seems

*Winthrop's Journal under date of 1645. All who refused to bind themselves, as above stated, were not to "have any further benefit thereby than other strangers shall have who are not inhabitants."

†Efforts were also made by the Apostle Eliot to plant schools among the converted Indians and some of their brightest lads he sent to the English schools to learn not only English but also Latin and Greek.

‡Mather's "Magnalia," vol. i., Book 3, p. 498, ed. 1820.

§"And by the side of the college a faire grammar school . . . that still, as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the college; of this school Master Corlet is the Mr. who has been well approved himself for his abilities," etc.—*New England First Fruits*.

The expression "grammar school" was common also in England. By it was "meant a school for the study of the Latin and Greek language and literature. It was so-called because *grammatica* (the study of language and linguistic literature) formed the leading feature of the course of all liberal study."—*American Jour. of Educ.*, 1857, p. 581.

to have been nearly coeval with the town, and to have been an object of great care and attention.”* The precise date when this school was established is not known, but it must have been some years previous to 1643, as Corlett had then acquired a wide reputation as a skillful and wise teacher. It was not made a free school until 1737,† and even after this date the scholars were not wholly exempted from the payment of tuition. One-fourth the income derived from the Edward Hopkins Fund‡ was given to the master of the grammar school at Cambridge, the condition in the will being that he should instruct five boys in the studies of the school, the boys to be nominated by the President and Fellows of Harvard College and the minister at Cambridge. This was apparently the first beneficiary fund in America for the education of boys. Among other sources of income was the rent from Thompson’s Island which, as early as 1639, was appropriated for the benefit of this school. There has been preserved a contract, made in 1655 by President Dunster of the College and a certain Edward Goffe, with some builders of Cambridge, for a school house to be built at the expense, as it would seem, of the two former, or at least upon their assuming the responsibility.

The school in Charlestown must have been opened at about the same time, or, at least, not long subsequent to the school in Boston. For in June, 1636, a certain Mr. Witherell “was agreed with to keep a school for a twelve month, to begin the eighth of August, and to have £40 this year.” This is evidence that a public school, and, judging from the agreement as to salary, a free school for at least a year was thus early established, being based upon the principle of voluntary taxation, though the whole number of inhabitants who had wives and children was only seventy-two.§ This was eleven years before the enactment of the Massachusetts law compelling towns to maintain schools. Lovell’s Island, which had

* *Holmes’ History of Cambridge*, as quoted in Pierce’s “*History of Harvard University*,” p. 6.

† *Paige’s History of Cambridge*, p. 379.

‡ Edward Hopkins, who had been Governor of the Connecticut colony, dying in 1657, bequeathed a large sum for the furtherance of education in the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven.—See again under *Education in Connecticut*.

§ *Frothingham’s History of Charlestown*, p. 77.

been granted to the town by the General Court of 1636, "provided they employ it for fishing," etc., was rented, and after a short time the income therefrom was regularly applied to the support of the school. This school continued to be maintained, though there is no mention of a school house until 1648, when one was ordered to be built on "Windmill Hill" and paid for by a "general rate." Oldmixon in his history calls Charlestown the mother of Boston.

We have no account of any school in Salem until after the arrival of the Rev. John Fiske in 1637, who, distinguished alike for wealth and learning, continued to teach until January, 1640. Among the pupils he prepared for Harvard College was the afterwards famous Sir George Downing, who was in high favor both with Cromwell and Charles II. In March, 1641, a town-meeting was called to see about establishing a free school,* and this, according to the historian of Salem,* was "the first written intimation that we have of instruction without price† among our settlers." For more than a hundred years from its establishment this school was presided over by graduates of Harvard College. In 1677, the income from Baker's Island, the two Misery Islands and from the Beverly Ferry was applied towards the support of a grammar school in Salem, and in the years 1680 and 1682 we find it recorded that the master was allowed a salary of £15. In 1699, the children who attended the grammar school, then numbering only twenty, were required to pay each an annual tuition of twelve shillings. Soon after this a writing school was provided, and a few years later a master was employed to teach mathematics. During the first half of the eighteenth century many donations were made to the grammar and writing schools, and one of "£40 to a woman's school." Not the least among the inno-

* *Felt's Annals of Salem*, vol. i., p. 426.

† In the *History of Dorchester*, published in 1859 by the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society it is claimed (p. 420) that the first public provision "for a free school in the world by a direct tax or assessment on the inhabitants," was made in that town on the 30th of May, 1639.

Francis Adams, in *The Free School System of the United States*, p. 46, says that Hartford, Ct., appears to be the first town which established a free school, but there can be little doubt that Massachusetts was the first State to make laws providing for a regular system of free schools."

vations of the time was a bell which in 1723 was sent from England. In connection with the story of this bell we learn the length of the school day, for it is said that the bell rang at seven in the morning and five in the afternoon from March to November, and at eight and four from November to March—"the school to begin and end accordingly;" and the afternoon session was ordered to begin "at one o'clock all the year round." It is worthy of notice that the school committee was not chosen as a board separate from the selectmen until 1753. In the history of Salem we find an illustration of the difference of meaning in the expression "free school" as applied to the earlier and later schools. The earlier idea is expressed by an order of 1644, that such as have children to be kept at school, "bring in their names and what they will give for one whole year, and also that if any poor body hath children or a child to be put to school and not able to pay for their schooling that the town will pay it by a rate;" and the later one by the enactment of 1768,* that the teachers be "entirely paid by a town tax where no funds existed, and not as before, partly by a tax and partly by the pupils."†

In the records of Ipswich we find, under date of 1636, this item: "A grammar school is set up but does not succeed." Some years later the historian Hubbard, who was pastor of the church at Ipswich, founded and endowed the first public school, but its period of prosperity did not begin until 1650, when he introduced, as its master, the patriarch of New England teachers—Ezekiel Cheever. In 1651 a grant of land was made by the town to the school, and in the January following a committee was chosen "to receive all such sums of money as have and shall be given toward the building and maintaining of a grammar school and school-master, and to disburse and dispose such sums as are given, to provide a school-house and school-master's house," etc. They were also to receive such sums of money, parcels of land, rents or annuities as are or shall be given towards the maintenance of a school-master, and to regulate all matters pertaining to the master and the

* Previous to 1768 the laws of Massachusetts required that schools should be sustained by the inhabitants, but they were left free as to the manner in which tuition should be paid.

† *Felt's Annals of Salem*, vol. i., p. 429.

scholars. In the following years grants of land were made either by private citizens or by the town at a general town-meeting, with the stipulation that the income from it should be devoted to the support of the school. The towns we have thus named were among the first in the Massachusetts colony to establish prosperous "free schools." Many others, like Dorchester and Watertown, were also active in the establishment of schools, and are, therefore, deserving of equal recognition for their services in the cause of education during the seventeenth century.

EDUCATION IN PLYMOUTH COLONY.

As the first settlers in New England, the people of Plymouth deserve special mention, though their struggles in reclaiming the wilderness, their sufferings from the Indians, their losses by disease and other causes prevented them for many years from making any public provision for the education of their children. In the records of Plymouth colony the first notice with reference to schools occurs under "court proceedings" of the year 1663, as follows: "It is proposed by the court unto the several townships in this jurisdiction, as a thing that they ought to take into their serious consideration, that some course may be taken, that in every town there may be a school-master set up to train up children to reading and writing."* It would be fair, then, to assume that previous to this date there were no public schools in the colony, though as many as twelve towns had already been incorporated. A generation and more had, therefore, grown up without the advantages of public schools, though instruction was evidently given at home, in private schools and by the parish minister.† In 1667 it was enacted that in every town of fifty families £12 be raised by tax for the support of grammar schools. But this act, as well as that of 1663, seems to have been disregarded, for no definite action was taken to establish schools until public support was promised to them. Accordingly, in 1670, the "General Court of his majesty, holden at New Plymouth did freely give and grant" such profits as might annually accrue to

* "History of Free Schools in Plymouth Colony," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol xiv., p. 79.

† Public opinion throughout New England "generally assigned to the ministry of religion" the duty of preparing young men for college.

the colony from fishing at Cape Cod, etc., "to be improved for and toward a free school in some town of this jurisdiction for the training up of youth in literature for the good and benefit of posterity."* In addition to this grant by the General Court the town of Plymouth, in 1672, voted to give the profits that might arise from the improvement of a certain tract of land towards the maintenance of a school. About this time a school-house was built by subscription, several of the citizens of Plymouth "out of their good affection" giving "of their own estate" for this purpose. In 1671, the building having been finished, the first public teacher of Plymouth, "Mr. John Morton," opened the school. His duties were stated to be: to teach the children and youth to read the Bible, to write and to cast accounts. But it would seem that the school was not permanently maintained, for Mr. Josiah Cotton, who was born there in 1679 and began to teach the Plymouth school in 1698, says, "I do not recollect that I ever went to any town school."

The giving of public lands in perpetuity, the income of which should be devoted to the schools, was inaugurated at the very beginning of the free schools of Plymouth, and resulted most favorably for the cause of education. In 1705 sundry inhabitants bound themselves to pay £20 annually for seven years, with the understanding that all children, that did not belong to the subscribers of the fund, should pay a certain rate per week, and that the rate of those living more than a mile away should be only half that required of those living nearer. Thus it will be seen that in Plymouth colony, as in the Massachusetts, care was taken that the benefits of education should be enjoyed by all.† Barry, in his *History of Massachusetts*, says that "instances of neglect were exceedingly rare. Poverty prevented many from giving their children the highest advantages, but comparatively few could be found whose instruction had been wholly overlooked. . . . A preparation for the duties of practical life was sought by the most; the ambition of some soared higher."‡

[To be continued.]

* "*History of Free Schools in Plymouth Colony*," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. xiv., p. 80-1.

† See *Mass. Rec.*, ii., p. 208; and *Plymouth Col. Laws of 1671*, p. 39.

‡ *Barry's History of Mass.*, p. 818.

ARTICLE VI.—THE POEMS OF SIDNEY LANIER.

Poems of Sidney Lanier. Edited by his wife. With a memorial, by WILLIAM HAYES WARD. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.

ONE real and just cause of interest in Sidney Lanier is the fact of his Southern birth, descent, and training—an interest which may be wholly objective and surely is not sectional; for to see and trace the effects and results of environment as well as of heredity, on intellectual growth and form, is one of the chief functions of a real biographer or a true critic. Lanier was of a portion of our country and of an element or strain of our nationality which has so far maintained a character sufficiently distinguished from that of the other portions to excite genuine and reasonable interest. From Maryland and Virginia to Louisiana and Texas, differences of race, of former social standing and habits, of faith, and of purpose in emigrating, were the cause of differences in, one might almost say, the type of society which our South exhibited from the first. Added to this was the subtle and all-pervading influence of a social institution now relinquished and removed, and of which it ought now to be possible to think and speak of as any other important fact of our history—the institution of slavery. It is perfectly clear that this social fact intensified original differences of temper and character. It would have been unprecedented if such causes of difference between our South and North had not wrought out differences in intellectual character and work. One of the most marked facts which seem to me to have resulted somehow from original differences between society at the South and the North, has been the fact that the South has had no literature of its own, no literary type or form peculiar to itself. Good writers the South has had; strong and cultivated minds, but no literature which can be called characteristic. It is not my purpose to attempt to point out the precise or even general causes of this fact, but it seems obvious that with the extinction of slavery the original tenden-

cies to divergence between the two sections began to lose their force. The tendency to greater similarity of life, of business pursuits and interests, a closer commercial union, are plain now to all who will use their senses honestly. These influences will undoubtedly tend to produce a far greater development of the literary spirit at the South, and along with this some notable and interesting peculiarities of literary character and product.

Two causes, not of antagonism, but of difference, remain and will long remain at the South—first, the agricultural life and the long habit of exalting in the social scale the owner of large landed estates, and second, the intense and unyielding, almost fierce, pride of section and of state. Sidney Lanier was born under these influences, and when they were at their height. He was just nineteen when the Civil War opened. His education was in southern schools alone. He entered the confederate army in April, 1861, and did not return to his home till March, 1865. A fatal disease had fastened itself upon him even then. In the army he cultivated music, studied German, French, and Spanish, wrote a novel published in 1865, a few songs and poems, of which a few appear in the present volume. In 1873 he settled in Baltimore and began his strictly literary career. Harassed always by ill-health and often apparently by pecuniary necessity, he worked with remarkable devotion to his art, and died in 1881. The volume which lies before me is the record of his work and life.

But coming even in the most sympathetic mood, the critical sense however subdued or held in check by tenderness for the memory of one who was noble, aspiring, and in all ways interesting, one must feel when one reads this volume, that the genius and work of Lanier were but fragmentary, hindered, almost rudimentary, in the stages of which the record is here presented. Dr. Ward's memorial which prefaces the poems, is valuable in information, generous in spirit, and of good literary execution; but it is impossible to agree to his estimate of the merit of this poetry or of Lanier's relative rank even among American poets. Dr. Ward begins by saying: "He will, I think, take his final rank with the first princes of American song," and he ends by saying: "Short as was his literary

life, and hindered though it were, its fruit will fill a large space in the garnering of the poetic art of our country."

This can hardly be, even under the limitations which the memorialist himself states, for "short" and "hindered" describe with accuracy Lanier's life here, and America, if not a land of princes, has had some whom it is not speaking amiss, I think, to call "princes of song." Some of these too have had long and favoring lives, have worked from the impulse of art, and not for pay or livelihood, and have ripened under genial skies and in the slow-mellowing airs of long summers and autumns of health and peace. I have often thought that nowhere could we probably find more felicities of such a sort attending the poets of any age or country than have fallen to the lot of those whom we may call, in Dr. Ward's phrase, "the first princes of American song," such as Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes, Emerson. All these were healthy men, who had and have avocations; but their lives have been long and unhindered, rather tempered and knit, even for poetical and literary purposes, by the employments to which they gave themselves during all the middle parts of their lives. Whatever of association with the antique, the romance of old days, the inspiration of inherited or customary tendencies and qualities, such as lie about the English or Italian poet, may be wanting in our land, America has furnished to all these poets and writers,—if no more,—open, unhindered careers, long lives of peaceful flow and tenor, and an audience not unsympathetic, if not large.

With Lanier such happy lot was reversed. *His* life was a brief struggle, only half the length of days attained by nearly all "the princes of American song" whom I have named; and he must be judged by a standard quite unlike that which we may apply to riper work and maturer lives. We are not to think of him with Milton, as his biographer does not hesitate to do, nor with Wordsworth, nor Browning, nor Tennyson. To render him worthy of remembrance, to make the story of his life memorable and the record of his work well worth preserving, we need only to find that he was a "child of song," not a master or "prince;" that he had the poetic sense and soul; that he sang, and that those who heard him or hear him

now, hear strains of true melody, catch visions of a world and life higher than most men know or feel till poetry discloses it—not a great or foremost singer, bard,—not one of the succession which runs

“From Homer, the great Thunderer,
From the voice that roars
Along the bed of Jewish song,
To that more varied and elaborate,
Those trumpet tones of harmony
That shake the shores in England,”

—but rather a spirit and faculty of large promise which has, *even so*, given and left to us something still worth attention and gratitude.

To such a measure, Lanier answers well, and at the manifestations of such genius and spirit we do well to look.

But his biographer compels one more preliminary remark by way of limitation. Not only does Dr. Ward say “he had more than Milton’s love of music,” and that “musically he was nearer to Tennyson and Swinburne than to any other of his day,” and that “when one reads Lanier he is reminded of two writers, Milton and Ruskin,” and that he was of a character and aim “which fellows (*sic*) him rather with Milton and Ruskin than with the less sturdily-built poets of his day,”—but he insists that Lanier’s “studies were wide and his scholarship accurate.” That the tone of Lanier’s work is healthy and pure, that he had deep sympathy with the qualities and acquirements here ascribed to him, is plain enough, but the volume of his work can hardly be said to show that he had reached his ideals or had done more than to indicate that he was capable of some good work and might have made himself capable of much better, with longer life and fewer outward hindrances. This very contrast between his ideals and his performance is one of the most constant, as well as pathetic, impressions made by the volume. He wrote a prose book on “The Science of English Verse,” treating technically of poetic rhythm, but whatever others may find in his poems, he seems to me never, or very rarely, to reach rhythm himself. The “Song of the Chattahoochee,” written in 1877, four years only before his death, which Dr. Ward declares “deserves a place beside

Tennyson's Brook. It strikes a higher key and is scarcely less musical," and pronounces "an illustration of these technical beauties of musical rhythm,"—begins thus, and certainly nowhere rises above its beginning:

" Out of the hills of Habersham,
Down the valleys of Hall,
I hurry amain to reach the plain,
Run the rapid and leap the fall,
Split at the rock *and together again*,
Accept my bed, or narrow or wide,
And flee from folly on every side
With a lover's pain to attain the plain,
Far from the hills of Habersham,
Far from the valleys of Hall."

My italics are simply intended to draw attention to the diction or sense. This is poetry, I really think, but is it rhythm or good writing? I, for one, have to ask what the poet means? It is the river which speaks, but what does the river mean by saying "I flee from folly on every side?" And what is "a lover's pain," or "a lover's pain to attain the plain?" I can guess perhaps, but Dante, as quoted by Lanier, said "The best conceptions cannot be, save where genius and science are." Now read any stanza or part of Tennyson's "Brook;" for example,—

" ' O babbling brook,' says Edmund in his rhyme,
' Whence come you?' and the brook 'why not?' replies.

' I come from haunts of coot and hern,
I make a sudden sally,
And sparkle out among the fern
To bicker down a valley.'"

* * * * *

or,

" With many a curve my bank I fret
By many a field and fallow,
And many a fairy foreland set
With willow-weed and mallow."

Here is almost, if not quite, real transparency of style and thought, as becomes lyrical poetry at least. Wordsworth's lyrical poems have all these qualities, of course. Thus in "Yarrow Visited,"—

"A blue sky bends o'er Yarrow vale,
 Save where that pearly whiteness
 Is round the rising sun diffused,
 A tender hazy brightness;
 Mild dawn of promise! that excludes
 All profitless dejection;
 Though not unwilling to admit
 A pensive recollection."

But there is much of true lyrical melody, nevertheless, in passages of what are called in this volume, "*Hymns of the Marshes*,"—written in 1862. Thus in the poem entitled "*Individuality*," the first strain,—

"Sail on, sail on, fair cousin cloud:
 Oh loiter hither from the sea.
 Still-eyed and shadow-brow'd,
 Steal off from yon far-drifting crowd,
 And come and brood upon the marsh with me."

So in the "*Marshes of Glynn*," thus,—

"Glooms of the live-oaks, beautiful-braided and woven
 With intricate shades of the vines that myriad-cloven
 Clamber the forks of the multiform boughs,—
 Emerald twilights,—
 Virginal shy lights,
 Wrought of the leaves to allure to the whisper of vows,
 When lovers pace timidly down through the green colonnades
 Of the dim sweet woods, of the dear dark woods,
 Of the heavenly woods and glades,
 That run to the radiant marginal sand-beach within
 The wide sea-marshes of Glynn;—"

One of the most interesting pieces in this volume is a poem under the prosaic name of "*Corn*," written or published in 1875. Such titles occur repeatedly in Lanier's work,—"*Clover*," "*The Bee*," "*Owl and Robin*," "*Tampa Robins*,"—and are fairly descriptive. The poem of "*Corn*" did as much or more than any other to attract the first serious attention and praise of the public to the poet, and it seems now to be one of the maturest of his poems in sentiment and workmanship. The poet is in "*the woods*" in high summer, and passing out to where his

* * "fieldward-faring eyes
 Take harvests, where the stately corn-ranks rise,"—

panes to poetize. The poem has many conceits of phrase and diction which cannot be praised, but it has also much freshness and force of thought, with much beauty of expression and delicacy of touch. "One tall corn-captain" types for him "the poet-soul sublime." This, and an "old deserted Georgian hill" baring "to the sun his piteous aged crest," are the material of the poem. The treatment is very striking and the poem has many lines of smooth and easy-flowing melody,—

"To-day the woods are trembling through and through
With shimmering forms, that flash before my view,
Then melt in green as dawn-stars melt in blue.
The leaves that wave against my cheek caress
Like women's hands ;"

* * * * *

"I slowly move, with ranging looks that pass
Up from the matted miracles of grass
Into yon veined complex of space,
Where sky and leafage interlace
So close, the heaven of blue is seen
Inwoven with a heaven of green."

One giant stalk "advanced beyond the foremost of his bands,"
is, as I have said, the type of the poet-soul :—

"Soul calm, like thee, yet fain, like thee, to grow
By double increment, above, below ;
Soul homely, as thou art, yet rich in grace like thee,
Teaching the yeomen selfless chivalry
That moves in gentle curves of courtesy ;"

* * * * *

"As poets should,
Thou hast built up thy hardihood
With universal food,
Drawn in select proportion fair,
From honest mould and vagabond air ;"

* * * * *

"From antique ashes, whose departed flame
In thee has finer life and longer fame ;
From wounds and balms,
From storms and calms,
From potsherds and dry bones
And ruin-stones."

There is a sense of insecurity almost painful, as most readers will feel, in reading nearly all of Lanier's work, a fear too often realized, that one will suddenly come in his best work

on some immature or unmeaning word, phrase, or fancy, like "ruin-stones" here; but the poem as a whole, is very beautiful and inspiring. The closing lines are a good specimen of the poet's peculiarities;—

"Old hill ! old hill ! thou gashed and hairy Lear
Whom the divine Cordelia of the year,
E'en pitying Spring, will vainly strive to cheer—
King, that no subject man nor beast may own,
Discrowned, undaughtered and alone—
Yet shall the great God turn thy fate,
And bring thee back into thy monarch state
And majesty immaculate.
Lo, through hot waverings of the August morn,
Thou givest from thy vasty sides forlorn
Visions of golden treasures of corn—
Ripe largesse lingering for some bolder heart
That manfully shall take thy part,
And tend thee,
And defend thee,
With antique sinew and with modern art."

The last line would, I think, be improved if the epithets were reversed—

"With modern sinew and with antique art,"—

but here surely is something—let us not exaggerate the amount—of what Matthew Arnold ascribes to Wordsworth,—“the extraordinary power with which he feels the joy offered to us in nature, the joy offered to us in the simple primary affections and duties . . . The source of joy from which he thus draws is the truest and most unfailing source of joy accessible to man. It is also accessible universally.” There is too, I think, something, though less, of what the same writer calls “inevitableness of style,” where “nature herself seems to take the pen out of his hand, and to write for him with her own bare, sheer, penetrating power.”

In the ballad form of poetry, the poem entitled “The Tournament,” of which the first part was written in camp in 1862 and the last part in 1865, will attract attention. We shall find here, particularly in the first part or “Joust,” a smoother and freer versification than in almost anything of later date:—

" Bright shone the lists, blue bent the skies,
 And the knights still hurried amain
 To the tournament under the ladies' eyes,
 Where the jousts were Heart and Brain.

* * * * *

" They charged, they struck ; both fell, both bled,
 Brain rose again, ungloved ;
 Heart, dying, smiled and faintly said,
 ' My love to my beloved ! ' "

Of elegiac poetry, a fine and touching specimen is entitled, "The Dying Words of Stonewall Jackson." These words were, "Order A. P. Hill to prepare for battle,"—"Tell Major Hawks to advance the Commissary train,"—"Let us cross the river and rest in the shade." The whole poem cannot be given in our space, and a verse or two must suffice :—

" The stars of night contain the glittering day,
 And rain his glory down with sweeter grace
 Upon the dark World's grand, enchanted face—
 All loth to turn away.

" And so the Day, about to yield his breath,
 Utters the stars unto the listening Night,
 To stand for burning fare-thee-wells of light
 Said on the verge of death.

* * * * *

" His army stands in battle-line arrayed ;
 His couriers fly ; all's done : now God decide !
 And not till then saw he the Other Side,
 Or would accept the shade.

" Thou Land whose sun is gone, thy stars remain !
 Still shine the words that miniature his deeds.
 O thrice-beloved, where'er thy great heart bleeds,
 Solace hast thou for pain ! "

By much the longest poem of the volume is the "Psalm of the West," published in 1876. It is a poet's panegyric of Liberty and America ; not of even merit, not without many serious blemishes of diction, especially that insatiable seeking or using of compound words, often unnatural and forced, and seldom effective or euphonious. It sketches the discovery of America, the story of Columbus,—

" *Santa Maria*, well thou tremblest down the wave,
 Thy *Pinta* far abow, thy *Niña* nigh astern :
 Columbus stands in the night alone, and, passing grave,
 Yearns o'er the sea as tones o'er under-silence yearn."—

Then the Voyage of the Mayflower :

“ Mayflower, Ship of Faith's best Hope !
Thou art sure if all men grope ;
 Mayflower, Ship of Hope's best Faith !
 All is true the great God saith ;
 Mayflower, Ship of Charity !
 Love is Lord of land and sea.”

Then the story of the great Revolution, Lexington, Bunker Hill,—Prescott and Revere,—then brief allusions to the Civil War, in which is repeated a part of “The Tournament” already referred to.

The poem begins with the lines,—

“ Land of the willful gospel, thou worst and thou best ;
 Tall Adam of lands, new-made of the dust of the West ;”

and ends with the lines,—

“ Come, thou whole Self of Latter Man !
 Come o'er thy realm of Good-and-Ill,
 And do, thou Self that say'st *I can*,
 And love, thou self that say'st *I will* ;
 And prove and know Time's worst and best,
 Thou tall young Adam of the West.”

It is the spirit, the temper of this poem which will most attract us of the North, and here praise can hardly be excessive. Here at least the poet was emancipated from all the ordinary limitations of birth-place and training and spoke with the true cosmopolitan spirit of poetry and literature.

A short piece called “A Song of the Future,” is one of the freest, most melodious in expression in the volume :—

“ Sail fast, sail fast,
 Ark of my hopes, ark of my dreams ;
 Sweep lordly o'er the drownéd Past,
 Fly glittering through the Sun's strange beams ;
 Sail fast, sail fast.
 Breaths of new buds from off some drying lea
 With news about the Future scent the sea ;
 My brain is beating like the heart of Haste :
 I'll loose me a bird upon this Present waste ;
 Go, trembling song,
 And stay not long ; oh, stay not long :
 Thou'rt only a gray and sober dove,
 But thine eye is faith and thy wing is love.”

The poem, "My Springs," opens with a smooth-flowing stanza,—

" In the heart of the Hills of Life, I know
Two springs that with unbroken flow
Forever from their lucent streams
Into my soul's far Lake of Dreams."

The "Dialect Poems," so-called, cannot be praised, disfiguring, as such work must, any volume of serious literary work; and the only strictly narrative poem, entitled "The Revenge of Hamish," cannot be regarded as worthy of the author.

I can specify but one other poem, "The Crystal," and that chiefly for the light it throws on Lanier's deep religious faith and feeling. The poet at midnight,—“when darkness clears our vision that by day is sun-blind,”—sees the great poets and writers pass in review,—Homer, Socrates, Dante, Shakespere, Milton, Æschylus,—

" Ye companies of governor-spirits grave,
Bards, and old bringers down of flaming news,"

and closes thus :—

" But Thee, but Thee, O sovereign Seer of time,
But Thee, O poets' Poet, Wisdom's Tongue,
But Thee, O man's best Man, O Love's best Love,
O perfect life in perfect labor writ,
O all men's Comrade, Servant, King, or Priest,—
What *if* or *yet*, what mole, what flaw, what lapse,
What least defect or shadow of defect,
What rumor, tattled by an enemy,
Of inference loose, what lack of grace
Even in torture's grasp, or sleep's, or death's,—
Oh what amiss may I forgive in Thee,
Jesus, good Paragon, thou Crystal Christ ?"

The volume which I must now close contains many fine and memorable single lines, even passages, which mark the genius of Lanier, but these can best be observed and appreciated by those who read or study the volume.

Lanier's "utterance," to use Dr. Johnson's word, never became wholly true or facile, and no page of his work probably is without evidence of this choked, labored, strained diction, of which mention has already been made. In this he differed widely and radically from another Southern poet of the War

era who is probably far less known to ordinary readers—Henry Timrod. A little thin volume of only 200 pages contains Paul Hayne's life and the entire work of this poet, but it gives plentiful evidence of the justice of his biographer's remark that "his work always leaves the impression of having been *born*, not manufactured or made," of which the little poem "A Common Thought," is a good example,—lines repeated by the poet to his watching friends on the last night of his life ;—

"Somewhere on this earthly planet
In the dust of flowers to be,
In the dewdrop, in the sunshine,
Sleeps a solemn day for me."

Timrod and Lanier were devoted sons of the South, were of the number of those of whom a fine Southern writer* has said: "And now that the end has come and we have seen it, it seems to me that to a man of humanity, I care not in what section his sympathies may have been nurtured, there never has been a sadder or sublimer spectacle than these earnest and devoted men, their young and vigorous columns marching through Richmond to the Potomac, like the combatants of ancient Rome, beneath the imperial throne in the amphitheatre and exclaiming with uplifted arms, '*morituri te salutamus*.'"

Sidney Lanier was one of the noblest of these, and his premature death cut off the rich promise of his genius, leaving us only fragments of achievement in poetry, very precious indeed, and the far more precious memory and incentive of a valorous life, true to his sense of duty and to the arts which were his inspiration and constant aim. Of him in the fine words of Matthew Arnold, we may well say,—“To have desired to enter this promised land of genuine creative (poetic) activity ; to have saluted it from afar, is already, perhaps, the best distinction among contemporaries ; it will certainly be the best title to esteem with posterity.”

* Wm. Henry Trescot.

ARTICLE VII.—THE POETRY OF COMMONPLACE.

CHAPTER I.—A NORTH CAROLINA INCIDENT.

WHILE riding along by the French Broad river, I allowed myself a small soliloquy:—This section is un-American. These people do not hurry and worry. Americans are satisfied with America as a whole, but seldom with their own portion of the vast country. New England boys want to go West to work; western men want to come East to live and enjoy the fruits of their self-sacrifice. But the North Carolinian can hardly better his chances of success or the conditions of comfortable living by going away from home. The other day I met a young drover. He told me that he would be off for Colorado soon.

"You would like to see the world," I conjectured.

"Yes. I reckon I'll come back directly. The boys I have known who've gone West are all back here again and they do say this is the only place to live."

It is delightful to find people believing not only in their own country, but in their own township. And yet how closely allied with ignorance is this bias. For instance: After parting company with the drover, my way lay through one of those extensive pine forests which cover the southern slopes of the Blue Ridge. An hour sufficed to confuse me thoroughly. I had not an idea which one of the glistening tracks of white sand to follow at the next crossway, when with joy I discovered a log hut, chinked with red clay, a spiral of blue smoke ascending from its chimney. Its occupant appeared in answer to my shout, slouched amicably towards me, and "lowed" he would show me the way—so politely! He used the *Sir* in every sentence, yet not in servility. With him it was a courteous form, like the French *Monsieur*. This is the one ornament of a slovenly mountain idiom. I should have enjoyed a longer conversation, for he showed the excellent quality of thoughtfulness, asking among other things, "Whar is New England, Sir? I reckon it aint far from old England, Sir." Then at a turning, where a choice of ways came in

sight, he stopped, pointed down the road to a small stream and said :

"See that'ar branch, thar, Sir? Waal, when you cross that bra-anch, you turn—you turn (reflecting)—Which side your mare's mane lie, Sir?"

"Left."

"Waal, when you get across that bra-anch yonder, you just turn to the left, Sir."

At this point in the soliloquy, my attention was attracted by the near sound of falling water. Remember that here, between Asheville and Warm Springs, the French Broad, although a considerable stream, is still three thousand feet above the sea-mirror, and hurries along at a tremendous pace, —dashes foaming and chafing against the rugged, darkly wooded mountains, in spite of which it accomplishes a hasty descent. Here a narrow side valley, through which a brook makes the best of its way to join the main current, tumbling over successive terraces of granite, seething in the deep pool at the base of each cascade and elsewhere sheeting itself prettily over the smooth dark rock. I was ready to dismount and try my poor skill at sketching so lovely a spot, when—the Troubadour appeared.

Certainly a striking figure! A man like the other features of the scene which had laid its spell upon me. A man who had matured and grown strong under natural influences—grown rugged but not coarse through forty years (it seemed) of storm and sunshine. Something fine and commanding, whether in his thoughtful face or the ease with which he rode, as though unconscious of a separate existence in his thoroughbred, made me question instantly his being a "native." But if not a mountaineer, what could be the meaning of such a costume? He wore a dark green velvet jacket and gray corduroy knickerbockers, both very rusty, strings supplying the place of buttons at the knees. On his head was a straw sombrero, so wide-brimmed as actually to shade his shoulders. He carried a light single barrel bird gun across the saddle and was followed by a fine Gordon setter. It would be difficult to say wherein it consisted, but there was a slight touch of dandyism withal. Possibly the suggestion came from his red neckcloth. His

face was so weather-worn and hardened that, smiling, he must smile in seams. In addition to his fowling-piece, this practiced horseman bore a small guitar in a baize cover slung across his shoulders.

"There is a legend," said he with grave deliberateness, "that these pools are bottomless and that two young lovers took the fatal leap together into their unknown depths. If that is true, the lovers must have been visitors from New York. I never heard of a genuine North Carolinian who did not care more for life than for love."

"And yet," I doubted, "these mountaineers are said to be courageous."

This most unconventional person rejoined: "Courage is familiarity with danger. I have seen a man who dared not cross the ocean on a Cunard steamer, boldly attack a dish of raw tripe at an hotel."

He had not introduced himself, neither had his horse, nor yet his dog. All three appeared to accept my presence as naturally as if we had been members of the same household happening to meet in the hallway. In the same matter-of-course fashion, we cantered over the level stretches and walked up hill and down towards Squire Justice's "hotel," keeping together and chatting. I can no more undertake to follow the course of our conversation than to describe from memory all the varied scenes of that panorama of river, forest, and sky as each turn in the road revealed a new prospect. But I wish to convey in a few words my impression of his strange mode of existence, gathered from his unreserved communications.

Evidently a gentleman by birth and education, who had read much and traveled widely, my companion employed in conversation a superior, rather bookish, vocabulary and style. Occasional sentences were evidently studied; so much so indeed that I at first supposed him to be quoting from some book which I had not read. When describing a tornado which had devastated portions of northern Georgia the previous year, he dwelt with much appreciation upon its freaks and the curious incidents which attended its progress, observing finally, "Always some trifles of humor come to the surface of a great disaster like bubbles where the water is torn below a cataract;

and the spirits which laugh in storm are not all devils—laughing in bitterness—but some are Ariels : these laugh in the very gladness of a light nature.”

I. “Bravo ! who wrote that ?

He. “I will tell you—*Anon.*”

He kept his punning promise fully ; for he did presently make himself known to me as an author, while he remained and remains anonymous. In the mountains he was called Bertram Born,—evidently an assumed name.

Bertram Born avoided the larger towns, passing from one outlying farmstead to another. He would carry about little presents of tobacco, seed-corn, or powder and shot, which insured a cordial welcome wherever he appeared. He was welcomed also as historian of the mountain folk, for his personal recollections extended over a period of twenty years, while traditions of the earliest settlers and the expulsion of the Indians were stored in his retentive memory. As for his wanderings, they were commonly within the limits of North Carolina, although sometimes he would follow the course of small rivers such as the Pacolet from their source through the narrow, fertile valleys of northern South Carolina, and more frequently find himself in the picturesque Habersham county of northern Georgia. Indeed this latter must be a tempting field for such a wandering story-teller and adventurer. Instead of sharp peaks, the mountains of Habersham have fruitful craters—or let us say, dimples of fertile valley—at their very summits where Nature has laid her hand in blessing, and at her touch springs have burst forth and barren rock has been transformed into the deepest and richest black earth of all that region. There are cabins of farmers,—each household in undisputed possession of its mountain. Fruit trees there and cattle, separated by miles of forest from the nearest orchards and herds. A tall, gaunt race living there, speaking vaguely and mildly. Think of the isolation of these places and then imagine how joyfully a lively acquaintance would be received. And besides, Bertram established closer relations with many of these uncritical people. Many a slouching, mild-eyed mountaineer hailed him as best friend, and (it may as well be confessed) more than one maiden giantess secretly owned his

overlordship. These people are natural. Why should not a piece of bright ribbon and a few kind words win a way to maiden's heart and favor? Rules of the moral code, accepted as such by all good citizens of the nearest large town, are here crowded aside by the pressure of natural forces. So amiable, so truly amiable is this mountain folk, that it will readily accept almost any form of religious *doctrine*; but it will recognize only such *restraints* as accord with local tastes and usages. Crime of the gravest kind is called "meanness." Swearing and working on Sunday are the two offenses which excite general disapproval.

"In this land," said my companion, "every root produces flowers; while everything which moves either stings or kicks or chews tobacco."

Bertram had never cared to acquire a permanent home, although nothing would have been easier. One has only to choose a sheltered spot near a crystal spring, build a cabin (it will take but two weeks), and then clear away right and left with his axe far as he like, and plant shallow in loam a yard deep. A few dollars will be enough for the establishment of a marrying man. Why, with a hundred dollars one might get a giantess. But our Bertram was an incorrigible errant.

An hour before dark, we arrived at Squire Justice's hotel,—store, post office, and tavern, all in one. The situation of the house on rising ground, an eighth of a mile from the river and road, in a little park of its own, sheep grazing on the lawn, does not suggest an inn; but my companion feels at home here as everywhere and points out the merits of the location with a sense of partial ownership. When we had passed through the gate and were approaching the house, he spoke to an old negro nurse who stood beside the roadway with her charge, a little girl holding in her arms a doll almost as large as herself. Pointing to the doll: "Aunty, is that a sure enough baby, or is it an artificial baby?"

The negress grinned. "Lordy, Lordy, Mass' Born, is that youself here again?"

A moment later our horses were standing before the wide whitewashed piazza. "See there, my friend," I said, "can you tell me what's going on in that room?" Through an open

window I saw a curious kind of needle work. A light, flat frame, over which was stretched a white sheet, was suspended from the ceiling by cords attached to its four corners. An enormous flat hammock? No; for it is being covered with a flowery pattern. A hanging garden, then? No; only quilting.

"Just come with me," replied Bertram Born, leading the way into the house and opening a side door without ceremony.

A jolly girl, that, bending over the quilt. A giantess from the Black Mountain, I should think, visiting her cousins, the Justices. She was quite handsome, with merry bright eyes and red cheeks. Her eyes became brighter and her cheeks flushed when we entered. I could not flatter myself; it was for the Troubadour. Confound the old Lothario! He has no right to a better name, for he seeks no higher honors.

However, I forget my mortification, envy, or whatever it may be called, in listening to their conversation. She is speaking the thought uppermost in her mind, with the simplicity of a child of nature. Her thought is an aspiration to see the great world. He, having deliberately turned his back upon the world, is easy and contented in the rudeness of these mountains. Hence his superiority and attractiveness to her. He is to her the nearest approach of the desired. He has been in Washington, in London, even in Paris, perhaps. Heavens! He has lived. He has seen the originals of those elegant ladies in long trains who march across the paper covers of the half-dozen of novels in the nearest village library. She is only a poor mountain girl, and people must *buy* friendship, she has read. Well, he may have the rose from her hair. But wait; here is a turn which shows the very heart of simple maiden of the Black Mountain. He asked, "How long would it take for you to know me?"

She repeats: "How long to *love*?"

Her woman's nature is right on the surface. One reads in her lively expression such thoughts as these: "Is he really in earnest?—Is he out of reach?—I am attractive.—Is he making fun of me?—Shall I see him *soon* again?" It is high time for me to withdraw.

After a supper of hot corn bread and light biscuits, fried ham, buttermilk, and coffee (the invariable supper of the

South!), half-a-dozen men were seated on the wide piazza in arm chairs, smoking red-clay pipes with long cane stems or using tobacco in another less picturesque fashion,—more subjectively. Central in the group was the venerable figure of Squire Justice. He was telling his stock anecdotes about the healthfulness of the region: "Why, ole Miss Bridgman was confirmed by the Bishop this summer and her two gals at the same time. Well, gentlemén, she is one hundred and four years old and the two babies are sixty-five and sixty-eight years." The speaker had himself been one of twelve friends, young men together in the township. Of the twelve, six went away and they had all died; while those who had remained at home were all hale and hearty to this day.

How many similar instances his garrulity might have offered and the good nature of his nicotinated audience would have sluggishly accepted, it is impossible to say, for at that moment came dashing up the driveway a willing horse,—a muscular, lean, corn-fed animal,—and an unwilling horseman, unpracticed, plump with a succession of hotel dinners, the tails of his long gray coat flying out wildly and his hat crushed over his eyes. At the door the horse stopped of his own accord suddenly,—so suddenly that the rider was thrown forward upon his neck. A moment later appeared a fat old darkey running along the road and leading a pack-horse with well-filled saddle bags. The African was shouting, "Wha! Wha! I never did see a man ride so fas as dat man!"

While settling his hat and cravat, the new comer explained volubly, "My nag wanted to run. I had no objection. Here come my things." Then addressing me, who happened to be nearest, he offered his card, "Thomas R. Bagman, Richmond," and in the corner, "Representing Messrs. Stuff, Rubbish & Shoddy."

I explained briefly that I was not a competitor, but making a horseback tour of the mountains.

"That is something I never could understand," commented the drummer. "That must be no end lonesome. Now, if I want a sight, I just go to church and take my seat in the gallery, front row, forward. It isn't for the sermon—O, no. But I just watch the effect the parson's words have upon the

audience,—how different people take the same thing differently.”

To my great surprise, Bertram Born answered him: “Then you will allow us to put mountains and watercourses in place of parson and to watch the effects which their speech produces upon an audience,—upon the people we meet,—with more satisfaction, young man, in that these tones are true, while your parson may be telling lies.”

Like an old book! Silence ensued. Evidently Bertram was used to being allowed the last word. This silence was broken by Squire Justice, asking, “What you goin’ to tell us about to-morrow, General?”

The question was addressed to an Herculean mountaineer who had sat without uttering a syllable hitherto. I had noticed this man at the table, consuming hills of biscuits and lakes of steaming coffee with the same rapt expression which he wore at present. The General straightened himself in his chair, threw back his shaggy head, and began to speak in trumpet tone.

“I shall expound a text from the book of Esther. You shall listen to the Haman proclamation. As a judge I shall hold court in open air and judge all comers. I shall show that everything done in the fear of the Lord prospers, while the devil’s work miscarries. My banner shall be unfurled, ‘Peace on Earth, good will towards Men.’” Then, as though remembering that his audience was not in court, he relapsed into his former slouching posture and continued half to himself: “About once in so often I am driven from my home. The warlike spirit is upon me and I am called to preach to the great men of the earth. One season I rode through seven States. In every town my banner was unfurled, ‘Peace on Earth, good will towards Men.’ But when they would not hear me and scoffed, I furled my banner and charged through the crowd and through the town crying, Woe! Woe!”

“You might go over to the ‘Cove’ and convert the Dunkards,” said a man in black coat and waistcoat of ecclesiastical cut and not very fresh white cravat. “I had some talk with them the other day. I said, ‘You believe in baptism three times face foremost. Well, that’s a good way too. The

Saviour says water, and water's a good thing. I'll duck you, or sprinkle you, any way you like,—five times backward or seven times heels upward. But meanwhile I'll just say a word about drinking bad whiskey and going hunting when the ground's dry enough to plow."

A spruce, alert little man who had been introduced to the party with somewhat of a flourish as a criminal lawyer from Raleigh, explained to me in an undertone that the last speaker was a missionary of the Episcopal Church, very zealous, not over-fastidious about the means employed to reach and improve the "barbarians." Then, himself not above the desire to produce an impression, my informant gave me incidents from his own experience. For example, when I had asked if he did not find the climate of Raleigh rather bad in summer, he ran on, "Yes, it would be, but we go down the river every now and then to a watering place. Last summer we had quite the scheme. We telegraphed to our young lady friends staying at this watering place to expect a boatful of the boys at a certain hour. When we got near the shore and hotel, we discharged our guns and pistols by way of salute. That brought everybody out. Then one of the boys stood up to hurrah, and intentionally tipped the boat over. We were all provided with life-preservers, and floated about in the water, pretending to be in distress. One of the boys made believe he was drowning. Weeping on shore; men running into the water regardless of their white duck trousers. At this juncture, the corpse produced his flask and took a drink. Everybody felt better."

While listening to this chatter of the law-man, I also noticed that Bertram Born had withdrawn somewhat from the group of loafers, and reclining in his chair, his feet on the railing of the piazza, was tuning his guitar. Now, without preface or prelude, he half recited, half sung with accompaniment of minor chords, a story so simple, so suggestive of true human feeling, so incomplete, that it haunts me. Light from a few handfuls of blazing pine-knots a rod distant from the piazza showed the group of quiet listeners; while from the outer darkness came sounds of the river and night.

"In the wide southern plain, yonder where the rivers are

broad and slow and it is warm at Christmas-time, lived a planter owning many slaves.

Mary was a slave, but her hair was straight and brown; her skin was fair as a lily. She had not a drop of nigger blood in her veins. But the old woman she called mother was an African, black as this night. Her, Mary called mother, and claimed to be no better than the blackest.

Mary was a meek and willing servant; but once she ran away to Charleston, her birthplace,—at least where the old black mother had been bought from the Govan family. At first she was sought where her beauty would have found a ready market, in a freedom more sad than slavery; but there she was not. After many months, she was traced to a garret where, more pale and quiet than ever, she was working with her needle; and she was brought back. She did not complain, but always staid quietly with her master afterwards.

When the planter's daughters were sent to Charleston for the winter, she accompanied them as their maid. Visiting, shopping, at church, she always attended them; and so white and decent was Mary, that gentlemen assisting the young ladies to alight from their carriage, would offer her the same courtesy, supposing her to be a companion. Then she would shrink back, saying quietly, 'Excuse me, Sir; I am only a servant.'

One Sunday the planter's daughters drove up to St. Mark's Church, Mary attending them as usual. One of Charleston's beaux went forward to assist the ladies, and took no pains to conceal his mortification when Mary declined his offer with a murmured 'Only a servant, Sir.' But, by God!—(Here the guitar was laid aside and Bertram finished his story in a conversational tone.) "What any bystander might have noticed, was the striking resemblance between White Mary and this young fellow,—Tom Govan was his name. His mother had been a famous beauty in her day. Mary was apparently a few years older, but if features amount to anything in evidence, she and young Govan were sister and brother.

When old Senator Govan married the young belle, it was whispered that there had been a secret marriage between her and Colonel Simms, shortly before the colonel had been called

by some business affairs to the Bermudas, where he took the fever and died. The report was denied by the lady's friends. It would have been a dangerous thing for any one to have repeated the scandal aloud then. Colonel Simms was well known to have been at heart an abolitionist, and Senator Govan was a leader in the southern cause.

Tom Govan escorted the planter's daughters to their seat, and white Mary took her place among the servants. Brother and sister were together before the Lord, while the parson droned his sermon with the text, 'Blessed are the Meek.' "

As it was the custom in the mountains to allow Bertram to speak the last word, now that he had ended, the little company broke up. I went to my bed-room, and after blinking awhile at the light wood fire on the broad hearth (for even in summer the nights are often cool at this altitude), and resolving to find out more of the past life of Bertram Born, I fell asleep. But in the morning when I awoke, he had gone.

EDUCATIONAL TOPICS.

ARTICLE I.—NOTES ON THE REPORT OF THE YALE TREASURER.

THE Report of the Treasurer of Yale College for the year 1883—4, tells again the old story, so familiar to those acquainted with the affairs of the University, of prudent, wise, successful management of property, and of slow, unsatisfactory growth of endowments.

It may be well to premise, before considering the Report, that it takes no account of money which has been spent for lands, buildings, books, collections, apparatus, or property of any kind used for the work of the University—what might properly be called the “plant:” it concerns itself solely with the funds invested for the sake of revenue, and which, for convenience, we term the endowments of the University. These endowments, at the end of the last fiscal year, July 31, 1884, were as follows :

University Funds.....	\$453,044.09
Academical Department Funds.....	883,386.36
Theological Department Funds.....	346,077.08
Sheffield Scientific School Funds.....	148,774.83
Medical Department Funds.....	19,477.23
Law Department Funds.....	11,600.00
Art School Funds.....	75,000.00
Total	\$1,932,261.58*

Under the head “University Funds” are kept the accounts of those funds which are not held for the sole benefit of any one department of the University. The earliest of these of any considerable importance was the “Woolsey Fund,” which appears in the Treasurer’s Report for the first time in 1874. Prior to that year, the “University Funds,” then amounting to about \$77,000, consisted only of the endowments of chairs not especially attached to any department. In eleven years these funds have so in-

* The figures in this table are not in all cases the same as those given in the Report, the differences are apparent, not real, and can be reconciled. This note applies to all the tables in the article.

creased that in 1883-4 the income from them, subject to no restriction, but wholly at the disposal of the Corporation, was, after the payment of annuities of \$2,000, \$17,572.88. Of this income there was appropriated to

University Expenses, Treasurer's office.....	\$6,600	
The Library.....	3,500	10,100.00
The Academical Department.....		691.48
The Theological Department.....		910.00
The Medical Department.....		1,200.00
The Law Department.....		1,100.00
The Art School.....		1,000.00
The Observatory.....		500.00
		<hr/>
		\$15,501.48

leaving in hand a balance of \$2,071.45. The Corporation was doubtless able to make good use of this surplus, for in the same year, unfortunately, the expenditure exceeded the income in the Academical department by \$6,397.65, in the Sheffield Scientific School by \$1,871.85, in the Medical department by \$2,877.12, and in the Law department by \$139.67.

In the "University Funds" are also to be found the accounts of institutions which exist for the benefit of the whole University, such as the Libraries, the Gymnasium, and the Reading Room, and of others, e. g. the Observatory, which, unattached to any department, have themselves not attained to departmental dignity.

The endowment of the Library is ludicrously small, amounting to only \$49,814.20. There are also library endowments in the Theological and Law departments and in the Sheffield Scientific School, but all told, including that of the general library, they are but \$79,817.91, and the income which they yielded last year, about \$4,300, would not suffice even to pay the salaries of the persons employed in the general library. For the purchase of books and for general expenses, the library is wholly dependent upon gifts and upon fees, paid chiefly by students for the use of the so-called "Society Libraries," which are really a portion of the general library. The income of all the Libraries during the year was very nearly as follows:

From endowments.....	\$4,364.78
From fees.....	3,367.80
From gifts.....	2,695.00
From sundries.....	15.84
	<hr/>
	\$10,442.87

and the expenditures were

For books	\$8,150.08
For binding	908.90
For salaries	6,618.00
For sundries	280.80
	<hr/>
	\$15,952.78

The mere statement of the facts suffices to show how utterly inadequate to the wants of this most important adjunct of the University is the provision made for them.

The income of the Gymnasium continues to be more than sufficient to meet all its expenses, including in the latter interest on the amount originally invested in the building from the funds of the Academical department. The accumulated income now amounts to more than \$4,500. Interest is allowed by the Treasurer on other balances of a similar character. It would seem wise to extend the rule to this one, for it is not too early to foster the growth of a fund for the erection of the new building which will be needed when the extension of the Peabody Museum shall require the demolition of the present Gymnasium.

The Observatory has no endowment which can properly be called productive. The only portion of the generous gift of Mr. Winchester which yields any income is the land upon which houses have been built for astronomers and other officers, and the rentals of these must be applied to payment of the interest on money borrowed from other funds for their erection. The Observatory fund of \$10,000 which appears in the Treasurer's report (it is not included in the summary statement of funds on the first page of this article) has gone into the "plant" of the Observatory, and, in accordance with the principle on which these accounts are kept, it would vanish from the books but for the fact that the corporation is under obligation to pay an annuity of 5 per centum upon it. The accounts of the Observatory have but lately come under control of the Treasurer's office; evidently, they have not yet been analyzed and thrown into proper shape. As they now stand, no distinction is made between principal and income, investment and current expense, and it is, therefore, impossible to form an intelligent opinion as to the nature of the receipts and expenditures, or as to the result of the operations which are carried on at the Observatory.

Although it is as yet unproductive, there would seem to be no

good reason why that portion of the Winchester gift which is not included in the reservation for the Observatory buildings should not appear in the books of the Treasurer. If it were entered in them at a fair valuation, the report would represent more truly and fully the condition of the Observatory fund.

It is supposed by many that nearly all the funds of the University are held under conditions of various kinds, imposed by the donors and which seriously embarrass the corporation in the administration of the affairs of the institution. This belief is scarcely justified by the facts, for, as appears by the following table, the endowments of which the income is at the absolute disposal of the corporation comprise nearly one half of the whole endowment.

	Funds for instruction.	Funds for prizes and sup- port of students.	Funds for Library and collections.	Funds of which the use is unrestricted.
University	94,440.00		49,814.20	308,789.89
Academical Department.....	334,862.44	247,212.40		301,213.52
Theological Department.....	144,978.47	78,684.16	7,003.71	115,410.74
Sheffield Scientific School.....		1,100.00	12,800.00	130,374.89
Medical Department.....		7,401.50		12,075.73
Law Department.....		1,600.00	10,000.00	
Art School.....	75,000.00			
	<u>\$649,280.91</u>	<u>\$335,998.06</u>	<u>\$79,117.91</u>	<u>\$867,864.70</u>

The most noticeable fact brought out by this analysis is the scant provision which has been made through endowments for the compensation of the professors and instructors in the University, now about 100 in number. The funds for prizes and for the support of students and of scholars are more than half as great as those held for the maintenance of the instructors. During the past year the income from the latter, at the rate earned on all the funds of the University (5.54 per cent.), was only \$35,970.12, while the expenditure for instruction was \$175,654.42. It is not too much to say that if endowments were secured which, added to those in hand, should yield annually enough to cover this item of expense, the tuition fees and the revenues of the unrestricted funds would afford a proper maintenance for the Library, render it possible to raise to respectability the now meagre salaries of the instructors, and, indeed, provide an income abundant for all the present needs of the University. The report shows that the revenue of the University from all sources was in 1883-4 as follows:

	<i>From Endowments.</i>	<i>Tuition.</i>	<i>Fees.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Sundries.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
University Funds....	\$24,802.35	\$1,016.77				\$25,819.12
Library.....	2,851.85		3,367.80	2,695.00	15.84	8,929.99
Gymnasium			3,479.80			3,479.80
Reading Room.....			1,594.46		29.76	1,624.22
Academical Dep't..	45,161.15	92,542.91		4,000.00	6,029.61	147,733.67
Theological Dep't .	17,836.25			970.94	9,136.81	27,943.50
Sheffield Sci. School	*21,248.28	22,110.87			9,855.87	53,214.52
Medical Department	1,482.10	3,145.56		100.00		4,727.66
Law Department....	700.00	7,047.50				7,747.50
Art School	4,832.40	2,176.00		10.00	937.95	7,946.35
	\$118,414.38	\$128,039.61	\$3,441.06	\$7,775.94	\$25,994.84	\$288,665.83

The item of \$92,542.91 for tuition in the Academical department includes a considerable sum collected for room-rent, the heating and lighting of rooms, and the incidental charges, familiar to students, parents, and guardians, which always grace the Treasurer's bills. The report does not give the amounts of these several items and the actual receipts for tuition can only be estimated. There were about 600 students in the Academical department during the year who, at \$115 each (the regular charge for tuition), should have paid \$69,000. Tuition fees were remitted to the amount of \$8,150.87, so that the income from this source was probably about \$61,000.

The receipts from sundries are large. The principal items which they include are, in the Academical department, losses paid by insurance companies \$1,767.00, fees paid for examinations, degrees, and commencement expenses \$1,112.30, and room-rent, etc., paid by college officers \$794.59; in the Theological department, room-rent \$9,136.81, and in the Sheffield Scientific School, income of the Agricultural fund of the State of Connecticut, \$7,040.00, and Laboratory receipts \$2,602.97.

The funds in the hands of the Treasurer at the beginning of the year (August 1, 1883), including unexpended income, amounted to \$1,845,402.48: the income from these during the year was \$102,115.88, or at the rate of 5.54 per centum per annum, certainly a most satisfactory return to receive from trust funds in these days of low rates of interest. Another fact bears still more emphatic testimony to the care and sagacity which characterize the management of the University property. Many of the securities held by the Treasurer have been given to the corporation; others are of his own purchase. The cost of the latter—mortgages,

* This item includes \$16,825, income of funds held by the trustees under the will of Mr. Sheffield.

loans, and corporate bonds and stock—was on August 1, 1883, \$1,174,057.44: the income from them during the year 1883-4, \$73,268.76, was at a rate a little greater than 6.24 per centum, while of the corporate bonds and stocks purchased by the Treasurer, representing a par value of \$431,500, all but \$7,500 paid interest or dividends. It would be difficult to frame a statement showing more conclusively the soundness of his investments.

For this successful management the Treasurer is entitled to all credit. The circumstances under which he performs his most responsible duties are somewhat peculiar. It cannot be expected that the Fellows of Yale College should give much attention to their financial concerns: many of them, by reason of training and profession, are ill-equipped for the administration of a great pecuniary trust; they are innocent of familiarity with stock-lists or with real-estate reports, and but slightly acquainted with ledgers and balance-sheets. The few whose experience and occupations would fit them for the consideration of the questions with which the Treasurer has to deal, are rarely seen at the College, save at the infrequent meetings of the Corporation. That body has not even a special Finance Committee, but the Prudential Committee (the only standing committee), to which are intrusted most of the administrative duties of the corporation not performed by the President alone, is also charged with the care of the finances. Under these circumstances, the corporation naturally gives little time to the oversight and direction of the financial administration. Practically, in his own department the Treasurer bears all the responsibility, and the success which is achieved is his success. It will be a dark day for the University—may it be far distant!—when the present Treasurer shall leave his post, for it is scarcely to be hoped that a successor will be found who shall possess that rare combination of qualities which enable him to keep the funds of the University secure while gaining from them a most generous income.

It appears from the Treasurer's reports that since 1877, the date of the first report of the present series covering a fiscal year, additions have been made to the endowments to the amount of \$694,719.58. The distribution of these gifts among the departments is shown in the following table:

University Funds.....	\$174,169.89
Academical Department.....	300,051.31
Theological Department.....	127,796.98
Sheffield Scientific School.....	18,800.00
Medical Department.....	2,501.50
Law Department.....	1,800.00
Art School.....	75,000.00
Total	<u>\$694,719.58</u>

The number of these gifts was, as nearly as can be ascertained, 170, of which 63 were contributions to the Woolsey Fund on subscriptions made several years before 1877, and 68 were to the funds of the Theological department. The number of the gifts to the endowments of the University (exclusive of those to the Woolsey Fund and to the Theological department) during the seven years from 1877 to 1884 is, therefore, 39. During the same period, gifts for building purposes and for current expenses, were reported as follows:

To the Library	\$24,408.26
" Observatory.....	10,753.08
" Academical Department.....	34,576.99
" Theological Department.....	16,106.31
" Sheffield Scientific School	90,405.34
" Medical Department.....	1,355.50
" Art School.....	1,174.49
Total.....	<u>\$178,779.77</u>

The number of these gifts is not stated.

It would be instructive to compare these gifts for endowments and for immediate use with those received by Harvard University during the same time, but, unfortunately, the report of the Harvard Treasurer for 1884 has not yet been received. For the six years from 1877 to 1883, however, he reports 564 gifts to endowments, amounting to \$1,029,740.90, and 417 gifts for immediate use amounting to \$496,544.06.

This seems to show that the methods adopted at Harvard for obtaining the funds needed by the University are more efficient than those which are countenanced by the Yale Corporation. Certainly it is plain that they excite a more wide-spread interest and appeal effectually to a much larger number of persons.

The Yale Treasurer's report is unique in one respect. Except the yearly catalogue, it is the only official document published by the Corporation which conveys any information as to what is done in the University. Of the character and extent of the work con-

stantly going on in the various departments, of the plans which have been formed and which it is desired to put into operation, of the aid which those plans require, of the obstacles to progress and to development which should be removed, not a word is heard from those who alone have the right to speak. If the Corporation should show more confidence in the public to which it looks for support, if it should lay before it, in clear, full statements, the work, the plans, the needs of the University, who can doubt that the effect would be most beneficial? A policy of silence is sure to breed distrust, and distrust, as surely, must paralyze the energies of those who should—and who gladly would—be the most zealous and the most efficient helpers of Yale.

ARTICLE II.—THE CLASSICS AND THE YALE CURRICULUM.

THE fears which have here and there been expressed, that the recent transformation of the academic curriculum at Yale College* may work harm to the study of Greek and Latin, are not shared by the teachers of those languages. None were more ready than they to suggest changes in the old course; none were more earnest in advocating the changes, or more hopeful in accepting them. They believed, with their colleagues, that whatever should improve the nature and scope of the course as a whole, would inure to the good of their own, as of all other departments. If the modifications, by stimulating to more earnest and enthusiastic work and to a more hearty coöperation between teachers and students, are to issue in a better education, classical scholarship, as all good scholarship, is to be greatly benefited.

Belief in the classics as an integrant part of a liberal education, and as a desirable element in all culture, is certainly not inconsistent with a catholic and practical recognition of the dignity and value of all honest study, or of differences in the tastes and capacities and aims of faithful students, or of the steady tendency in our times toward early specialization. In the long run, any study which is cosseted and forced by hot-house methods can have but a sickly vitality. The outcome of the recent reconsid-

* See the last number of the *New Englander*, pp. 114–127.

eration of the claims of the classics in education clearly is, that those claims are indefeasible and permanent. With the rise of new sciences and the increase of facts and ideas and relations which are well worthy of attention, it may indeed be that the classics are to have a less prominent, or certainly a readjusted place in schools and colleges; but we can hardly anticipate a state of culture or of civilization which shall not be largely molded by the languages and literature and life of Greece and Rome. The present rivalry between different branches of study, and the criticism of all tradition in education, will, it may be fervently hoped, lead the representatives of classical study to examine their aims and methods and results with thoughtful and constant vigilance.

But it may be well to consider more definitely what the recent changes at Yale are, so far as they are likely to affect the classics.

That the student may bring to college the power to read easy German or French without seriously increasing the time of preparation, the amount of definite Greek and Latin to be presented for admission has been reduced by about one-fourth. But it has been distinctly announced that the reduction is only temporary, the earlier amount to be restored as soon as the schools shall have adapted themselves to the modern-language requirement. In reality, however, the present requirements for admission are rather an improved modification than a diminution of the earlier requirements.

An important feature of the entrance examination is the reading at sight of Greek and Latin. Due attention to this requirement from the beginning to the end of the preparatory work, must tend very greatly to strengthen and make more practical the student's hold upon the languages, to emancipate him from slavery to his lexicons, to encourage his use of honorable methods of study, to make him look upon the languages as means as well as ends, and to quicken and energize his mental processes in a very valuable way.

Another recent modification of the character of the entrance examinations is the translation of actual and unannounced English into Greek and Latin. Until somewhat lately, definite portions of definite books were prescribed for work in composition, and the manuals and methods employed in preparation were often of the most dreary and mechanical sort. A boy could easily memorize, parrot-like, the whole requirement, and yet have no

real power to write, much less to speak the languages. It is reasonably hoped that the different nature of the present requirement will encourage the mastery of forms and syntax and idioms by their constant use in writing and speaking, greatly reduce the amount of formal grammatical drill, impart a more living and attractive look to the languages, be a valuable preparation for the practical learning of modern languages, and have no little effect upon the formation of an English style.

Of quite modern date, too, is the entrance examination in Greek and Roman history. It will not be the fault of the college if its students do not come to its work with a better conception than formerly of the wonderful peoples who spoke Greek and Latin, of the life and civilization of which the classical texts are the image and superscription, and of the manifold bearings of ancient upon modern history. If this historical work is intelligently carried along with the reading of the authors, the ancient languages will be studied with a more vivid and practical interest, and a fondness for historical research and comparison will be more frequently engendered and developed.

If these three new requisitions are properly met, in their letter and spirit, by teachers and pupils, not only is the young man who enters Yale College to-day more advanced in the classics than ever before, and better qualified to enjoy them and be benefited by them, but also a surer foundation has been laid for work in all good directions, and much has been done to do away with the dangerous notion that Greek and Latin are studied in the schools merely as a means of getting into college.

In the college curriculum the classics are still required till the end of Sophomore year; but, that German or French or both may be studied until that limit, nearly one exercise per week in each of the ancient languages has been given up. But here, too, it is felt that the reduction, even from the narrower view of exclusive regard for the classics, has ample compensations. The advantages to the classical student, as such, of knowing the modern languages are great and manifold and immediate. The study of any one language is a great aid to the grasp and mastery of almost any other language. Whatever the particular language in hand, the mental processes involved are, amid many variations, so analogous that the linguistic faculty—the *Sprachgefühl*—is thereby aroused and qualified to work more rapidly and more successfully upon other languages.

The intimate and various relations of the classical languages to our English speech perhaps alone would justify the prominence given to those languages in modern education; but the close kinship of English to German and of the two to Greek and Latin, as members all of the great Indo-European family of languages, makes a good knowledge of German almost essential to an advanced or philological study of the classics. And without some acquaintance with French, and with the Romance languages generally, one's knowledge of Latin is necessarily limited. Good Latin questions are constantly arising—such, e. g. as the relations of the literary to the colloquial speech of Rome, the career of forms and meanings and constructions, items in pronunciation and accent—to the understanding and solution of which one needs to approach through the Neo-Latin dialects.

It is well known that a very large part of the constant contributions to a more exact and sympathetic knowledge of the classical peoples and tongues first appears in Germany or France. He who would keep at all abreast of the times in regard to the ancient languages must have, as an indispensable and daily tool, a ready use of these modern tongues, without which even the undergraduate, who would do the best collateral reading and have access to the best material for special researches, is often crippled and in a measure defrauded. This consideration alone almost compels the introduction of French and German into a classical course which is to be progressive and productive of the best results.

Classical teachers frequently find that the most suitable—perhaps indeed the only—editions of the works which they would use with their classes are by foreign editors. Every year in his present position the writer has used with his students Latin authors with German notes. To the few who could read the notes they have been very helpful to a better knowledge of both languages; to the greater number they have been tantalizing as a sealed book. Under the new system this embarrassment will mainly disappear, and the duty will be plainer than before of putting the best text-books into the hands of students.

Some important features in the Yale methods of classical instruction are of such recent introduction, or extended use, that they may be mentioned in connection with the last reconstruction of the curriculum. Reading Greek and Latin at sight is practiced much more than ever before. The extent and character of this

exercise naturally vary with different teachers and different texts; but it may be said to have become a characteristic of the course. Sometimes it is oral, and sometimes it is in writing; sometimes it is best that it be little, if at all, employed; in other cases more ground is thus gone over than by the regular routine work; it is often an important and even the chief element in the terminal examinations. The value of this exercise, especially if it be accompanied and steadied by the minute study of assigned passages, can hardly be overstated. It tends to discourage sluggish and dishonest methods of getting lessons, quickens and concentrates most usefully the mental energies, and encourages the habit and gives the ability to use the ancient languages for purposes of research and to relish their literature. Herewith may be noted a growing readiness on the part of the classical teachers to translate and rapidly interpret for their classes entire pieces of ancient literature, and to discuss informally questions suggested by the books in hand. These prelections and conferences sometimes displace ordinary recitations; sometimes they are given to volunteer attendants on evening or other free hours.

There is also a disposition—steadily increasing, it is believed—to treat the Greek and Latin languages as means as well as ends. If the preparatory work has been well done (and the entrance examinations exist to test that point), there is every reason why formal grammatical study should be reduced to a minimum. If an adequate knowledge of forms and syntax is still lacking, the best way to secure such knowledge is, in connection with reading the authors, to keep up the work of writing and speaking the languages,—an exercise which, on other grounds, deserves far more attention than it usually receives in American colleges. Proper grammatical and philological work can still have its useful, though subordinate place. The genesis of forms, the rationale of constructions, the eventful history of words, the development of meanings, the relations between the ancient and modern languages, the genius and habits of language as gathered from an examination of details,—these and very many other questions can be made to interest and educate the student; but it is certainly an outrage to treat the master-pieces of ancient literature as a mere *corpus sine pectore* for verifying the statements of some nineteenth-century grammarian. The ancient authors are the rather to be mainly studied and enjoyed as specimens of thought and style, as the expression and revelation of

the ancient mind and civilization, as chapters in the history of mankind. The college needs every day a professor of ancient history: till he comes, something can be done and is done by the classical teachers to supply the want. And in any case the classical student should be brought to realize that he is studying history in the best possible way, i. e. in the original and contemporary documents.

The preparation of papers on topics suggested by the classical texts which are being read is more and more required or encouraged. To consult individual tastes as well as to give greater interest to the presentation, the subjects proposed differ widely in scope and range, being literary, philological, biographical, archæological, etc. Some instructors have made the writing of such theses a required part of the term's work; more frequently the subjects and work are proposed as a substitute for the exercises prescribed by the rhetorical department. Good to the classics, as well as much other good must certainly come from this encouragement of the students to make further investigations along Greek and Roman lines than the routine requires, and to present and defend the results of their researches with reference both to matter and form.

Attention may here also be called to the important fact that much less of the classical teaching is now done by inexperienced and temporary officers. There are decided advantages in having, through young instructors, a living link between the Faculty and the undergraduates, and Yale College is not likely soon to surrender those advantages; but it is clearly the duty of a great college that, from the beginning to the end of the course, the instruction should be mainly in the hands of those who have been tested and approved as accurate scholars and skillful teachers and genuine friends of young men. The great improvement which has been made in this direction in the last decade will doubtless increase with the increasing resources of the College. Meanwhile the practical desire is to secure tutors who have shown unusual taste and ability in the subjects which they are to handle, and who are in serious training for the profession of teaching.

The reduction of class-room work in each subject from fifteen to twelve or thirteen hours per week during the first two years, gives to the instructors in those years extra time which they are expected to devote to optional work with the older classes, or

to carrying forward the more ambitious or bringing up the more backward in their own classes. In any case, good can hardly fail to come from this incident of the recent change. It is earnestly hoped that by this arrangement, and by additions to the staff of teachers and some re-classification of the students, sections for advanced classical work can very soon be open to even the youngest students. Great harm is certainly often done to the most capable and ambitious members of the college community by holding them too strictly to a procrustean system of classes and divisions.

In view of this sketch of the present requirements in the classics for admission to the college and of the facilities and methods of the prescribed collegiate work, it seems clear that the condition and prospects of classical study at Yale have been greatly improved by the recent changes. It is believed that the student of average ability, who completes the prescribed course in the classics honestly and with reasonable fidelity, has not only derived some clear and permanently useful conceptions of ancient literature and life, but that he is also well equipped to carry on those studies with little effort. And it seems plain to us that a classical course which does not thus issue must in itself be inchoate, or must be in the hands of unworthy teachers. Nor in our judgment should a prescribed course go beyond this limit; if those who are indifferent, or those who for good reasons would give their energies to other subjects, are still retained, they are getting little good themselves and are an incubus upon those who have taste and enthusiasm for further classical work. The hope too, is well based that further modifications in the conditions of admission and improved methods of instruction may soon justify an earlier transition from the prescribed to elective work in the classics. But neither Yale College nor any other human institution can insure its members against the natural results of indolence or suicidal modes of study here, or against a subsequent lack of energy or opportunities for keeping up and enlarging undergraduate attainments. Probably until the millennium there will be shallow complainings that the years spent in learning Greek and Latin only to forget them have been wasted; the fact will still be ignored that these two languages and literatures are foreign to us all in a far higher sense than are the tongues of modern Europe, and that they have permanently entered—as a veritable *κρήμα ἐς αἶψα*—with strength and beauty and elevation into the best words and works of even their bitterest critics.

That the great expansion of the elective system, and the multiplication of courses and teachers in the classics for the last two undergraduate years, will greatly increase the numbers and opportunities of those who desire to continue in those studies is beyond dispute. Heretofore, Juniors and Seniors have had but four hours per week at their disposal, and in view of what has seemed the one chance of learning, under favorable conditions, something of other branches of knowledge, many an earnest undergraduate has felt it his duty rather than his wish to drop the classics; nor have the classical teachers felt justified in recommending inquiring students to ignore other means of culture. But now, as Juniors elect one-half, and Seniors four-fifths of their work, this old embarrassment has passed away. Greek or Latin, or both, can be carried on to the end of the curriculum with that improvement of perspective and widening of the intellectual horizon which should come from work in different lines. As it is an important feature of the new elective system that the ancient languages be taught by different persons, according to different methods, with different ends in view, and with different collateral work—literature, e. g. or history, or antiquities, or philology, or a combination of these being the characteristic of different courses—the classical student will have choices within choices. Sometimes the instruction will be given mainly by lectures; sometimes there will be frequent recitations; always, it is hoped, members of the sections will be required to do more or less of independent work, and to present and defend their work before their associates and teachers. That parallel courses in the classics may be increased in number and variety and effectiveness, and the student reap the great advantage of coming into contact with different types of instruction, it is earnestly hoped that the teaching staff may soon be liberally enlarged.

The students, certainly, who have excelled in the classics and desire to continue in them have welcomed the changes in the curriculum with intelligent enthusiasm, and the greater number and spirit of those who have elected Greek or Latin in this first year of the new scheme are a happy augury for the future of classical scholarship at Yale College.

ARTICLE III.—WILLISTON SEMINARY.*

EACH of the larger endowed Academies of New England is fortunate in its location. The wide prospect from Andover Hill is suggestive of the world-wide fame of the school; and the lovely elm-shaded park, in which stand the buildings of the Theological Seminary and the Church where the members of the Academy worship, is a hardly less peaceful and charming scholar's retreat than one of the college-gardens of Oxford and Cambridge.

Phillips Exeter seems to have found a fitting abode in the wealthy, aristocratic, New Hampshire county-seat.

St. Paul's School, the most prominent of the younger academies, enjoys the seclusion and independence of a pleasant New England farm, and is yet within easy reach, by a country drive of unusual beauty, of Concord, the capital of New Hampshire.

Williston Seminary is not less favored as regards situation. It is at Springfield that the Connecticut River begins to exchange the somewhat monotonous beauty of the fertile meadows which border the lower portion of its course for that variety and picturesqueness which delight the traveler toward the White Mountains. The twenty miles from Springfield to Northampton are full of pleasant surprises. First comes the great dam at Holyoke, which would of itself repay a pilgrimage, in a country less abounding in waterfalls than our own. Then, as the train winds its way along the western border of the stream, the saw-tooth outline of the summits of Mt. Holyoke and the majestic mass of Mt. Tom become the prominent objects in view. Of these twin heights, Mt. Tom is the more lofty, reaching an elevation of more than 1200 feet. Directly west of Mt. Tom and less than three miles from the Connecticut River, lies Easthampton, the site of Williston Seminary.

*The following may be mentioned as sources of additional information to those who desire to follow out more minutely the history of the school:

1. Annual Catalogues of Williston Seminary since 1842.
2. Historical Discourse by Professor W. S. Tyler, and Oration by Professor Cyrus Northrop, delivered at the Quarter Century Celebration of Williston Seminary, 1867.
3. Discourse commemorative of Hon. Samuel Williston, by Professor W. S. Tyler, 1874.
4. Alumni Records of Williston Seminary, compiled by Joseph H. Sawyer, the present Acting Principal, 1875.
5. Act of Incorporation, Constitution, and By-Laws of Williston Seminary, 1875.

The town has a little valley and a stream of its own—the Manhan—which rises in the southern prolongation of the Hoosac Mountains, lying some five miles west of the town and called at this point Mt. Pomeroy. The two hills, Mt. Tom and Mt. Pomeroy, of nearly equal height, and enclosing the town on the east and west, dignify Easthampton, and give it a character of its own. They have, too, such an effect upon the air that visitors uniformly suppose that the town is situated upon a considerable elevation. The present population of the place somewhat exceeds 4,000. Easthampton furnishes a remarkable example of the union of manufacturing and agricultural activity. Nowhere else is the New England farmer of the genuine type better represented. Industrious, shrewd, kindly, intelligent, frugal, hospitable, orderly, religious, the farmers of the vicinity are men of a superior order who do much to maintain a conservative and somewhat severe public sentiment. The natural thinness of the soil is more than compensated for by the ease with which it is cultivated and by the excellent and accessible market which the manufacturing industries have created. Farming has continued to be profitable and sons are content to till the acres of their fathers. On the other hand, the manufacturing enterprises, with scarcely an exception, have been prosperous. They have yielded large returns to their stockholders and have furnished well-nigh uninterrupted employment, even during the most depressed times. There is to be found then at Easthampton a substantial and prosperous farming community and, combined with this, that bustle and activity which successful, well-established manufacturing is needed to supply.

Half a century ago Easthampton was a purely agricultural village. It was chiefly inhabited by the Lymans, Clapps, and Wrights, and was sometimes derisively called by the people of Northampton, of which it was an outlying district, Puckertown, perhaps in allusion to the frugality and religiousness of its inhabitants. Its minister was the Rev. Payson Williston (Y. C. 1783), a native of North Haven, Conn., where his father, the Rev. Noah Williston (Y. C. 1757) had been minister. Among his sons was one, Samuel, born in 1795, who, after having been compelled by weakness of the eyes, which continued through life, to relinquish a course of study begun at Andover preparatory to college, finally settled in his native town. Here he tried school teaching and farming, meeting many discouragements in both. He married when only 27, the noble wife who still sur-

vives him and whose continued presence in her 88th year is a constant benediction to the village which has so long been her home. In a way not without romantic interest, Mr. Williston was led to initiate in the United States the manufacture of covered buttons, first by hand labor and since 1835 by machine power. Though the beginnings of this industry were the most modest conceivable, the growth of its prosperity was rapid and the competence and future wealth of its projector was soon assured.

Mr. Williston never forgot his original desire to be a minister, nor that consecration to the highest aims which the choice of this calling implies. While intensely fond of making money and laborious and self-denying to the extreme to this end, he had an equally strong sense of his stewardship of all that he had acquired, and an abiding desire to use for God's glory and the good of mankind the wealth which flowed in upon him. As early as 1837, when the last two of his five children, all of whom died in infancy or early childhood, were sick, he set apart a considerable sum to be applied to the service of his fellow-men. What its destination should be, was not at first clear in his mind, but personal preference and the counsel of friends finally led him to found, equip, and gradually endow, in his native town, the Classical and Scientific Academy which bears his name.

Williston Seminary was first opened December 2, 1841. During the months preceding, a series of articles had appeared in the *Hampshire Gazette*, setting forth the advantage to the towns of Hampshire County of a well-equipped academy and foreshadowing the probability of such a foundation in the near future. The author of these articles was Professor W. S. Tyler, of Amherst College, then hardly thirty years old, and already the trusted friend and counselor of Mr. Williston in the disposition of his wealth. Nor was this service of Professor Tyler's his last to the school. He has been, from that day to this, constantly interested in its welfare, has shrunk from no duty which its interests required of him, and has had great influence in shaping its development. May its prosperity and increasing usefulness be such as to repay all his thought and devotion!

The first Principal of the School was the Rev. Luther Wright (Y. C. 1822), a native of Easthampton. He had had much experience in teaching, and came to Williston from Leicester Academy, where he had been Principal. Mr. Wright was a man of forcible and decided character and an efficient schoolmaster of the last generation. Among his associates in these early years

were men of such mark as the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs of Brooklyn, and the Rev. Dr. E. K. Alden of Boston, Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. Pupils of both sexes were at first received, as was then usual in New England academies. The largest number of young ladies in attendance during any one year was one hundred and eighty-seven. During 1864, the last year during which girls were received, the number was fifty-four. The number of names of boys and girls in the first catalogue was one hundred and ninety-one, and the total rose in the year 1846 to five hundred and forty-two. This rapid increase shows how warmly the school commended itself to the public; and it is also apparent that, with a teaching force of only four or five, the classes could not have been carefully graded nor any very systematic training secured. The attendance must have been very fluctuating. Scholars came in, even for a few weeks, as they were able, but the school consisted mostly of serious-minded young men and young women, who were received as boarders in most of the farmers' homes (there were then no dormitories), and who enlivened the village by their presence. During the first five years of the school's existence, 95 per cent. of the attendance was from New England, and 60 per cent. from Hampshire County. But about 1845 began the development of the High Schools under the leadership of Horace Mann. This lessened the local patronage, and the rising prestige of Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary diminished the number of young lady pupils. It became apparent that the school had served its purpose as a local benefactor; it was now to seek and gain a national reputation.

Mr. Wright was succeeded in 1849 by the Rev. Josiah Clark (Y. C. 1833). Mr. Clark combined many of the qualifications which must be found in a successful Principal. No American teacher has gained a deeper hold upon the tenderest affection of his pupils. He was a man of careful scholarship, of conscientious industry, of deep, though quiet, enthusiasm. Earnest, self-denying, humble, deeply religious, he pervaded by the influence of his personal character the whole great school, ruling it through the loyalty and admiring affection of his Senior Class. His was a lovely character. He had a feminine delicacy and diffidence. All boisterousness and self-assertion was foreign to his nature. Doubtless he failed to impress himself strongly upon the coarser characters; but he left an indelible impress upon the nobler natures and he drew such boys in great numbers to the school. The proportion of graduates of Williston, between the years 1850

and 1864, who have gained leading positions in the various careers of life is fairly overwhelming. This was the golden age of the school. *Huc regrediendum est unde egressi sumus.* "To these principles, so far as we have abandoned them, must we return." At the close of Mr. Clark's administration, the remarkable statement was made that the fourteen classes, which graduated under his principalship, had furnished to Yale, Williams, and Amherst, ten Valedictorians, eight Salutatorians, and thirty Philosophical orators. It should be added that, throughout Mr. Clarke's administration, an interval of three years excepted, there stood by his side as associate-principal, Mr. Eli A. Hubbard, a man of great uprightness of character and an able teacher. The value of his services at the head of the English Department of this school and later as a member of the State Board of Education has been universally recognized.

Mr. Clark withdrew from the school in 1864, in the very height of his usefulness, and Dr. Marshall Henshaw, at that time Professor of Physics in Rutgers College, but previously an efficient head of Dummer Academy at Byfield, Mass., was appointed his successor. Dr. Henshaw proved himself, during his administration of twelve years, a most laborious worker. He gave his entire devotion by day and by night, in term and in vacation, to the school. He was a graduate of Amherst College, in the class of 1845. An accurate scholar, his vigorous mind turned with equal ease and interest to the classics and to science. His classroom drill upon the essentials of preparation for college, in Greek and Latin, was rigorous and effective. He was also a remarkably clear and successful lecturer on Physics. Mr. Williston had always felt a stronger interest in the scientific side of the school than in the classical, and Dr. Henshaw won his way to his entire confidence by working earnestly for the development of this department. The English course was extended, additional teachers were engaged, and the English scholars equalled in number those of the classical course. These were the years immediately succeeding the war. There was then in the country a large number of young men whose patriotism had interrupted their education, and who, when their term of service in the army had expired, felt that it was too late to complete, or to attempt, the college course which might have been their original choice. To such a course which did not demand extensive preparation and which could be speedily completed was most welcome. Their experiences in the war had taught them sobriety, self-reliance and

obedience, and they gave a high character to the large classes which were graduated from the scientific department in the years between 1865 and 1870.

Mr. Williston died in 1874. The last industrial enterprise of his life, the erection of the Williston Thread Mills, was his only unsuccessful one, and reduced the amount of his property by at least a million dollars. He is said to have regretted this loss most keenly because his plans of beneficence to Amherst College and to Williston Seminary were thereby curtailed.

It will be proper to state at this point, as briefly as possible, exactly what were Mr. Williston's benefactions to the school which bears his name. He kept, from the first, a careful account of all sums expended in behalf of the school, and it is interesting to note in the successive catalogues, the gradually increasing capital invested. Up to 1864, the date of Mr. Clark's resignation, Mr. Williston's gifts were estimated by himself at \$140,000. By the close of 1875, shortly before his death, the entire outlay upon buildings, equipment, and endowment had reached a total of \$270,000. Mr. Williston's final bequests were as follows:

(1.) \$200,000 was to be paid over, on the settlement of the estate, to the endowment fund of the school.

(2.) \$50,000 was to be immediately invested as an accumulating fund until it should reach the sum of \$100,000. A part was then to be applied to the erection of a new building to contain a School-Chapel, a Library with Reading Room, and Physical, Chemical and Mineralogical Cabinets. Of the remainder, \$20,000 was appropriated to the equipment of the scientific cabinets and the purchase of books for the Library; \$15,000 was to be set aside as a Fund, the income of which was to be used for the increase of the library and the improvement of the cabinets; \$30,000 was to be reserved as a charity fund for the aid of worthy students in need.

(3.) \$150,000 was to pass to the Seminary upon the death of Mrs. Williston, but was not to be available as income-yielding until it should accumulate to \$300,000.

The actual immediate gift is thus seen to have been \$250,000. This with the \$270,000 previously mentioned brings Mr. Williston's entire liberality to the institution to a total of more than half-a-million dollars, not including the accumulating fund of \$150,000 hereafter to be received.

The \$50,000, the second bequest, was immediately placed at

interest and the time is approaching when it will be available for the purposes specified.

The complete settlement of the estate proved so difficult, owing to the embarrassments of the Williston Mills, that the \$200,000 the first bequest, was not paid over until 1883.*

During the administration of each of the first three Principals Mr. Williston was always conspicuous as the power behind the throne. He had a keen sense of his proprietorship in the school. He was its Patron, present on public occasions, addressing the boys whenever any school difficulty arose, visibly and actively intervening as he judged fit. The Trustees were simply his advisers, the Principal of the school was his agent. To this intervention all the Principals adapted themselves with greater or less ease,—Dr. Henshaw perhaps most successfully, since he fully sympathized with Mr. Williston's views. On the death of Mr. Williston, the Board of Trustees acquired a new prominence, and, impressed by the magnitude of the money-trust which they expected immediately to administer, began to concern themselves more closely with the conduct of the school. Dr. Henshaw found it difficult to adapt himself to this policy, and by his own resignation terminated his administration in 1876. In the same year that brilliant classical scholar Dr. J. M. Whiton (Y. C. 1853) was appointed principal, resigning in 1878. Dr. Whiton was succeeded by Dr. J. W. Fairbanks, a graduate of Amherst College in the class of 1866. Dr. Fairbanks resigned in 1884.

The preceding resumé of the history of Williston Seminary was essential in order to give an idea of the vicissitudes through which the school has passed and of the conditions which surround it in the present. It remains to describe the work to which the school desires henceforth to devote itself; to outline its facilities for doing this work well; to allude to one or two distinctive features of school-life and school organization, and to suggest certain directions in which expansion and improvement may be hoped in the future. The scope of the Article, as well as the writer's relation to the school, will impose manifest limits in treating of some of these subjects.

It will have been apparent that Williston Seminary in the first stage of its existence under Principal Wright was essentially a great rural academy, differing from other country schools only

* The entire income of the school from invested funds during the current year is \$13,600. This is exclusive of the amount received for tuition and room-rent.

in the age and maturity of its scholars and in the ability and acquirements of some of its teachers.

With Mr. Clark came suddenly the era of its eminence, in a more than local field, as a classical fitting-school,—one comparable in all respects with the Exeter or the Andover of that period, whose honored heads, Drs. Soule and Taylor, were not superior in Christian courtesy, scholarship, or power of imparting stimulus, to Dr. Josiah Clark. There was in connection with the school an English department and an exceptionally well administered one, but the successes of the school were measured by the achievements of its classical graduates. The English side was after all only an appendage.

With the administration of Dr. Henshaw was inaugurated an earnest attempt, while sacrificing nothing of the reputation which the Academy had gained as a classical school, to superadd a completely organized Scientific Department of high excellence, and to this end the strong wills of Mr. Williston and Dr. Henshaw were unitedly bent and for this object money was unstintedly expended.

The ten years which have passed since Mr. Williston's death have been years of transition. In them, as in all periods of readjustment and reconstruction, much energy and effort has been expended without visible result and many hopes which seemed reasonable have been disappointed or deferred. This period has now, we trust, ended and several things are now settled.

First. A financial basis adequate for the present operations and future development of the school is now assured.

Secondly. The character of the school and the special work to which it will devote itself are fixed. It will be an institution of secondary instruction, and will restrict its activity to the preparation of boys and young men, in the best manner possible, for the academic or scientific college or for business. This recognition of its work as distinctly secondary involves the abandonment of a plan which lay very near to Mr. Williston's heart, that of creating, out of the Scientific Department, an English College with President and Professors. Had his prosperity continued to the close of his life he would without doubt have set apart sufficient money to carry such a project into execution and the result would perhaps have been an additional would-be college, attempting an indefinite work for which there was no real demand and competing with older institutions for its pupils. Could Mr. Williston have fore-

seen the increase in the number of technical schools and the wide range of study now offered in the courses of our colleges, he would perhaps have modified his own original plan. As it is, circumstances have modified it, and the effort of those who are charged with the administration of his gifts must be so to use them as will be productive of the greatest good,—thus fulfilling the spirit if not the letter of his instructions.

Thirdly. The organization of the school in two coördinate departments, and the general plan of study in each may be regarded as settled. There will of course be modifications in details. The shorter, or three-years, course of study in the Classical Department will be abandoned as soon as arrangements can be made which shall secure, in cottages controlled by the school, that home-care suitable to the age of boys who are commencing at its lowest stage a four-years course of preparation for college. In a lengthened course more time can be given to the early stages of mathematical study, especially to Algebra—and to the Modern Languages. It is desired particularly to emphasize, henceforth, the quality of the mathematical training of classical graduates. The reputation of the whole Scientific Department demands this.

In the Scientific Department, liberty in the election of studies, and particularly in pursuing simultaneously the studies of different classes, will be abridged. Thus greater stability will be given to the scientific classes and membership in them will be more highly valued. It seems desirable, too, that a larger proportion of the scientific graduates should study at least one language—be it Latin, German, or French—other than their native tongue.

Williston occupies a unique position among the large endowed schools as respects the development of its scientific department. Other schools have gained an equal reputation as nurseries of classical scholarship. Other schools have offered in an English course opportunities of instruction in Mathematics, the elements of Natural Science, History and Literature, to those who have not wished to prepare for the Academic College. But in all such cases, at least until very recently, the reputation of the school has rested almost wholly upon the achievements of the classical graduates. The English course has been merely an appendage to the school. At Williston, on the other hand, there has been for twenty years a persistent attempt to organize, foster, and to some extent even to create the demand for, a course of Scientific and English training sufficiently rigorous and exact to

confer mental sharpness and vigor, sufficiently broad to give mental expansion, and withal sufficiently brief to deliver over its graduates into the practical callings before the taste and aptitude for manual labor should be seriously impaired by advancing years. The aim of the school at present is to maintain courses of classical and scientific study of equal length and each of a high degree of merit, on a parity with each other. A constant difficulty thus far has lain in the inferior advantages of early instruction and home training enjoyed by our scientific boys. No miracles can be wrought of course, and inferiority at the outset will be followed by a corresponding inferiority at the close of the course. A beginning has been made this year in raising the qualifications for admission, and the work of the lowest class has been increased. Stricter grading, greater permanence in the teaching force, and consequent increased dignity and stability in the scientific department may be anticipated in the future.

The composite organization of Williston Seminary (with its two coördinate departments) increases the difficulty of its management. Success will only be possible through identity of methods of instruction and equality in the standard of proficiency demanded, in both departments. It is also essential that those entrusted with the conduct of the school should have sufficient breadth of view to recognize that different minds require different systems of training and should enter with interest and sympathy into Mr. Williston's hopes for both Departments. Much can indeed be said in favor of bringing two such courses side by side on equal terms. Given equal exactions and equal thoroughness in both courses, and each side of the school may be expected to learn much from the other. The classical boys who are not destined to commence so early the struggle for daily bread, may gain some valuable lessons from the young men of more practical bent, for whom the scientific department was founded. The scientific scholars should be the gainers from association with those who enjoy the literary training and the general culture which occupation with language and history is suited to give. A warm recognition of the claims, both of the ancient and the modern world, should characterize the graduates of the Williston Seminary. To the general public it will probably always be a recommendation of the school that it affords complete courses of classical and scientific study in separate departments. Many parents who design to send their

sons to business or to a technical school, would yet be glad that the boys should enjoy association with those of their own age who are studying Latin and Greek, if at the same time they are taught the fundamental studies with unexcelled thoroughness.

Fourthly.—It will perhaps be expected that the general policy of Williston Seminary in regard to what may be called school management, should be outlined and that a few words should be said as to the relation desired between teachers and scholars. There is little danger that the need of authority on the one side and of obedience on the other should be overlooked, especially since the school is situated in a manufacturing community of masters and men where almost everyone's life is regulated by a bell. But it would be a sad mistake to compare a school to a factory, or to suppose that methods which may produce buttons and thread suffice for the education of men. It must always be borne in mind that, however necessary prohibitions and measures of repression may sometimes be, they constitute but a small part of school management, are purely negative in their influence, and can never create character. A prominent feature of any really successful policy must be that it supplies that stimulus to right conduct which comes from personal influence, persuasion, and helpful sympathy. The main influences upon which the good order and successful work of a school depends are rigid exaction of the severe intellectual effort which of itself precludes the possibility, as it usually removes the desire, of dissipation; quiet, but prompt and unfailing, attention to the beginnings of wrongdoing in individuals; and thoughtful precaution which removes out of the way in advance whatever might disturb the quiet tenor of school activity. Most impressive to a scholar who comes for the first time from his home is the regularity with which the mechanism of a large school operates. He delights to participate as a conscious factor in the movement of the great whole, while he feels at the same time his own littleness and glows with admiration for the school. It is, after all, the school which educates the boy and to the influence of which he yields himself to the fullest extent. The teachers, then, must put into the life of the school what they expect the boys to take from it. Perfect straightforwardness in all dealings with boys and genuine interest in their welfare will always secure the confidence which boys are glad to give, and will bring the opportunity of suggesting and outlining to the

better boys those standards of what is becoming the school, which shall in time prevail, and which, once accepted, any boy would sooner cut off his right hand than disregard. Affection for the school can be appealed to almost without limit and, if the appeal be made in an honest and manly way, the feeling is strengthened by each new appeal. Boys must be made to feel that they and their friends are most deeply concerned in the prosperity of the school, and that they are its natural guardians and defenders quite as truly and often more efficiently than teachers and trustees can be. They may be frankly and truly told that as they are inheritors of a noble past, so they should be the architects of a yet nobler future. Their sense of proprietorship once aroused, it will be found that they will welcome any innovation, any reasonable added labor or new exaction, if only they are persuaded that the aim and tendency of these things is to render the school more worthy of themselves and their friends. And when such feelings have been touched and begin to grow, will a boy expose himself to the forfeiture of the privileges to which as a member of the organism he has the title?

Among the institutions belonging to the boys most characteristic of Williston Seminary must be mentioned the Debating Societies of the classical and scientific departments. The school possesses in the *Adelphi*,* the older of the two societies, an auxiliary of which it is proud. Founded about 1850 and for many years the only debating society in the school, the *Adelphi* has always been conducted with great spirit and interest and it is perhaps the best school debating society in the United States. Its members are mainly from the two upper classes in the classical department—often every Senior becomes an *Adelphian*,—and its meetings are held on Friday evenings. The literary exercises, which are entirely public, are attended by many members of the school who have not joined the society and who avail themselves of the exemption from study hours which is conceded on Friday evenings for that purpose, so that there is usually a good audience to listen to the speaking and to stimulate the debaters to do their best. Attendance and punctuality and decorum are rigidly enforced by fines. Failure to fill appointments is also punished by fines which are so heavy that members do not often

* The society of the Scientific Department, the *Gamma-Sigma*, resembles the *Adelphi* so closely in organization, times of meeting, and general aim, that a description of one serves also as a description of the other

incur them. The most important exercise is, of course, the Debate, participated in by six previously appointed disputants, by members of the society from the floor, and by non-members who may be present. (No one can become a member of the society who has not first given proof of his powers by taking part in debate). The *Oracle*, or school-paper, is a spicy account of the events of the week contributed by various hands and containing amusing reports of scholars' blunders and teachers' wise and foolish sayings. There follow the Reading at Sight from some English author, the Oration, and lastly the Critique. This last is written during the progress of the exercises of the evening, and is uniformly serious and searching. It extends to the bearing and decisions of the presiding officer, the attitude, gestures, and delivery of the disputants in debate. Friday evenings in the Adelphi are among the brightest experiences in school-life. The hall, one of the best rooms in one of the main school-buildings, is large, pleasantly furnished, and well-lighted. It accommodates about one hundred. The boys come together here after the heavy work of the week is done, dressed in their best, and the dignity and propriety which characterize their proceedings on their own ground are the best proof of their essential manliness and love of what is orderly and right. There is no place like this for learning the details of Parliamentary Law. A new President, or a President *pro tempore* who may not be familiar with Cushing's Manual, is likely to have his ignorance fully exposed. Everything is done according to Parliamentary form. If a song is wanted, a motion to that effect is gravely made from the floor, and, after having been solemnly entertained by the President, is duly seconded and voted upon.

It will be readily seen how strong a stimulus such a debating society supplies to the composition-writing and regular oratorical exercises of the school. During the writer's connection with Williston Seminary he has never known an attempt of a scholar to let a composition go by default, and has far more often had to urge upon his classes brevity than greater length.

Another institution of the boys' which might merit a few words of mention is the *Willistonian*, or weekly school paper, an eight page sheet conducted by the Adelphi Society and furnishing a valuable training to its editors.

There is, moreover, an Athletic Association managed by a committee consisting of the school-president and of one member

from each of the three upper classes. Mr. Hand, one of the teachers, is the present treasurer. The duty of this association is to look out for the interests of the school in foot-ball and in base-ball, to select and provide for the training of the "elevens" and "nines," to arrange match games, and to care for the gymnasium. This committee also aids the teacher of gymnastics in arranging for the athletic exhibition at the end of the year.

The geographical situation of Williston Seminary can hardly fail to have an important bearing upon its future prosperity. It is much the most southerly of the great preparatory schools, and lies not half so far removed from New York as Andover, Exeter, or St. Paul's. It is surrounded by the colleges to which it sends its pupils—Dartmouth, Williams, Harvard, Amherst, Yale, and Princeton. Its location will always commend it strongly to Southern New England and to the Middle States. Connecticut boys have long resorted here in large numbers, and at the present time twenty-five boys, a sixth of the whole membership of the school, are from Connecticut.

A desirable feature of Williston is the relatively large number of its teachers. There are at present nine, who give their whole time to the school. The classes are consequently of moderate size, never exceeding thirty, and the older teachers do not teach on the average more than three hours per day. Their teaching is therefore more effective and they have some opportunity to carry forward their own studies and to serve the school outside of the class-room. Labor in an endowed Academy such as has been described possesses a powerful fascination and offers great rewards to a true teacher. The definiteness of the work, its supreme importance, the impressible and interesting period of life at which boys are received, the certainty of gratifying results in school and college if well-understood means are faithfully employed,—these are the considerations which stimulate to earnest effort. For graduates who contemplate the teacher's calling I know no better place than a teachership at Williston to test their fitness for the work they have chosen, no larger opportunity of usefulness, no position in which, with all its difficulties and perplexities, they will more certainly find that interest felt is reciprocated, and merit appreciated.

The dormitory system has a larger extension at Williston than at the other preparatory schools. There are possible accommodations for one hundred and twenty scholars in the Seminary

balls. The original argument for these dormitories was of course their economy. The evils and dangers attendant upon them are at the present time strongly impressed upon the public and need not be referred to more definitely here. It may however be said that the present administration of the school do not wholly deprecate the influence of dormitory life upon the boys. They believe that, experienced for a year or two in the later part of the course, it usually proves a means of developing self-reliance and of strengthening character. At the same time the general policy which it is hoped the school may adopt is one of distribution. They hope that ere long a considerable portion of the younger boys may be lodged in homes, controlled by the school, and superintended by ladies specially fitted by temperament and by experience for this duty. Whether scholars live in the dormitories or in private houses, it is their conviction that in a school like this considerably greater demands may and should be made in the class-room than would be necessary in a school the scholars of which were living at home. The statement is not too strong that the existence of such a school as this with the unavoidable temptations which beset its pupils is only justified by the exceptionally high character of the training given. It must attempt and accomplish something far better than the ordinary high school, or it has failed.

It might be interesting to indicate the type of character produced at Williston. It will help in doing this to consider from what homes the boys come. They come with few exceptions from religious households, and at the present time a large proportion are boys of slender means who know that they must look to their education to better their condition and whom necessity spurs to effort. A leading trait of the Williston boy is self-reliance—another equally characteristic trait is his democratic spirit. A school more free from exclusiveness or class- or caste-rule can hardly exist.

There is much in the school community that is sound and healthful and that is full of promise for the future. It is pleasant to think of the refining influence which a beautiful new chapel, with all the aid it will give to the daily religious service, will exert, of the stimulus which the new library and scientific cabinets will afford, of the various ways in which the future wants of the school in various directions will be satisfied through the thoughtful care of its founder, Samuel Williston.

ARTICLE IV.—COLLEGE ATHLETICS.

PROFESSIONALISM IN COLLEGE ATHLETICS.—CAUSE AND
REMEDY.

JUST what meaning the term *professionalism* conveys when applied to college sports, is not clear or definite, but we understand that it describes whatever is opposed to gentlemanliness. It is alleged that contests between college teams are not conducted with as gentlemanly a spirit as formerly; and it is this, whether it be professionalism or not, which we desire to see remedied.

But, in admitting that such allegations are not without foundation, there is to be said in defense of both the games and the players, that the conceptions formed and the censorious opinions lately uttered concerning them, have been very largely acquired from newspaper reports, which have been highly colored and grossly exaggerated. In truth there seems to have existed in the minds of very many newspaper men a desire to report games in the most sensational manner conceivable, and, particularly in the game of foot-ball, to vie with each other in would-be facetious comparisons between college players and prize fighters. And this has been carried to such an extent that even with the great allowance which one is wont to make in reading these accounts, it is utterly impossible to form a fair conception of what actually took place upon the field. Consequently people have been induced to imagine a much worse condition of things than actually exists. That men have, at times, in the heat of strife, done things ungentlemanly, and perhaps brutal, is true, but this is the exception and not the rule.

It is not of this, however, that complaints are made. It is that the policy of our athletics is tending towards professionalism. This tendency is ascribed by some to contact with professionals; but, that this is not the true reason, is evident from the fact that, while playing college teams, professionals conduct themselves in a gentlemanly way—leaving for their games *with* professionals all practices which are offensive and objectionable. And further, those sports in which we contend with professionals are freest from objections of this nature, while the game of foot ball, the sport in which we meet with college men only, is most pregnant with them. Is its origin anything more than the out-

growth of a constantly increasing desire to win and of the high price set upon victory? Such it seems to me; and so strong has this desire grown at times that the object only has been considered and not the means of acquiring it.

It is not my intention, however, to advocate anything that will tend to lessen the rivalry between colleges, or that will tend to check the progress of the games. On the contrary, skill and rivalry are, to my mind, the very essence of them, and should the rivalry be abated, or the games played with less skill than has of late been exhibited, athletics would soon fall into disfavor and students would be deprived of that healthful recreation enjoyed in witnessing these events. Players, too, would cease to obtain the physical development accompanying careful training for such contests, since its incentive would be wanting; and it is well established that men will not train faithfully and steadily, either in a gymnasium or on the field, unless some distinction is to be gained by successful competition.

In most colleges the captain is solely responsible for the work of his men. Their training in every particular is entrusted to him. He is, one might say, expected to insure victory, and consequently in case of defeat his position is extremely arduous. To be sure, it is best to put this trust in some one man, but is it just to charge him with the whole cause of defeat after he has trained his men carefully and conscientiously and done all in his power to make them win? Yet, this is invariably the fate that awaits a defeated captain.

To escape this censure and consequent chagrin a great temptation presents itself to him to instill into his men the feeling that victory must be had at any cost; that one rule may be transgressed and another so stretched as to make up in strategy what is lacking in skill. And so much is defeat dreaded that this temptation has sometimes proved too strong for captain and players, and therefore such methods of play have been sometimes adopted.

By no means are those participating in the games the only ones at fault. Spectators are guilty of as flagrant faults as players. It is far worse for a crowd to demoralize a visiting team with howling and yelling than for players to defeat them by taking unfair advantages. The one is professionalism on the part of the spectators, the other on the part of the players. Besides, is it to be expected that players, who are simply agents of the

college, will be more conscientious and particular than those whom they represent? The standard which players maintain is that which is demanded of them by their college.

The college press has also savored of an ambition to treat college sports from a professional standpoint; to compare players with professionals and test their merits in a professional crucible. The articles frequently appearing concerning the *personnel* of teams, the frequent comparisons between and comments upon players, and the publication of individual records, all tend to foster a spirit of individuality, to make men play for a record and to arouse insubordination.

If these be the faults, the question is, How can they be remedied?

The first step must be taken by the college itself, by those who do not take an active part in the games. The standard of play which they demand must be raised. They should neither indulge in uncalled for boisterousness, such as to demoralize visitors, nor tolerate unfairness in the players. They should raise the *tone* of the part which they take in the contests, and in so doing the *tone* of athletics in general will be improved. It might be well to suggest in addition that the press confine its reports to accurate and uncolored statements, and abandon all extravagant indulgence in sensational effect. The College press should cease to publish such articles as have been commented upon above; it should endeavor to check the exhibition of all that is objectionable, to laud that which is commendable, and to be more sparing of its censure upon those suffering defeat, unless such censure is well merited.

Captains should insist upon having the game played in a gentlemanly way, in accordance with the spirit of the rule and not merely within the strict letter of it; and they should enforce this order by inflicting some well advised penalty for its non-observance. Of course, captains cannot refuse men positions on the teams because their manners are not as acceptable as those of others. Such a method of selection would not be tolerated for a moment. But they can check the appearance of anything that savors of professionalism, and can compel men to play with the understanding that they are to make every effort to win so long as they can do it honorably, but never to make use of any practices which are unfair. In addition to this a revision of the rules may be necessary to assist in bringing about the desired changes. In

foot ball, for example, such a revision would greatly facilitate the task of freeing the game from objections.

By way of suggestion would it not be advisable to remove the two judges from the field and clothe the referee with powers as unlimited as those of an umpire in the game of base ball? If this were done surely the most objectionable feature of the game, the constant disputes and prolonged delays, would be obviated. A judge, as the game is now played, is only a *coach*, and often a captain of his eleven. He does not assist in rendering decisions, on the contrary he is an untiring hindrance to a free and prompt judgment from the referee. Since a prevalent source of complaint arises from *intentionally tackling* men when about to catch the ball, would it not be advisable to empower the referee to remove such an offender from the field for the first offence? And, finally, since in *lining up* much that has the appearance of fighting takes place when one rusher holds another trying to break through—would it not be well to compel rushers to remain with both feet upon the ground until the ball is put in play?

The conclusion to which this examination of the question leads us may be stated in a single sentence. The remedy for the evils as they now exist in College athletics is to be sought in the proper exercise by the captains of their undoubted and ample authority, in such modifications of the present rules as above suggested, in the better sentiment of college men who support and are present at the public contests, and in helpful and truthful criticism and reporting by the college and public press.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE.*—The name of Professor Wright is associated in many minds with certain creditable work in a narrow field of surface geology, rather than with studies in the department of Biblical exegesis and criticism, where, however, he has recently become a professional teacher. Two or three small volumes upon subjects connected with such studies have indeed appeared from his pen; but these have been put forth as essays in logic rather than as embodying the results of original research in the language and literature of the sacred Scriptures. Those who do not credit the author's peculiar views on the nature of sound inference will, then, perhaps be disappointed to find that this "brief treatise" also is "an outgrowth of special studies in inductive *logic*" (p. v.), is—in fact—"an attempt to guide the reader through the *logical mazes*" (p. vii.) of the subject. Friendly readers will wish, we are sure, that its author had waited longer and had then perhaps ventured to treat of some topic with which continuous professional studies had made him familiar.

But, as a rule, neither reader nor critic should quarrel with an author concerning his chosen point of view. We accept this book, then, as an effort at logical induction. We cannot at the same time, however, accept the author's peculiar notions as to what a *sound* induction is. Those notions, so far as they are peculiar, will inevitably seem to all trained logicians, either insignificant or illusory. The established notions of the conditions of a sound induction cannot be yielded, either theoretically or practically, in deference to such peculiarities. The matter is no mystery. A thorough acquaintance with all the important facts, candid and careful reasoning from them to just so much and no more of conclusion as the facts warrant, strict observance of the special canons which belong to each class of subjects investigated,—these are the requisites of a trustworthy induction. In a case like the present, the special canons to be observed strictly are the canons of Biblical interpretation and Biblical criticism.

* *The Divine Authority of the Bible*. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, Professor of the Language and Literature of the New Testament in Oberlin Theological Seminary. Congregational S. S. and Publishing Soc., Boston.

We regret to find that this book complies with none of the above-mentioned requisites. It is without a broad basis of acquaintance with facts; its reasoning can hardly be called either candid or careful; and a surprising lack of knowledge of the special canons proper to apply to such subjects,—amounting in places to an appearance of perfect innocence and naïveté—characterizes its argument.

It is an indispensable condition of an essay in inductive logic that it shall take account, in due proportion, of all the important facts; even apparently insignificant facts cannot safely be neglected, especially when they look in a direction contrary to that in which the essayist plainly wishes to follow. In this logical essay, however, we find many important facts and classes of facts either wholly overlooked or not properly emphasized. The omissions cannot all be due to the fact that the essay is a “brief treatise;” for other much less important facts are given with more than sufficient detail. There are indeed not a few instances of what may appear to some trained student of the subject, *suppressio veri*. But evidently this ought not in all such cases to be charged upon the author; for the reading shown by its contents is so meagre that lack of acquaintance with many such facts is the other member of the alternative. Besides two or three recent scholarly works, written from a different point of view, and therefore frequently criticized in spots by Professor Wright as a part of his logical fence, and one or two other such works from which copious extracts are made with unrestrained acceptance of their conclusions, the references of this treatise are almost wholly confined to books like the following: Stuart on Romans, on Hebrews, and on the Old Testament, Cowles on Daniel, Bannerman, and Woods, on Inspiration, Horne’s Introduction, Fairbairn’s Hermeneutical Manual, Robinson’s Harmony, the articles in Smith’s Dictionary of the Bible, and (*passim*) the author’s Logic of Christian Evidences and Studies in Science and Religion.

Among the facts which a sound induction would require to have taken into account, but which are here suppressed entirely or not duly emphasized, are the following: the fact that the phrase *γέγραπται*—“it is written”—(made equivalent by Professor Wright (p. 35) to “authoritatively written”) and corresponding phrases, *were* frequently used by the Church Fathers in quoting various Apocryphal writings (for example, Clement of Alexandria calls the Book of Baruch “divine Scripture;” Ter-

tullian cites Sirach with the sacred formula, *sicut scriptum est*, and Barnabas quotes from Enoch using *γράφεται* or *λέγει ἡ γραφή*, etc., etc.), and *were not* for some time used by them concerning the New Testament (the first use of the word "Scripture" for the New Testament not occurring until Theophilus of Antioch). The difficult passage in Jude (verse 14) where, after making religious use of several apocryphal traditions, the author quotes the Book of Enoch as sacred and authoritative prophecy, is quite slurred over by Professor Wright (see p. 47). So also is one whole side of the testimony from the Old Testament Apocrypha to the canonical books entirely neglected. The author flatly contradicts (p. 59) the evidence produced in support of the undoubted fact that Sirach—for example—claims for itself "prophetic and canonical significance" (Sir. xxiv. 32 f.); his denial is based on the fact that Sirach only makes "*wisdom*" say through him, "I will pour out doctrine as prophecy and leave it to everlasting generations." But the claim that wisdom will do this through the writer of the Wisdom of Sirach constitutes the very magnitude of his pretence to inspiration. In the same manner is there a complete absence of any satisfactory consideration of the case of the seven disputed books of the New Testament, called Antilegomena. The fact of the existence of such books is indeed stated (p. 74 f.); but without taking any account of the significance of the fact, the treatment of this topic is closed with a weak rhetorical flourish.

Indeed, the whole chapter on the cardinal question of the Canon is painfully meagre and unsatisfactory, and shows less than the average reading of the more intelligent clergy on this subject. The obscure and difficult matter of the formation and trustworthiness of the Old Testament text is passed by in silence in the chapter on "Inspiration and Textual Criticism" (pp. 85-100). Nor is anything anywhere said about the dependence of such an induction as the book proposes, upon the capital facts as to the composite nature of various books of the Bible, especially the Synoptic Gospels and the Pentateuch. After skirmishing with Professor Toy's compact and scholarly statement of the difficulties of the New Testament quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures, Professor Wright takes the position (p. 117) that "the Rabbinical method of interpretation" may be dismissed as "*ac-credited*" so far as it is used by New Testament writers; he then clinches his *inductive* argument by an appeal for loyalty to

those writers. In regard to Galatians iii. 16 f., he even seems to advocate the absurd view that the plural of the word "seed" might have been used in the ancient Hebrew.

The regard which the early Church gave to certain non-canonical Christian writings, and the bearing of such regard on the truth as to the early views of inspiration, are also quite inadequately considered. Professor Wright goes so far as to admit (p. 75) that four such writings "were treated with a good deal of consideration during the second and third centuries;" that the Shepherd of Hermas was used somewhat widely for public reading in the churches, that Eusebius tells us (Hist. Eccl., III. 16), the Epistle of Clement was read of old in most of the churches, and other similar facts, he evidently considers of no significance for his induction.

More confidence might be felt in the conclusions of this book—in spite of its negative faults—if it contained a more accurate statement of the facts which it *does* consider desirable for an induction. Some of its failures in accuracy might have been corrected by a simple comparison of the different passages written by the author himself. For example, we are told (p. 46) that "all but five or six of the books contained in our present Hebrew Bibles are quoted in the New Testament" (and this, so as to imply their peculiar authority); but (p. 55) we have the names of no fewer than five such books which are "*among*" those to which "no distinct reference" is made in the New Testament. Attention to the anomaly of five books *among* a class that contains only "five or six" might perhaps have led the author to correct his misinformation. The brief statement (p. 55) of the meanings of the word canon, and the conclusion that those books which have stood the tests of "authenticity and inspiration," are canonical, could not well contain more mistakes than it does. If this were all the tests which the ancient Church applied (in case we can speak of them as applying *tests* at all) we should have a much larger and poorer bible than we now enjoy.

Various scholars will discover something new to them in this brief treatise. Historians will learn to their surprise, that Josephus put Nehemiah and Malachi in the reign of Artaxerxes (p. 42); the Talmud and the Targums will be found described in a way to astonish Rabbinical scholars; philologues may stare at the word "elect," derived from *καλεῖν* (p. 143). One apparently petty blunder merits, on account of what is

plainly involved in it, more than a mere mention. On p. 65 Jerome's well-known declaration about the Apocrypha is ascribed to his "Prologue to Galatians." The fact that Professor Wright could translate *Prologus Galeatus* by "Prologue to the Galatians" shows something more than a pardonable lack of knowledge as to the entire circuit of Jerome's writings. It shows that the reference, taken at second-hand, was never verified or its import understood; that the meaning of the Latin word *Galeatus* in this phrase was quite misconceived (by reference to Andrews's Latin Lexicon the professor might have discovered this); and that the Latin phrase for the New Testament writing for which *Prologus Galeatus* was mistaken (*Epist. ad Galatas*) was equally unfamiliar.

The character of the exegesis employed for this essay in inductive logic may be judged correctly by two or three instances. It is argued (p. 134) that the discrepancy about the healing of the blind man at Jericho may be removed by the "elastic usage" of *ἐγγιζειν*; that to "eat the passover" may mean (see p. 147) the same as to "keep the passover" (would Professor Wright stretch the word so as to cover *eating* all the meals of a week?); that the Hebrew word *Elohim* is sufficiently "elastic to permit it to be translated 'angels' in some connections." In view of the author's notions of the "elasticity" of the words with which it is his business to deal as a professional exegete, we can better understand his opinion that the scholars of the 16th century "knew the Greek about as well as we do" (p. 140), that textual criticism is a "dull process," and *logic* more important than learning for his purpose (p. 14).

But even for a strictly *logical* purpose we can scarcely commend the stress which Professor Wright lays upon many things—for example, upon reconciling the minute historical discrepancies of the Bible. He seems, indeed, to think himself called to special exertion in this direction by the recent appearance of books—notably Professor Ladd's *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*—which lay much less emphasis than he upon the importance of any such reconciliation. His peculiar method of reconciliation—as judged by the instances given in his book—is quite as disturbing to faith in the Biblical histories as any work accessible in the same line. For example (p. 178), in the case of the instructions imparted by our Lord to the twelve on their first mission, our author thinks that one command was given one disciple, and a

contrary command given another disciple; and so one evangelist was inspired to state the words of Christ to the former and another inspired to state his contrary words to the latter, etc., etc. (although both evangelists say he charged *them*). This is pitiful. To say nothing of the utter lack of historical feeling which such "harmonizing" shows; may we not ask, how is faith helped by throwing such small but distracting apparent contradictions back upon the very teaching of our Lord? Did *he* thus teach so that men received contradictory impressions as to the meaning of his most express and minute commands?

After having noticed at more than sufficient length the mode in which Professor Wright has selected and handled the facts which must form the basis of his induction, it is scarcely necessary to give other than a passing notice to the argument built upon such a basis. It is difficult to state just what the conclusions of the book are. They seem to run through its course in two lines of opinion that are neither the same, nor parallel, nor converging. On the one hand, they are stated in such indefinite terms as the following: "Infallibility can be attributed to the Bible only as a whole [whatever this may mean], and as related to its designed effect in human history" (p. 101); it is "free from essential error" (p. 152); it is perfect for "its designed purpose, which is to give to the world a permanent, adequate, intelligible, and authoritative written revelation of religious truth" (p. 161); its authors were "divinely guided to the utterance in the best form of those moral and religious truths most necessary," etc. Indeed, the first page is scarcely finished before the author tells us that by "calling the Scriptures inspired and infallible," he only means to affirm the Protestant principle that they are the final appeal in matters of Christian faith and practice. But on the other hand a very different class of conclusions appears. We are told (p. 221) that the Bible "cannot be shown to contain any errors" even in the details of science or "geographical references;" that, in composing it, forty men in 2,000 years were kept from "making any mistakes in historical and geographical references" (p. 223). Yet, recurring to sentences written in the style of the first hand—we are informed (p. 217) that "the so-called internal evidences of the divine origin of the Bible are *not* to be applied to its minute portions." Really we do not know where to place Professor Wright as to his final opinion on the subject of Biblical Inspiration. We fear the troubled reader will not

find that the author has altogether redeemed his early promise (p. vii.) to give guidance "through the logical mazes of a vast field." For some of these conclusions sound like exact echoes of the language of Quenstedt, and of the Buxtorfs and the Carpszovs—those stalwart theologians of the seventeenth century from whom dissent is elsewhere expressed (p. 161). Others of them, however, are so very mild that—saving the constant play upon the unfortunate word "infallible," of which Professor Wright seems fond—any Christian (even though he were also a critical student of the Bible), would at once accept them. We can think of only one account to give of this vacillation between conclusions so generous in their indefiniteness and others so narrow in their adherence to the strictest theory of the infallibility of Scripture in all the details of words and names of places. The conclusions of the former sort must be the result of those reflections in inductive logic begun so long ago; the conclusions of the latter sort must be the very recent product of hasty polemic, the result of well-meant but ill-judged desire to defend the faith of those not learned in Biblical study.

The appearance of such a work as this we are criticising, however well meant, from a professional teacher in a school of sacred learning, will be, in view of the rapid advances of American scholarship, a genuine surprise. But it can hardly have a successor; it will probably be the last of its kind. It is not likely that any other teacher of Biblical exegesis and literature will in the future put forth similar work over his own signature, whether for the supposed defense of orthodoxy, or for the information of the unlearned.

We apologize to our readers for using so much of space. Its amount is not to be considered as indicative of the absolute importance of the book we have noticed, but of the relative amount of it which—considering the importance of its subject—provokes the notice of the critic.

THE ORCHIDS OF NEW ENGLAND.*—This popular monograph contains an enumeration of the species of this peculiar and fascinating family of plants in the order in which they may be found as the season advances. The object of the author in writing the book is not set forth in a preface, nor was this necessary, since

* *The Orchids of New England.* A Popular Monograph. By HENRY BALDWIN. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1884.

the most casual inspection shows the work to be a labor of love. An interest in the subject, growing with its pursuit, here finds such expression as enables others to share and thus enjoy, the enthusiasm of the author.

In the introduction Gray, Darwin and other high authorities are freely drawn upon for a general description of the typical forms and various modifications of Orchidaceous flowers, and for a synoptical table of our New England genera, whose names are also briefly explained.

Forty-seven species are enumerated ; a pitiful number in view of the fact that, among flowering plants, this order stands third in the number of genera and species, being surpassed only by the Compositæ, *facile princeps*, and the pulse or bean family (Leguminosæ). But we are too far from the tropics, and a single county will furnish the New England collector with twice as many species of grass or sedge as he can hope to find of orchids in all the six States.

Much of the book is devoted to a description of the many and wonderful contrivances by which the visits of nectar-seeking insects are made to effect cross-fertilization. The means used scarcely stop short of voluntary motion. In these notes there is little, however, that is new to botanists, since the author, apparently with modest distrust of his own powers of observation, has preferred to reproduce those of Darwin, mostly upon forms allied to ours, or has quoted Müller, Gray, and other careful observers who have followed, in this field, the leadership of that epoch-making philosopher.

The habitat of each species is usually described, and its range beyond our limits, and, at the end of the volume, a list of New England stations is given for each species. The author only claims for this list that it is "reliable as far as it goes" and recognizes the fact that botanists, rather than orchids, are "rare" in New Hampshire and Eastern Connecticut. In further illustration of this feature of the list, as read between the lines, we observe that about one-third of the towns in New Haven County are not credited with any orchids at all, while New Haven, before the recent annexation one of the smallest towns, has more than twice as many species as any other, and Wallingford, one of the largest in area, is not mentioned. Further, *Habenaria lacera*, *Calophogon pulchellus*, and *Corallorhiza multiflora* are not mentioned from any town in the county, while they can prob-

ably be found growing in all. The frequency with which these plants are observed by botanists has permitted them to be passed over in silence. In justice it should be added that the last two are marked as common in the list.

The fifteen full page plates contain original illustrations of about twice that number of species in blossom and sometimes in fruit. These are not intended for botanical diagrams, and yet we think their value might have been enhanced, at least for enthusiastic beginners, by the use of inconspicuous numbers, which, without marring the artistic effect of the plates, would have materially aided in the work of identification.

The book is a conscientious attempt to bring together and popularize what is known of our few species of this large and interesting family of plants. In doing this the author has used far more care and judgment than most popular writers on such subjects, and it is to be hoped that he will not soon lay aside either his pen or pencil.

OSCAR HARGER.

FISK'S MANUAL OF PREACHING.*—This volume is one of many recent illustrations of the active concernment in current literature of our Theological Seminaries; a concernment in which the comparatively young seminary of the Interior has taken a conspicuous and honorable share. In this case the volume deals with what seems the most immediately practical, as it certainly is one of the most perennially important objects of seminary instruction—the art of powerful and persuasive pulpit address. The business of preparing men to *preach the Gospel* is the final purpose to which all other endeavors of professorial inculcation are tributary. And successfully to train men to become good preachers is an object worthy of the best endeavors of the best minds. The present volume is from the pen of one who for more than twenty-five years has made the art of preaching the theme of loving study and enthusiastic inculcation.

Professor Fisk conceived that amid the various treatises on Homiletics by many writers older or newer before the public, there was room left for a treatise which should be distinguished from many of them by its comparative brevity, and from others by its more simple and practical character. He judged wisely.

* *Manual of Preaching. Lectures on Homiletics.* By FRANKLIN W. FISK, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Chicago Theological Seminary. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. 1884. p. i.-xv., 1-337.

The volume he has written is eminently noticeable for its condensation of material, and for its adaptation to use either by an instructor or by a learner. There is manifest on every page of it the practical discernment which comes from long familiarity with the subject. Himself an able and popular preacher, Professor Fisk is qualified to look at the preacher's undertaking both from the theoretical and experimental side.

Recognizing the fact that the usefulness of rhetorical instruction is mainly in the earlier portion of a man's ministerial life, and that the best result of success in those instructions is the formation of such intellectual habits as finally supersede any conscious reference to them, Professor Fisk has aimed at such a manual of homiletics as should be clear, easily applied and practically helpful to any honest student. In this aim he must be regarded as having attained a marked success. It is a book which cannot be faithfully studied without presenting to the mind of a scholar a very high ideal of the preacher's vocation, and without imparting innumerable assistances in attaining to it. For students in our theological seminaries, and for younger pastors as a hand-book useful to have by them for admonition, counsel and guidance, the volume is most cordially to be commended.

Professor Fisk's style of writing is simple, direct and forcible. His language is strongly Saxon, and borrows its best portion from the vernacular of common life. His setting forth of the *Design of Homiletical Instruction*, in the first chapter of the volume, is well calculated to impress the importance of the theme upon even a chance opener of the book, and contains many fresh and interesting suggestions. The two great divisions into which he then casts his work, *The Analysis of a Sermon*, and the *Synthesis of a Sermon*, seem to be well proportioned against one another, and each to be developed with accuracy and painstaking care. The bulk of the author's space and instruction is of course given to the business of the taking "a sermon in pieces" and the "inspection of its principal parts;" for this is the necessary preliminary to the wise "gathering of materials" and "formation of the sermon."

In this business of analysis eighteen chapters, marked by clear and instructive discrimination and illustration are employed, from which it would be easy to quote, if space allowed, many an acute and striking passage. The three chapters on the Materials, the

Composition, and the Delivery of a Sermon, are also marked by sound judgment and practical intelligence.

The whole book indeed is the production, not alone of the occupant of a professional chair, but of a man habituated to that art of oral address of which he treats; and of whose happy possibilities for the benefit of men, he himself knows how to give frequent illustration.

PROFESSOR HOPPIN'S PASTORAL THEOLOGY.*—Professor Hoppin has followed his volumes on Homiletics with a volume, nearly equal in size, on Pastoral Theology. The two give us the results of his studies and the substance of his lectures while professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology at Yale. This second volume, after indicating the place and literature of its subject, considers the pastoral office, the pastor as a man, the pastor in his relations to society, the pastor in his relations to public worship, the pastor in his care of souls, and the pastor in his relations to the church,—the analysis under each head being carried down to details, the memory being helped also by marginal heads. First there is an excellent exhibition of the grounds of the pastoral office. Then, matching the elaborate "history of preaching" in the author's Homiletics, there is in this work a careful review of the offices of the Apostolic Church. The true nature of the call to the ministry is wisely discussed. The various qualifications for the pastoral office are discussed under the head of the "pastor as a man." Similarly it will be seen that under the other heads of the outline there is room for the discussion of all the most important points connected with the pastoral office. He who turns the pages of the book will strike upon one point after another, and find each temperately discussed, with good reasons given for the faith that is in the author. The important matter of an index has not been neglected. As a sample of acute judgments made in passing, we may quote: "The rhapsodies of the Irvingites, however sincere and eloquent, have not enlightened the church." Professor Hoppin's style is always smooth and pleasing, and his English choice. As a point in which improvement might be made, we may name the translation of the Latin and French quotations;—we go so far as to insist that in every book, except such as are addressed to an unexceptionally

* *Pastoral Theology*; by JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D. Funk & Wagnalls. pp. xi. 584. \$2.50.

learned class, every foreign word should, by a foot-note or otherwise, be rendered into the mother-tongue. We fear that those whom Professor Hoppin addresses will not all be able to prove themselves worthy of the compliment that he pays, by implication, to their linguistic skill. As slips in English we have noticed the use of *pitifulness* for *compassionateness* (pref. p. v.), *administer* for *minister* (pref. p. v.), *stupidity* for *indifference to religion* (p. 176), *determinate* for *determined* (p. 174), *will* for *shall* (p. 575). The typographical errors are few: see *governors* for *governments* (p. 43), and "Baxter's reformed pastor" (p. 10, margin). The wisdom and Christian wholesomeness of the book make it worthy of handsomer paper, type and binding.

THE BEDELL LECTURE FOR 1883.*—The Bedell Lectureship was established in 1880, at the Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Ohio and Kenyon College, an Episcopalian Institution in Gambier, Ohio. Its object is to give instruction "On the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion: or the Relations of Science and Religion." Here are three lectures by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Cotterill, the Episcopal Bishop of Edinburgh, Scotland. They tell us that Christianity is self-evidencing, that the best features of its evidence is the character it produces, that it is the revelation of the moral character of God which produces this character, that the central principle of God's moral character is love, that it is this which gives chief, practical significance to the fact and doctrine of the Trinity, and that the redemption of man, as having its ground in the Trinity, is the completest exponent of the divine love. It is a long way from Gambier, Ohio, to Edinburgh, Scotland, and a worthier product of Christian scholarship than these lectures furnish should have been secured from such a distance. They are commonplace in substance and in form elaborately diffuse. But their spirit is benevolent and Catholic, and their apprehension of the central principle and of the broad reach of Christianity is correct. A citation or two will illustrate their spirit. Speaking of the scope of Christ's work, as against the alleged narrowness of Christianity, the author says: "The extent of this redeeming love of God in Christ infinitely exceeds both

* *Revealed Religion Expounded by its Relations to the Moral Being of God.* By the Rt. Rev. HENRY COTTERILL, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh, Scotland. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York: 27 and 29 West 23d Street. London: 25 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

our knowledge and the sphere of our understanding." Again, in speaking of the rejection of the love of God, he says: "There is no other method remaining by which the soul can be quickened into life when love has failed," and in quoting from Heb. x. 26, he says, that "It is assumed that the man"—whose case is beyond the reach of divine love—"has 'received the knowledge of the truth' and therefore has had sufficient trial whether he will accept the love of God or will refuse it." In this connection he quotes Delitzsch (as quoted by Alford), approvingly, who says of the word knowledge in the above passage, that it assumes the actual direction of the spirit to a definite object and a real grasping of the same," and, therefore, in the language of our author it is "not a mere historical knowledge of the fact, which may never have presented to the conscience the spiritual meaning of the sacrifice of Christ (see page 102). Yet again he says, in speaking of the divine election, "the particular form which it assumes in Christianity as election by the grace of God from all eternity, arises entirely from the fundamental principle that the love of God is his being and therefore eternal."

A HIGHER CATECHISM OF THEOLOGY.*—We have here a somewhat novel, but interesting and commendable effort. It is an attempt to present the outlines of a system of theology in catechetical form. It gathers its material from Dogmatics, History of Dogma, and Ethics. Such a work cannot fail to be of some value to any thoughtful layman, especially in furnishing him a view of the whole field of theology in compendious form. The particular results of the author's investigations, as here presented, may be of little importance to theological science, but his general scheme is good. It is contained in seven books, with an introduction. It is no accidental thing that this or that any other theological scheme should be represented, as regards its divisions, by the number of perfection. It naturally includes Bibliology, Theology, Cosmology, Anthropology, Soteriology, Pneumatology, and Eschatology. This is substantially the author's division. He begins with revealed religion, having little or nothing to say about the so-called natural religion, although recognizing the distinction in the unreal and inadequate way, with which we have

* *A Higher Catechism of Theology.* By WILLIAM BURT POPE, D.D., Theological Tutor, Didsbury College, Manchester. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe, 1884.

become familiar. We are introduced at once therefore to the Christian Revelation and the Rule of Faith. Our author's Bibliology is very unsatisfactory in many particulars. What can be a man's estimate of the worth of Biblical criticism and inductive science who commits himself to the position, that Christ's promise of the Holy Spirit to guide his Apostles into all truth, may be taken as evidence of the inspiration of the New Testament "*without demanding further proof*"? (page 51). What shall we say of his accuracy of statement as judged by the assertion (page 50) that Paul teaches the "specific influence of the Holy Spirit in the construction and perpetuation of the sacred writings"? Or of the worth of his apologetic, as judged by his attempt to explain the want of exact correspondence between the text of the O. T. Scriptures and the N. T. citations from it, by the astonishing statement that "the Divine Spirit may surely change his own words"? (page 57.) And what is the worth of his view of the Scriptures as the Rule of Faith, as judged by the assertion (page 65), that the most important truths of revelation are "beyond the limits of mere reason" even as "an *interpreter*"? What have we to do with them then? How can they reach us and be apprehended and made our own? They are hopelessly unintelligible enigmas and not practical truths. Such a revelation could furnish no adequate evidence of its validity. In the section that deals with the application of redemption the author finds place for a chapter on Christian Ethics, or the Ethics of Redemption. We direct attention to it, merely to indicate that he understands the distinction between Dogmatics and Ethics and is disposed to give the latter its rights. The author shows a more intelligent apprehension of some of the fundamental principles of Eschatology than many of the school to which he evidently belongs. This may be illustrated, for example, by his view of the final judgment and by the specific statements (page 377), that it will illustrate the fact that "the multitudes of mankind have been dealt with as redeemed throughout all their history: this has been the secret of the Spirit's work, outside of revelation as well as within it, and they will be judged with reference to that government." The significance of Christ as universal judge, then, is that he deals with his race upon the basis of its redemption. The notion that there is a section and by far the largest section of the race that is under law and not under grace and will be judged by law and not according to grace and that they have to do with an "essential

Christ" rather than with the real historic Christ, here finds no place.

CHEYNE'S COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH.*—This is the third edition of a work, which in point of scholarship and candor ranks high among Biblical commentaries. There are few English commentaries of recent date so well deserving of attention and esteem. The author adopts the historical principles of Ewald, but he is a slavish adherent of no school. The essays at the conclusion of the volume add very much to its value. They treat of "the occasional prophecies of Isaiah in the light of history"; of "the arrangement of the prophecies"; of "the Christian element in the book of Isaiah"; of "the servant of Jehovah"; of "the suffering Messiah"; of "the present state of the critical controversy" as to the unity of authorship; of "the correction of the Hebrew text"; of "the critical study of parallel passages"; of "Job and the second part of Isaiah a parallel"; of "Isaiah and his commentators," and of "Isaiah and the inscriptions."

THE FUTURE RELIGION OF THE WORLD.†—"The scope of the present work" is declared by its author to be "constructive" (ix). It certainly will be recognized by every reader as being sufficiently promising and extensive; for it claims, by a general survey of all the great religions of the past, to determine what is true and what false in them, and so to predict with confidence what will be the "*world's religion* of a not-distant future." But although the scope of this book is declared to be constructive, its readers in Christian lands will undoubtedly regard most of its contents as eminently destructive. This character is well earned for it by the persuasion of its author that Christianity, in order to help us define the world's future religion, must "be relieved from the incubus of the marvellous and the legendary" (p. x). After comparatively brief treatment of the two great religious teachers, Manu and Gautama, we are introduced to the author's views concerning the life and religion of the third great teacher, Moshai (Moses); and, finally, of the fourth great teacher, Yaishooa, who

* *The Prophecies of Isaiah, a new translation with commentary and appendices*; by the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A. 3d edition. New York. Thomas Whittaker.

† *An Outline of the Future Religion of the World, with a Consideration of the Facts and Doctrines on which it will probably be based.* By T. LLOYD STANLEY. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York: 1884.

is,—as the reader of this notice will need to be told,—no less a personality than Jesus.

As to the competency and skill of the author in biblical criticism, we cannot form a high opinion. A writer who believes that the earliest period which can be assigned to the Gospels is from A. D. 150 to A. D. 180 (p. 341); who thinks it not surprising to find “many intelligent critics” concluding that Christ never existed and was “a fictitious hero” (p. 346); who trusts the Rabbinical “Midrash Koheleth” for making Jesus the son of *Cleophas ben Panther* (p. 347 f.), while he considers the very existence of Joseph fabulous; who regards the Christians, in their origin, as “a sect which split off from the Sabians, an Essenic sub-sect (p. 357); and who makes the Gospel of Luke to have been written by Silvanus, its second chapter from verse twenty-five upward to be “a compilation of several of the Gautama legends” (p. 365), credits the visit of “travelling priests from the east (Matt. ii.) in deference to the authority of Buddhist records, but pronounces the rest of the chapter “a rehash of the Krishna legend;”—such a writer has gone far beyond the point where any sound and well-informed critic can light upon any common ground of meeting with him.

The small grains of philosophical and religious truth which the author gathers from this wild sea and waste desert of legends and myths, are presented by way of parenthesis in Chapter VI. We quote the decisive passage, with its very suggestive style and typography faithfully reproduced (p. 168).

“This instinctive idea or more refined *principle*, which underlies all theories of all religions, and is their nucleal truth, essential reality, and total value and outcome, may be formulated in this simple axiom:

THE ICH IS ONE:—(or, the Self is One),

an axiom which is not identical with, though it includes the higher meaning of, the pantheistic formula of the Greek philosophy:—

Ἐν τὸ πᾶν, The All is One;—

and which also includes, in its breadth of meaning, that of the ancient Indian formula

Tat tvam, Thou art It.

This axiom, *The Ich is One*, asserts the identity of the innumerable individual or insulated Selves or Lives, even those of ani-

mals, with the great Self or Universe-Life, who (nevertheless), as expressed in the Katha Upanishad, "exists also apart."

We are then told how the "Medium" of this All-Life is the ether, which is the same as the infinitely expanded atmosphere; and how, by means of the vital element of oxygen, the universal Life is—having been, as it were, split up into bits—distributed through all living things. The cosmogonic myths of ancient India are scarcely more wild and amazing (if we incline to take them too seriously) than this sober attempt at defining a positive world-religion, as a construction verified by the net results of destructive criticism.

Little of either fear or hope can be entertained by most at being told that such is surely, or probably, to be the not-faith and the faith of all men in the not far-distant future. We have mentioned the book at such length, because it cannot be without interest to know what is still possible by way of mingling scepticism and credulity, even in this age of the world, and as the result of no little diligent reading and serious thinking.

SOME HERETICS OF YESTERDAY.*—This handsome volume, from the Riverside Press, gives us the winter evenings' work of an accomplished pastor. The lectures are upon prominent characters in Church History, confessors, martyrs, saints, of whom the world was not worthy. The lecturer's treatment of the several "Heretics" is well described in the preface as "old stories simply re-told; not for students; but for the young men and women of the congregation to which it is the author's privilege to minister."

To the morbidly scrupulous, who hesitate to preach, or even to hear from the pulpit anything but "the word," meaning thereby the written word, this volume is commended as a product of the wisdom which dwells with prudence in the management of semi-secular truth for religious uses. These lectures read like an extension of the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, every page bearing the testimony of those who as truly in *their* day as the pre-apostolic saints in *theirs*, "through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."

* *Some Heretics of Yesterday.* By S. E. HERRICK, D.D., minister of Mt. Vernon Church, Boston, Mass. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. New York: 11 East Seventeenth street. The Riverside Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1885.

To us the only infelicity in or about the book is its title. From Tauler to Wesley we look in vain for one "Heretic" even "of yesterday." Recognizing the "vein sarcastic" in the titular suppression of the word "so-called," may we express the hope that nobody outside the Boston atmosphere, as at present surcharged, may be led into an admiration of Heresy unqualified, by the choice specimens of *so-called heretical* goodness herein collected.

SHORT HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.*—In this volume of 212 pages, the effort is made to prevent a survey of church missions in all ages, including the progress of the true religion in the Old Testament times. Of course, each topic must be treated with extreme brevity. The style, however, is animated, and a compend of this sort has its value. A bibliography and a good index make it doubly useful.

PROPERTY AND PROGRESS.†—This book consists of three lengthy essays "reprinted without substantial alteration from the pages of the *Quarterly Review*." The subjects of these essays are: Property and Progress, Socialism in England, and the Statistics of Agitation. They are directed for the most part against the conclusions of Mr. George's book on "Progress and Poverty," and of Mr. H. M. Hyndman's "England for All," and "Scientific Socialism." They oppose the attempts made by Radicals and Socialists in England to identify popular politics with the seizure by the government of the property—especially that in land—of the richer in the supposed behalf of the poorer classes. The author rightly considers that the work of Mr. George has made quite too many converts, and is quite too serious an affair to be passed by with a sneer or with the flippant use of a disagreeable title. The position of Mr. George, so far as it consists in the denial that poverty is caused by a permanent law of nature instead of being the result of man's behavior, has much to commend it; but the conclusions that the one form of such behavior which produces poverty is the treatment of land as private property,

* *Short History of Christian Missions*, from Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone and Duff. By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D., F.R.G.S. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884.

† *Property and Progress*, or A Brief Inquiry into Contemporary Social Agitation in England. By W. H. MALLOK. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1884.

and that government can and should alter this behavior by legislation, are conclusively shown by Mr. Mallock (pp. 16ff.) to be thoroughly unsound. That part of Mr. George's argument which has attracted most attention in this country is perhaps his theory of wages; the theory holds that wages are *not* drawn from capital, but *are* drawn directly from labor. This theory, however, Mr. Mallock considers "not really essential to the rest of Mr. George's argument;" he undertakes to expose its blunders with a view to show the incapacity of its author to deal safely with all such economical and social problems. It seems to us that the refutation of Mr. Mallock, like all the others attempted, is conclusive so far as concerns the negative part of the argument. But if it is undoubtedly true that wages *are* drawn from capital, in every condition of civilization which is above the very lowest; is it not also true that the payment of wages from capital does not absolve the latter from an implied obligation to share with the laborer in a stipulated way, the joint products of capital and labor? Now it is partly for the introduction of other considerations than the mere law of supply and demand, into the character of this promise, and into the way of its fulfillment, that the rather blind desire of Mr. George and others impels them to adopt their wild theories. They wish to make capital dependent upon labor and upon the due reward of labor, in some such manner as to equalize the balance between the two in the contract for wages. We believe that the manner which they choose for such equalization, even in theory, is quite illogical; and that, practically entered upon, it would lead to the ruin of capital and industry, with its chance and claim for wages, alike. Still we also believe that the evils which come with the relative independence of large and rapid accumulations of capital are immense. Nor are they wholly due to the inevitable working of the natural law of supply and demand upon the rate of wages.

In the Essay on "Socialism in England," Mr. Mallock says in an admirable way, that the Socialistic leaders desire argument instead of denunciation, and that they ought to get what they desire. He therefore argues at length the three propositions: (1) that the people of a country collectively own its land; (2) that all wealth is due to labor, and that therefore to the laborers all wealth is due; and (3) that the tendency, as matters now stand, is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. All these propositions, as they are understood by socialists like Mr. George

and Mr. Hyndman, are confuted in a clear, lively, and conclusive fashion. The Essay in which Mr. Mallock shows the immense progress of England during the last forty years with respect to the increase and distribution of wealth, and the comforts of wealth, among its laboring classes, will be read with especial interest.

RAWLINSON'S EGYPT AND BABYLON.*—Professor George Rawlinson is so well known as a historical scholar, especially in the department of Oriental history, that the compact volume before us, in which the Scriptural references to Egypt and Babylon are connected with facts derived from other sources, will be greeted with respect and attention. Beginning with Babylon, the author considers a series of passages in Genesis, the Kings, and Chronicles, and in the prophetic books, which touch on Babylonian affairs. Then Egyptian history comes under review according to a similar plan. The comments of Rawlinson on passages in Daniel will be examined with particular interest, owing to the questions still in debate respecting the authorship and date of that book. Students of the Bible will find in this volume a number of instances in which late discoveries have confirmed the correctness of Biblical statements.

SCUDDER'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.†—The best books that are written for the young can be read with pleasure by older people. Tried by this test Mr. Scudder's work must be pronounced successful. It is written in a plain style and in such a manner that it cannot fail to be attractive to the young, for whom it is specially intended. At the same time it is so clear and concise a narrative that older persons may peruse it with interest and profit. The author has a distinct conception of the stages of progress in American history, and has thus made an *orderly* exposition of the subject. The maps and illustrations which form a part of the volume are carefully made and are very helpful. We commend the work as admirably adapted to serve as a text-book in our schools and academy.

* *Egypt and Babylon from sacred and profane sources*; by GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor, etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

† *A History of the United States of America, etc.*; by HORACE E. SCUDDER. Philadelphia. J. H. Butler.

THE ART AMATEUR for February contains the usual profusion of designs for art work, including decorations for a dessert-plate (asters), a double tile (wisteria), panels in carved walnut and repoussé brass, and embroidery designs for a blotter, a picture mount and six doilies (signs of the zodiac humorously treated). The notable feature of the number is a striking double-page drawing by Geo. Wharton Edwards, representing two boatmen "putting off" in a stormy sea. Six clever sketches by this rising young artist, and three by Jan Chelminski, a Polish horse painter of much talent, are also given. There are articles of special interest on the lighting and decoration of picture galleries, on modeling in clay and wax, on recent Doulton ware, on "Some Possible Exhibitions," and on Bastien-Lepage the famous French painter recently deceased. The supply of hints and directions for art workers is generously maintained, and "My Note Book," and the dramatic feuilleton are especially entertaining. Price \$4.00 per annum; 35 cents single number. MONTAGUE MARKS, Publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

THE MAGAZINE OF ART for March, 1885, contains "The Wonder Story" painted by Arthur Hacker, Frontispiece. The Royal Institute, with three illustrations. The "Madonna Ansidei," by Claude Phillips, with two illustrations. Poems and Pictures: "A Tuscan May-Day," with one illustration, by A. Mary F. Robinson. The Romance of Art: Temple and Tomb, by Linda Villari. Artist's Homes: Mr. Frank Holl's in Fitzjohn's Avenue, by Helen Zimmern, with five illustrations. Nicholas Poussin. I. The Man. By Richard Heath, with two illustrations. Early Sculptured Stones in England. II. by Rev. G. F. Browne, with nine illustrations. "Alva's Last Ride through Amsterdam," from the picture by Charles Rochussen. The Artist in Corsica. I. by E. T. Compton, with six illustrations. Portraiture in France, by R. A. M. Stevenson, with six illustrations. Mr. Ruskin on English Art. "The Trio," from the Picture by Grützner. The Water Color and Etching Exhibition. The Chronicle of Art. American Art-Notes. Price \$3.50 per annum; single numbers 35 cents. CASSELL & Co., Limited, 739 and 741 Broadway, New York.

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Under this style and title, I intend to publish, early in 1885, a description of the roads explored by me on the wheel, in 24 States and Provinces. The book will be a handsomely printed 12mo, comprising about 400 pages of breviter type, bound in cloth, with gilt top and side-stamp; and the edition will be 5,000 copies. The first 3,000 of these will be assigned to advance-subscribers at \$1.00 each, and the remaining 2,000 will be sold at \$1.50 each. An alphabetical and geographical appendix will preserve the subscribers' names; and as 2,146 of these are already enrolled (Dec. 6), I hope to secure the remaining 854 in season to print the book in February. My contents-table, exactly describing the character of each of the 36 chapters (one of which presents a biography of “the best of bull dogs,” to whose memory the book is dedicated, and whose heliotype portrait fronts the title-page) will be mailed free to all applicants. Readers of my “Four Years at Yale” (1871), or of my weekly “College Chronicle” (1876-82) in the *New York World*, may perhaps be pleased to renew their acquaintance with me in this later enterprise, and they are therefore invited to forward their postal-card pledges in form following: “I agree to send \$1, on receipt of your book as described in the *NEW ENGLANDER*.” If any prefer to remit the cash in advance, I make prompt acknowledgment of the same. All communications should be addressed to me as

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MAY, 1885.

VOL. XLIV.—No. 186.

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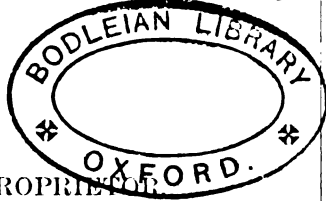
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THE
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No. CLXXXV.

MAY, 1885.

ARTICLE I.—SUEZ CANAL.*

"CIRCUMSPICE" is inscribed on the tablet of Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's church, London. With greater truth could that word be engraved upon a monument to Ferdinand De Lesseps, erected at Port Said, overlooking the harbor and canal. Sir Christopher Wren perfected the work of others, Mr. De Lesseps planned and executed the work which will forever stand as his monument.

In 1832, Mr. De Lesseps, then French Consul at Alexandria, conceived the idea of connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas by a ship canal. In conversation Mohamed Ali said to him, "Remember, my young friend, that if in the course of your life, you have anything important to do, you must rely only upon yourself." Again and again, in some of the most important crises of his life, those in whom he trusted failed him, but his determination and perseverance overcame all obstacles and brought success.

* I am indebted for many of my facts to the Report of Prof. J. E. Nourse, U. S. N., presented to Congress in June, 1884; also to General Charles P. Stone, formerly of Egypt, who has kindly read and revised the Article, correcting several statements.

From 1849 to 1854 Mr. De Lesseps studied the plans and works of ancient and modern times for facilitating commerce between the East and the West through Egypt. Nothing, however, could be undertaken in the life time of Abba Pasha, a fanatical Mohammedan. He died in September, 1854, and was succeeded by Said Pasha, son of Mohammed Ali. Mr. De Lesseps had met Said Pasha in Paris two years before, and was one of the first to congratulate him. He was invited to Egypt by Said Pasha, and afterwards to accompany him on a journey across the desert. On this trip Mr. De Lesseps presented his plans and obtained a concession; granting for ninety-nine years from the opening of the canal: "The exclusive power of constructing and directing a universal company for connecting through the Isthmus of Suez a water canal between the two oceans, open forever as neutral ways to every commercial vessel proceeding from one sea to the other without distinction, preference, or exclusion either of person or nationalities."

The concession required the approval of the Sultan of Turkey, as Suzerain of Egypt, and that the annual profits, after the payment of five per cent. interest on the shares, should be divided as follows:

To the Egyptian government,.....	15 per cent.
“ stockholders of the company,.....	71 “
“ original promoters,.....	10 “
“ administration,.....	2 “
“ employés,.....	2 “
	<hr/>
	100 “

Six additional concessions were obtained between 1856 and 1866. In February, 1855, Mr. De Lesseps went to Constantinople, to obtain the approval of the Sultan, but failed through the opposition of Great Britain, by its representative Sir Stratford de Redcliff. This opposition was continued without cessation until the completion of the canal.

Mr. De Lesseps believed that it was essential to the success of the plan that the channel should be deep enough for the largest vessels to sail through without interruption from locks or gates, and that there was no insuperable obstacle to such a scheme. He was not an engineer; and, therefore, realizing

the necessity of a competent survey, before proceeding further, he invited the ablest engineers of Europe to meet at Paris in October, 1855. They accepted this invitation, and after a full consultation appointed a sub-committee to examine the route. After several months of careful survey, they reported that the "plan was feasible, and the solution of the problem of the junction of the two seas."

In 1857, Mr. De Lesseps presented to Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, the report of the engineers for his approval. Lord Palmerston refused, saying, "All the engineers in Europe might say what they pleased, he knew more than they did, his opinion would never change one jot, and he would oppose the work to the very end."* Mr. Stephenson, the engineer, supported Lord Palmerston, declaring that "the scheme was physically impracticable, except at an expense too great to warrant any expectation of returns." In Parliament, the motion of Mr. Roebuck, "that the power and influence of the country should not be employed in obliging the Sultan to withhold his consent," though supported by Mr. Gladstone, was defeated by a vote of 62 in favor; 228 in opposition. The Press and the public were almost unanimous in condemnation of the project; the *Edinburgh Review* insisted "that the canal would neither shorten the passage to India, nor materially facilitate the intercourse between the mother country and its dependencies."

Mr. De Lesseps returned to Paris disappointed and disheartened; but the opposition of England had aroused the interest and enthusiasm of the French. The Emperor gave his public support to the Company, Prince Jerome Napoleon was appointed protector, and subscription books were opened for the capital, fixed at \$40,000,000, divided into 400,000 shares of \$100 each.

The French people subscribed for	207,100 shares.
The Viceroy of Egypt subscribed for	177,653 "
Parties in other countries subscribed for....	15,247 "
	<hr/> 400,000 "

* Mackenzie Wallace says, "The foreign office of England shows that the opposition of Lord Palmerston was caused by his fear that if the canal was opened England would be compelled to annex Egypt."

Not a share of stock was taken in Great Britain. Mr. De Lesseps immediately commenced the surveys, procuring plans and arranging all the details of this vast undertaking. August 25, 1859, Mr. De Lesseps struck his spade into the earth, saying, "We strike the first blow which shall open the commerce of the East to the commerce and civilization of the West." At the same time the viceroy of Egypt issued his circular, prohibiting the commencement of the work before the consent of the Sublime Porte had been obtained. This protest did not hinder Mr. De Lesseps, though he was greatly delayed in collecting materials and laborers. The work was begun at the most difficult places on the line of the canal, and on the harbors in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. In 1862 a small channel had been cut from the Mediterranean to Lake Timsah, about 50 miles, when England not content with opposing this project through its representatives in Constantinople, through its press and its financiers, took more effective measures to stop the work.

The concession provided that four-fifths of the laborers should be natives, furnished by the Viceroy, and paid from one-and-a-half to two piastres a day, with rations to the value of an additional piastre, equal in the whole to fifteen cents a day, or one-half more than the usual wages. The concession also authorized the company to construct the Sweet Water canal, and granted the company large tracts of land on the line of the Sweet Water and Suez canals, with the right to have any goods or merchandize required for the use of the Canal Company entered without payment of any duty and with the right to take tolls from all vessels passing through either of these canals. England contended that this labor was corvee or forced labor; that the laborers were not properly treated, and that the pasha had no right to alienate any land without the consent of the Sultan. Mr. De Lesseps replied that this was the only labor by which the great works of Egypt had been executed; that the corvee had been employed with the knowledge of England, and without protest, by English contractors and the Pasha, in building railroads, and in constructing the Mahmoudieh canal, where one thousand laborers are reported to have perished in one day; in digging irrigating canals, and

in the cultivation of cotton plantations of Said Pasha ; that England was influenced, not only by a desire to stop the work on the canal, but to obtain cotton ; as a cotton famine prevailed from 1862 to 1865, during our civil war. England proved to the Pasha that by transferring the twenty thousand laborers from the canal to his cotton plantations, a large quantity of cotton could be raised and sold at an extravagant price. This argument was too strong to be resisted ; and the laborers were withdrawn with the regret that "poor De Lesseps must go to the wall."

At that time the engineer reported, that with the steady labor of thirty thousand fellahs, the canal could have been completed in three years. The English press was satisfied, *The Times* declared "that as forced labor was to cease, the canal ceased," that "the canal was almost forgotten, its building looked on as De Lesseps' folly."

Mr. De Lesseps protested, and the French government interfered. In 1863 Said Pasha died, and Ismail Pasha mounted the throne of Egypt. Gifted with high intelligence, and by nature a lover of progress, the new sovereign was wise enough to see that he could gain considerable advantages for his government, and at the same time assure the completion of the great canal by a prompt and considerable sacrifice, which would prevent serious complications in his relations with France. The concession had given to the company in addition to the lands, and the free entry of goods, certain municipal privileges, which seriously affected the revenues, and threatened in time to create vicious entanglements in the relations between Egypt and the European powers. Ismail seized this opportunity, and wisely agreed to submit to arbitration all questions between Egypt and the Canal Company, accepting, without hesitation, as arbiter, Napoleon III., Emperor of the French. This he did, well knowing that while the judgment against him would probably be heavy, it would be final, as the decision made by that arbiter could never be questioned by the Company. An examination was made by a commission appointed by the Emperor, which decided that Ismail Pasha should pay the Canal Company for the withdrawal of fellah labor :

An indemnity of.....	£1,520,000*	\$7,600,000
For a cession of all rights of the Company in the fresh water canals,	400,000	2,000,000
As compensation for tolls relinquished,	240,000	1,200,000
As compensation for lands surrendered,	1,200,000	6,000,000
	<u>£3,360,000</u>	<u>\$16,800,000</u>

This was paid in 1864, and the work recommenced. Thus, a second time, the opposition of Great Britain resulted most advantageously to Mr. De Lesseps—furnishing the means for the continuation of the work, compelling the Company to substitute machine for hand labor, and that which at first sight seemed to threaten destruction to the enterprise led to its success.

The Sultan's approval was still delayed, and not until March 19, 1866, was the firman issued granting "our sovereign authorization for the execution of the canal." While the arbitration was pending there was a practical cessation of work, from the withdrawal of fellah labor; but Mr. De Lesseps was not idle, he was planning for the substitution of machine for hand labor; seventy-eight dredgers of different kinds, some with iron spouts 220 feet long, engines, locomotives, cars, tugs, and other apparatus were constructed. The channel was dredged, the sand raised, thrown into the spout, and carried along its whole length by running water, raised by a rotary pump. Other dredgers were provided with buckets drawn by endless chains; others had short spouts, and some were ordinary dredgers tended by sea-going lighters and numberless tugs; where the dredger could not work, tramways, with dirt cars and locomotives were used. The first cost of the machinery was between \$10,000,000 and \$12,000,000, and the cost of fuel when in full operation was \$200,000 a month. The machines were more economical and rapid than the fellah labor, excavating monthly when in full operation, two millions of cubic meters of earth, a quantity sufficient to fill Broadway from the battery to Union Square as high as the second stories of the houses. The digging of the canal presented no great engineering difficulties. The canal for part of the way was simply a

* In this article the pound is called five dollars, and the franc twenty cents.

trench cut through the desert, which is gritty, not sandy, for another part of the way through salt lakes too shallow for navigation, the rest through hills, whose rugged outlines break the dead level and uniform monotony of the desert ; the highest elevation was near Suez, 60 feet.

The canal is 100 miles long :

From Port Said through Lake Menzaleh to Kantara, 27 miles.	
From Kantara through Lake Ballah, three miles, to	
Ismailia	21.47 "
From Ismailia through Lake Timsah, three miles,	
to Bitter Lakes.....	15 "
Through the Bitter Lakes.....	21 "
Bitter Lakes to Suez.....	15 "
	<hr/>
	90.47

It is supposed that formerly the waters of the Red and Mediterranean Seas were connected ; that the Isthmus has gradually risen leaving several great depressions, salt lakes, or great salt marshes. In the deepest parts of these depressions the bottom was from ten to twenty feet below the sea level, shelving to a few inches at the margin. A channel was dredged through these lakes, when they were filled with salt water, making great reservoirs preventing currents through the canal ; for, though the waters of the two seas are at the same level in calm weather, when the wind blows the waves into Port Said and out from Suez, there is a difference of several feet in the level. The current then flows through the canal into these lakes, but they are large enough to prevent currents through the canal.

The line of the canal was carried through Lake Menzaleh, twenty-seven miles, Lake Ballah, three miles, Lake Timsah, three miles, the Great and Little Bitter lakes, twenty-one miles ; total fifty-four miles, of lake navigation. Ismailia, the chief city of the Isthmus, is on Lake Timsah, half way across the Isthmus, where the railway from Cairo to Suez and the Sweet Water canal strikes the line of the Suez canal. The Great and Bitter Lakes, forty leagues in circumference, required 440,000,000,000 gallons of water, and six months to fill them.

The ancients opened a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, but were unable to open one to the Mediterranean, for want of

a harbor. A harbor was essential to the success of the scheme. Mr. De Lesseps was, therefore, compelled to construct "a harbor against nature," where there was neither fresh water within thirty miles, where there was neither port nor open roadstead, and only two or three feet of water, gradually deepening to twenty-five and thirty feet two miles from the shore. A sand bank from three hundred to five hundred feet wide separated the sea from Lake Mensaleh—a vast salt marsh. Over this bank the waves broke at every high sea. Land must be made, stone piers built to deep water, and, as there was not stone near the place, great blocks of artificial stone weighing twenty-two tons were made with cement brought from France, and sand from the desert; and with these blocks, piers two miles in length on the west, and one mile on the east side, were built out into the sea. The channel between these piers and in the harbor was dredged to a depth of twenty-seven feet, and the material used for making land. Here now stands Port Said, with a population of ten thousand, having one of the best harbors in the Mediterranean; its pier lighted with electric lights; its fresh water brought from the Nile at Cairo, one hundred and sixty miles distant.

There was no fresh water nearer than the Nile, as rain rarely falls on the Isthmus. A large supply of drinking water was required for the laborers and the inhabitants of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez, and for the use of the vessels. To provide for this want, a canal eight feet deep and six feet wide was dug from the Nile at Cairo across the desert to a point near Ismailia, thence along the line of the Suez canal to Suez, one hundred and forty-nine miles, including the Ismailian branch. At Ismailia the water is pumped into reservoirs, and conducted in pipes to Port Said. It was finished to Ismailia, January, 1862, and to Suez December, 1863. The canal between Cairo and Ismailia has since then been greatly enlarged by the Egyptian government, and is a wide navigable canal with locks connecting the Nile at Cairo with the Red Sea. As all the rights in this canal were retroceded by Mr. De Lesseps to the Khedive, he was compelled to bear the cost of its construction, which was nominally \$5,750,000, but in reality much greater, and probably \$8,000,000.

In October, 1867, the first steamer went from Port Said to

Ismailia. In the summer of 1869 the work grew near its completion. August 6th the Khedive struck the blow which united the waters of the Red Sea with those of the Mediterranean. In September, Mr. De Lesseps sailed through in a small steamer, and telegraphed :

“SUEZ, September 29th, 1869.

We left Port Said this morning, and after an uninterrupted voyage by steamer, arrived here in fifteen hours.”

The grand religious ceremonies of the inauguration took place at Port Said November 16, 1869, commencing at about 2 P. M., in the presence of the Khedive, the Empress of the French, the Emperor of Austria, etc. During the night of the 16th, in order to be ready, the Khedive left Port Said in his yacht in advance of his royal guests, to receive them at the entrance of Lake Timsah.

The grand line of royal yachts left Port Said at 8 A. M., November 17th, the “Aigle” leading, with the Empress Eugenie and Mr. De Lesseps on board. That afternoon the fleet arrived in Lake Timsah, and were there received by a salute from Egyptian war vessels which had come from Suez.

The evening of the 17th and day of the 18th November were given up to festivities and excursions at Ismailia. At noon of the 19th the fleet left Lake Timsah, and at 5 P. M. anchored in the Bitter lakes. During the night of the 19th the Khedive proceeded to Suez to await his guests in that harbor, and at 11.30 A. M. on the 20th the fleet came out of the canal into the head of the Red Sea.

The inaugurating fleet was composed of 69 vessels, bearing the flags of France, Austria, North Germany, Holland, England, Egypt, Russia, Italy, Norway and Portugal; and representatives from all the courts of Europe, and from every leading newspaper in the world.

The expenditures on the Suez Canal at the time of opening December 31, 1869, were :

For construction,.....	\$58,271,000
For interest, including sinking fund,.....	16,582,000
For negotiations, commissions,.....	\$2,208,600
For management,.....	2,886,505 5,045,105
For sundries,.....	3,266,550
	<hr/> \$88,164,755

This amount was raised from various sources :

Subscriptions to 400,000 at \$100 per share,.....	\$40,000,000
Loans of 1867 and 1868,.....	19,755,500
Indemnity paid by Egypt,.....	16,800,000
Sundries,.....	6,609,255
	<u>\$88,164,755</u>

Since January 1, 1870, about \$12,000,000 in addition has been expended on construction.

The banks of the canal have been faced with stone for a portion of the distance, and this work will be steadily carried on until all the banks have been lined. The width at the surface of the canal varies from 190 feet, where the banks are above the general level of the desert, to 328 feet where they are low. The width at the bottom is 72 feet; the depth in 1871 was 23 feet. It has been deepened from time to time, and is now from 25 to 28 feet deep. Fourteen steamers, drawing $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet, passed through the canal in 1883. The actual time required for steaming through the canal is about nineteen hours; on account of delays, principally from vessels passing each other and because vessels are not permitted to sail by night, the average time from entering Port Said to leaving Suez is 48 hours. Vessels sailing in the same direction are not allowed to pass, and are required to stop at gares or passing stations, that vessels sailing in the other direction may pass. These gares are the sidings in this single track road, three times the usual width of the canal, so that ships may pass on either side; with one exception they are on the east side of the canal. The highest speed permitted is $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour, but at this rate steamers are often obliged to use full head of steam, as the water, instead of flowing off all around the vessel, is heaped up in front of it. Wherever the channel is of uniform width, a vessel keeps its course without the use of the rudder, as the pressure is equal on both sides; but where the channel broadens on either side, the ship yields to the greater pressure, and heads directly for the opposite banks. Vessels, therefore, frequently strike the banks or the bottom, and occasionally run into each other. Lighters, and all needful appliances for assisting vessels, are provided at short distances.

A careful observation of the temperature, between the hours of 10 A. M. and 7 P. M. was made on the United States Steamer "Alert" which passed through the canal in July, 1876; temperature, maximum, on deck was 86°, minimum 79°, mean 82°, in the fire room, maximum 170°, mean 146°.

This canal, constructed, not only without the aid of Great Britain, but in spite of her continued opposition, owes its success to her commerce, for four fifths of its tolls come from British ships. No sooner was it opened than her steamers commenced using the canal, for a new and shorter route was opened to her empire in the East.

England desired to obtain some control in the canal, and the poverty of the viceroy soon gave her the desired opportunity. The shares held by the Viceroy, Ismail Pasha, entitled the owner to a certain control in the management, but the dividend on them was waived in 1869 for 25 years, as the consideration for certain properties given by the Viceroy to the Company, subsequently purchased by him of the Company on the demand of Great Britain.

In 1875 Mr. Disraeli entered into negotiations for their purchase, and bought them for 568 francs a share, or about \$20,000,000, but Egypt was required to pay five per cent. a year on the cost, "in consideration of the deferment of the right to receive dividends." England borrowed the money at three per cent., thus securing an interest in the control; a profit of two per cent. a year by the difference in interest, and of 100 per cent. from the rise in value, as the shares are to-day worth over \$40,000,000.

It was provided in the concession that the maximum charge for vessels passing through the canal should be 10 francs per ton "of capacity." The question soon arose whether the ton of capacity referred to the capacity of the vessel for carrying cargo, viz: its net or registered tonnage, or to its capacity including engines, boilers, coals, stores and cargo, or its gross tonnage. From 1869 to 1872, the toll was levied upon the net registered tonnage. Mr. De Lesseps found that the registered tonnage was little more than one-half of the gross tonnage, and that there was no uniform rule for the registration of tonnage; and therefore, in 1872 he began to levy the charge upon the gross tonnage.

This increase in the tolls raised a great outcry from both the French and English ship-owners. The French appealed to the courts, which decided against the Canal Company, but Mr. De Lesseps disregarded the action of these courts, on the ground that he held his concession from the Egyptian government, and was responsible only to that government. An International Commission met at Constantinople, and made a decision reducing the rate of tolls, which the Sultan ordered to be enforced. Mr. De Lesseps refused obedience, and the Sultan, in 1874, ordered the Khedive to put in force this decision. The Khedive gave the order to Mr. De Lesseps, but the latter refused positively to obey, and threatened in case force was used, that he would remove the landmarks, draw off the pilots, and render the canal useless to commerce.

Under these circumstances, the Sultan, reiterating his commands to the Khedive, the latter ordered General Stone Pasha, his chief of staff, to carry the decision into effect the day named, in April, 1874, and to use, if necessary, the army and navy of Egypt. General Stone, under this order, concentrated troops *near* the canal, but not within the zone occupied by it, and brought to Port Said naval vessels and sailors sufficient to insure the proper protection of commerce, employing at the same time a sufficient number of pilots well acquainted with the canal. He established an independent telegraph line, to insure rapid communication of orders, and placed intelligent American and European officers ready to take possession of and manage the offices and stations, but he neither made threats against Mr. De Lesseps, nor did he permit any interference with the officials of the Canal Company before the day fixed for the change. The evening previous to that day Mr. De Lesseps arrived at Port Said, took note of the silent preparations made, passed on to Ismailia, where he found like preparations; and then with great good sense he decided to submit to the inevitable. Asking for a special train, he proceeded to Cairo to record his official consent to the change, under protest.

Mr. De Lesseps continuing his protests, in 1876 a commissioner was delegated by the maritime nations to confer with him; and after full consultation it was agreed that the tolls should be levied upon the registered tonnage, with a sur-tax of

four francs a ton, but that a reduction of fifty centimes per ton should be made each year, until this sur-tax was removed. This took place on the 1st of January, 1884; and the charge is now ten francs a ton on the registered tonnage, with a rebate of 2.50 francs per ton on ships in ballast, and ten francs for each first class passenger.

The business of the canal has increased from 486 ships in 1870, with a net tonnage of 436,000 tons, and 765 ships of 761,000 tons in 1871, with an average tonnage of less than 1,000 tons, to 3,307 ships in 1883, with a net tonnage of 5,775,000 tons; average tonnage 1,750 tons. These vessels are, with few exceptions, steamers.

In 1881, 82½ per cent. of the total tonnage was under the British flag, 5 per cent. under the French; only one vessel under the American flag.

The revenue from 1870 to 1873, three years, was \$6,112,129. In 1872 the receipts for the first time exceeded the expenses.

For 1881 the total receipts were.....	\$10,840,000
For 1881 the total expenditure was.....	5,780,000
Net profit	\$ 5,060,000

In 1883 the total receipts were.....	\$13,704,415
Expenses of every kind, including five per cent. on capital, including reserves for pensions, and improvements of canal,.....	9,076,171
Leaving balance of profit for dividends,	\$4,637,242

The profits for 1883, apparently, are less than in 1881, occasioned by the interest, five per cent., or \$1,200,000 on the shares being included in the expenses for 1883, but not in those for 1881. The dividends in 1882 were 17 per cent.; in 1883, 17 $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent.

The great success of the canal, the large dividends paid to the stockholders, mostly French, though four-fifths were contributed by English ships, a suspicion that the officials systematically favored the French mercantile marine to the detriment of the ships of other nations, and delays in passing through the canal, from the large increase of the commerce,

caused the English merchants and ship owners, in 1883, to consult for some relief. It was proposed to construct a new canal, either from Alexandria to Suez by way of Cairo, or else on the line of the present Suez canal. The first plan was abandoned as impracticable, while the other was impossible, if, as Mr. De Lesseps claimed, and as seems to be the case, the Suez Company have the exclusive right of way across the Isthmus. Conferences were then held by the merchants and ship-owners with Mr. De Lesseps on behalf of the Canal Company, and the English Directors. Three plans were proposed: the enlargement of the canal; the construction of a second by its side; or on a new route outside of land now belonging to the Company, with large reduction in tolls. It was finally agreed that a commission of engineers should examine and report which was the best plan. Mr. De Lesseps further agreed to make a reduction of tolls on the first of January of each year after 1884, dependent upon the profits of the preceding year, and that the charge for pilotage from the first of July, 1884, should be taken off, amounting to \$800,000 a year.

The opening of the canal has produced a greater change in the commerce of the world than any other single event since the discovery of America. Formerly the commerce of the East was carried on mainly in *sailing vessels*, under the English flag, around Cape Good Hope and Cape Horn; now, in *steamers* through the canal. Sailing vessels have great difficulty in sailing through the canal and Red Sea, and, therefore, rarely use this route, while steam navigation by the canal is more economical than sailing vessels via Cape of Good Hope; hence a large increase of steamers. The average time between London and India before the opening of the canal was ninety days, the passage fare \$700; in 1875 it was less than thirty-six days, the passage fare \$340. Freights have been reduced in the same ratio with passenger fares.

The trade with the East is now by steam; and French, Russian, Austrian and Italian vessels participate in the trade, and are doubling and tripling the number of their vessels, and will before long become powerful competitors with the British. The Mediterranean is no longer a closed sea, but from all its ports, and from beyond Gibraltar, all vessels bound for the

East sail through the Suez Canal for India, China and Australia.

The opening of the Suez Canal has not only transferred the commerce from sailing vessels to steamers, but has also brought commerce to the maritime countries of the Mediterranean, France, Italy and Austria. Before the Suez Canal was opened, ships very rarely sailed from these countries to the East. The commerce was all carried on under the flags of England and Holland. Now every ship to India and China passes their shores, and some steamers of the largest of the English lines, the P. & O. S. S. Co. start from Italy. French, Italian and Austrian steamers were naturally drawn through the canal bearing the manufactures of their countries to the East, receiving in exchange the coffee and sugar of India, the teas and silks of China.

The East, too, has gained largely by the opening of the canal ; for cheaper freights and competition have reduced the price of cotton goods, and they are now extensively used by the millions of India and China, while the labor of India and the products of that labor command higher prices. Thus action and reaction take place, and Europe and Asia are equally benefited. England foresaw the effect of the opening of the canal in developing the commerce of the Mediterranean and the competition of the continent, and, therefore, was so persistent in her opposition to it. She did not anticipate the enormous development of her own commerce that would result from the facilities furnished by the canal.

COST OF THE CANAL TO EGYPT.

Egypt, in her desire to aid the construction of the Canal, agreed to furnish laborers at a stipulated price, to give liberally of her desert lands and the right to construct and use a fresh water canal. England compelled her to withdraw the laborers, and to regain the land.

For this labor and land, and these rights, she paid the Canal Company	£3,360,000
The loss on the Elwady estate sold to the Canal Company and brought back by the Viceroy was	326,000
Cost of the fresh water canal was over	1,244,000
Expenses of missions to Europe, and cost of opening canal	1,011,000
She sold her shares to Great Britain at cost, but was required to pay five per cent. per annum interest for 20 years on this cost	4,000,000
	<u>£9,941,000</u>

\$50,000,000 was exacted from Egypt as her contribution to the canal. Even this statement, according to the best authority, largely underestimates the cost. It does not include the loss to Egypt in impost duties, nor the vast sums paid out in interest on the sums paid in 1864—amounting up to 1880 to not less than \$20,000,000, for which, as well as for the principal, she received only what she had previously given to the Canal Company. Egypt, alone of all nations, receives little, if any, benefit from the Canal. The commerce of the East, which formerly paid tribute to her people as it crossed from Suez to Cairo and Alexandria, is now carried by foreign steamers without stopping, and pays tribute only to the Suez Canal. Two years ago, when England was at war with Egypt, the Suez Canal and the line of the Sweet Water canal afforded the surest way to invade and overcome Egypt. Araby listened to the requests of Mr. De Lesseps, and forbore to destroy the Canal, or interrupt the flow of fresh water. Lord Wolesley disregarded these requests, closed the canal to all commerce, and made it the base of his line of operations. Well may Egypt pray to be saved from her friends, especially when they come bearing the flag of Great Britain.

ARTICLE II.—EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PART V.

THE State, as previously defined,* has a sovereign right, under what I have called the political title, and without compensation, to all the material requisite for the creation of an adequate State power. There is no limit to the kind of tribute covered by the title. The life, the labor, or the wealth of the subject, or all of them, become in any sufficient emergency the rightful property of the State, and this not as an equivalent, or payment, for any service rendered or to be rendered to the subject, but as a sacrifice required for the safety of the commonwealth.

But, in the first place, no law-abiding subject can rightfully be held for a sacrifice of any kind to which all the other subjects, in the same circumstances, are not equally liable. Such a thing as a righteous discrimination and partiality on the imposition of public burdens is inconceivable and cannot exist. All able-bodied men may be subjected to conscription in time of war, all proprietors to the taxation of their property at any time, but no one of them in preference to any or all of the others. The only ground for discrimination known to our polity is the ground of wrong-doing, converting the doer into a public enemy for whose repression the State exists; and the only exceptional burden permitted by it is a specified penalty for a wrong done. So far as the person of the subject is concerned the principle is perfectly settled already. It is now a mere truism in all civilized societies that no life belongs to the State rather than another until forfeited by violation of the law; and in the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution it is provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States; a sentence which is the second great monument of American history. But the

* *New Englander*, Nos. 180, 181, 182, and 183.

truism as to the person, is still a flagrant paradox as to the property of the subject. The fundamental distinction, upon which our whole polity reposes, between the law-abiding whose rights and responsibilities are uniform, and the lawless whose rights are forfeited, is simply unknown to the fiscal system of the United States. There is not a tax levied under it which does not single out some particular class for burdens not borne by the others, and this not as a penalty for wrong whereof the offenders have been duly convicted, but with the admission made in the very act of taxing him that the subject is unoffending. One might despair of the intelligence and moral sense of the American people, their comprehension of their own political system and its solemn compacts, were it not evident that the needed revolution in their ideas and convictions is the next in order, and already impending. Nothing but the trivial exigencies of partisan strife, the unmeaning equilibrium of political bodies without a distinctive creed or an adequate aspiration, postpones the reconstruction of the fiscal system of United States according to the supreme, commanding principle of our institutions. We are at last within a "measurable distance" of the day when, if not by another amendment of the letter, at any rate by a cordial return to the spirit of the Constitution, it will be settled for all time that no man shall suffer at the hands of the State, in property or in person, more than other men suffer unless he deserves to; that he shall no more be held for exceptional taxation than for involuntary servitude or hanging; and that whatever payment he makes beyond the uniform rate for everybody is of the nature of penalty for violation of the laws, and not of tribute for their maintenance.

But, again, as the State cannot rightfully take from any one subject more than the uniform rate for all, so it cannot rightfully take from all together more than the sum total required for its legitimate and necessary expenses. For if it claims more than it spends in the discharge of its functions, more, that is, than the actual cost of its services, it must be on the ground that it is entitled to compensation for them. There are no titles to property not reducible to one of these two, the extraordinary political title to the means necessary for a given end, or the ordinary commercial title to an equivalent for work

done or value delivered. But the work done, the value delivered, the services rendered by the State, have in the nature of things no equivalent and therefore do not admit of compensation. If the State sells them at all it must sell them at its own price and fix the price anywhere at its own discretion. In the absence of any definable values, any standard or unit of comparison and exchange with other commodities, what it claims in claiming compensation for its services, is the arbitrary and uncontrollable exercise of its sovereign will, the right to give what it pleases and take what it wants. This is the very right, and the very ground of the right, invoked under a hundred pretexts by every form of absolute sovereignty which has ever existed, and in all such forms the motive of the invocation is obvious and sufficient. For when the sovereign is a single individual or class or race, and the rest of the community its subjects, there are two parties to every transaction and a paramount interest of the ruling party to profit by its rule. That the reigning family, or the oligarchy, or the slave-holding republic, should take for its services all it dare exact up to the verge of insurrection, is entirely in the logic of human nature and of the political situation. But with us the dualism has disappeared and there are no parties to any transaction; sovereign and subject are one, and the State at last, what it has always tended to become, the enrollment of the whole people for the safety of the commonwealth. It is the whole people which taxes as the whole is taxed, and if the amount of taxation exceeds the amount required for the safety of the commonwealth, to whom does the surplus belong? To the whole people, out of whose pockets it came, under whose authority it was taken, and for whose benefit it was to be expended. It must either be squandered on the way by the agents of the State, or go back where it came from, which were it possible, would simply be to keep the mightiest of motive forces flowing in idle and useless circuits, with perpetual waste of useful energy. It may be said that the climax of political stultification has been reached in any civilized community when it begins to discuss the distribution of permanent surplus revenue; and that the public man is a child or a charlatan who has not learned, or chooses to forget, that what surplus revenue requires is reduction of taxation.

This brings us to the subject of the present paper. For exactly as the excess of revenue over legitimate expenditure belongs to the whole people, so no expenditure can be legitimate which is not incurred in behalf of the whole people. The State can have no right to tax you or me for the exclusive benefit of anybody else, or New York for that of New Jersey; much more it can have none to spend the tribute of the whole population for the exclusive benefit of any portion of it. Its rightful revenue is the tribute of all its constituents, and must either be refunded, or spent upon some object which concerns them all alike. Of course it is not always easy to say whether a proposed object of expenditure is, or is not, of public and universal importance, a matter upon which the experience and conclusions of different States are often at variance. All for example are agreed that the carriage of private correspondence is a part of public business and a proper object of State expenditure, and if so, why not the transmission of telegraphic correspondence, and the carriage of merchandise and passengers? The prosperity of any country depends largely upon the facility of its communications, and nothing would seem to be more appropriate to the functions of the State than expenditure to overcome the natural obstacles to them; but the question has been decided in one way in Great Britain and other countries where the telegraphic and postal services have been assimilated, in Germany where the railway service has been largely added to both, and in the United States where nearly all transportation, except of the mails, has been left to private enterprise. But all these differences of detail only serve to bring out more clearly the general principle that the State exists to give effect to the will of the people by ensuring the safety of person and property, and by improving the material conditions of life, for all its subjects alike; and that action of any kind for personal or local purposes is perversion of its functions and abuse of its power; in particular, that expenditure for the exclusive benefit of any part of the population, or any section of the country, is misappropriation of public funds, and the revival under republican forms of those very inequalities of class-rule which the republic is here to abolish. How much of the enormous outlay for river and harbor im-

provements, a national concern if there is one, has been squandered without return to appease the irritability of some section, or to enrich the constituents and strengthen the popularity of some member of Congress? How much of the public domain and the public treasure has been lost to the public in extravagant land-grants and railway guarantees?

The same simple principle which determines the distribution of surplus revenue, and the legitimate object of expenditure, determines also the legitimate amount of expenditure when the object is found. The object, in general, is the safety and well-being of the commonwealth, and it may be argued here again, in reference to claims upon the State, as before, to claims of the State upon the subject, that the object is worth anything it costs, that no price is too great to pay for the material conditions which make society possible. Certainly; but it is always to be remembered that we are talking of the expenditure of money, a commodity with a definite exchangeable value, and that money is not paid out directly for the public welfare, which is not a commodity and has no exchangeable value, but for certain other things which secure the public welfare; for the maintenance of a legislature, a judiciary, and an executive, for an army, a navy, and a police, for the transaction of public business, and the erection of public works. These things are all in the nature of work done for, or property turned over to, the State, with a definite value in the commodity the State pays for them; and they are no more entitled to indefinite compensation in that commodity, because they secure the priceless results of public safety and order, than the State itself which purchases them is entitled to an indefinite amount of revenue for the same ends. Public property of any kind can be parted with only upon receipt of an equal value in some other kind. No one can estimate the importance to the country and to mankind of the Emancipation Proclamation, or the capture of Lee's army, but Lincoln or Grant is entitled only to his stipulated compensation as president or general of the army, and if either gets more it is a voluntary gift of the people and not the satisfaction of a debt, or if either helps himself to more it is simply embezzlement of public funds, no matter what

his services may have been. What are we to say, for example, of the preposterous appropriations recently made for army and navy pensions? The beneficiaries are men, or the families of men, who have risked life and limb in the service of the State, and are therefore entitled to compensation beyond the rates of wages for ordinary labor. It is also right that provision should be made for such as were disabled, or for the families of such as died in discharge of their duty. But they are not entitled to an illimitable, or an indefinable compensation, however great their sacrifices and their services. It is the payment of money that is in question, and in money they are entitled, like any other employee, to an equivalent, all things considered; and the moment that in settling the account with them we admit considerations of their valor and their patriotism, of the danger they averted and the country they saved, we have lost all standards of comparison and all means of estimate. These are things that can be paid in the coin of gratitude and of honor, but not in money, for the simple reason that money is not the equivalent of that sort of thing, and that if it were there is not enough of it to go round. Setting aside all question of ulterior, partisan motives that have been alleged in this affair, there has perhaps been no more discreditable piece of legislation in our day than this seeming munificence of the State to a particular class of its employees. It has poured out its funds in unstinted millions, no one yet knows how many, as if self-sacrifice and courage in defence of one's country and the right, were beyond the reach of ordinary mortals yet in the range of sordid compensation. These men, we seem to say, were heroic enough to do what we could not have done in the greatest of causes; so let us pay them heroically. It is entirely in the right of any man to say and do that for himself, or for any voluntary association of men; but the State disposes only of State funds, and of them only for defined and prescribed State purposes; and in its most hysterical moments has no right to alienate a dollar unless it gets a dollar's worth of something that will bring dollars in the open market.

If, therefore, the State invokes its political title, or avails of its position as the most considerable employer of the realm, to

acquire more of any commodity than the equivalent of what it pays, it gets something for nothing, which under whatever pretext is the confiscation of private property, like exceptional taxation, only more directly and frankly, the spoliation of one or more of its subjects for the benefit of the rest. Equally, on the other hand, if it pays out more than the equivalent of what it gets, it gives something for nothing, which is the spoliation of all the others for the benefit of one or more. After every transaction of the kind there must be somewhere in its possession and producible on demand, as the one sufficient and indispensable voucher without which its accounts cannot be settled, an equivalent for every dollar expended; and the inability to produce the equivalent is proof enough that somebody has been paid for nothing, or for nothing which concerns the welfare of the whole people. According to the last official report about \$240,000,000 have been expended since the year 1869 for the maintenance and increase of the navy. The accounts, it may be taken for granted, are in perfect order; but where is the navy? It is there, ready not only on provocation of the foreign foe, but on the demand of any captious critic; or funds drawn from the whole people, for the benefit of the whole people, have gone to enrich some one who has rendered no equivalent for his spoils.

It is the fatal simplicity and directness of this test which brings the whole enormous and complicated expenditure of the State practically within the competence of the dullest intelligence and of the most bewildered public opinion. We have only to rid our minds of the mischievous abstraction of an indefinable claim, founded on an inestimable service, of the idea that money taken in and paid out by the State is to be accounted for in any other way than money confided to any other agent for any other purpose, in order to subject every disbursement to exact estimation. Money must either be given for nothing, or for something that can be bought and sold for money. You have paid out so much money—for what? For the safety and order of the commonwealth? No, for these things are not measurable in money, and not on sale in any market; but for certain other, measurable and saleable things, by which safety and order may be secured. Where is

your *quid pro quo* in these other things—the property available for the benefit of the whole people, for which you have spent tribute taken from the whole people? These are questions which any man is competent to ask and to get an answer for.

It is not necessary for our purpose to apply this test to the government expenditure of the last twenty years. The facts are notorious. A fiscal system, extemporized in the agony of civil war, has gone on yielding, long after the emergency has passed away, a revenue beyond the widest limits of legitimate expenditure; and the surplus has vanished, with nothing to show for it. As I have said, we may assume that no flaw is to be found in the budget or the books; very likely there is the happiest equilibrium between appropriation and disbursement, or disbursement and acquittance; but the capital voucher of an equivalent for the amount disbursed, it is not in the power of the government to produce. The most liberal estimate of the work done for the State and of the property acquired by it leaves a vast sum for which it has no assets to show. And this sum, lost to the State and to the people, has of necessity gone to enrich some particular individual, class, or section of the country at the cost of the rest; a fitting pendant to the taxation which has singled out some portion for burdens that belong alike to all. There is thus an entire symmetry in the fiscal system of the United States, a happy reunion of all the vices any such system admits of; tribute for public ends, raised at the expense of a class, and expended for the benefit of a class; in a word, so far as the money-power of the State is concerned, all the inequalities and iniquities of class-rule which the State is here to put an end to.

- Now, as has been said already, in every other particular the course of political evolution with us has reached its final term. Excepting that the natural distinction of sex continues to exclude women from the franchise, the whole population is associated in the sovereignty, and the power of the association is applied indiscriminately for the good of the whole population. It does not exact one man's life or liberty rather than another's, nor does it ensure a happier life or a larger liberty to one man rather than another. How has it come about that

among all the powers of the state the money-power alone is outside the formula, has escaped so completely the law of development and gone back to all the abuses of superseded systems; that quite as flagrantly as in any old despotism the funds of the republic are drawn wholly from one portion of the community, and in part at least expended for the exclusive benefit of another? We may of course take it for granted, with our habitual optimism, that matters will take care of themselves, that the commanding tendencies of American civilization will get the better in time of all alien and obstructive forces, and end by putting the property of the subject, where they have already put his person, beyond the possibility of exceptional sacrifices or exceptional privileges. I do not in the least doubt that this is so. But what we call the tendencies of civilization are not brute force or blind fatality; they are the conscience, the intelligence, and the will of men, acting on their surroundings, and they get the upper hand in a process of evolution simply by putting down the unreason and the perversity opposed to them. So what we have to do is to find out as exactly as possible the motives which have perverted the action of the State; and the better motives which will bring it back to the consistent and rightful exercise of all its functions.

ARTICLE III.—THE FIRST COMMON SCHOOLS OF NEW ENGLAND.**Part II. Continued from page 226, March No., 1885.****EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT.***

The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven zealously emulated those of Massachusetts and Plymouth in their liberal policy in the establishment of free schools. So deep was the interest taken that, even before there was any legislative action, the ministers and magistrates were found pleading for an allowance out of the common treasury for the support of public schools, and entreating parents of all classes to send their children to them. Foremost among these early promoters of learning were the Rev. Mr. Davenport and Gov. Eaton, both of the New Haven colony, whose plan contemplated: first, common town schools where all their sons might "learn to read and write and cast up accounts and make some entrance into the Latin tongue;" second, a common or colony school with a schoolmaster qualified to teach Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, "so far as shall be necessary" to prepare the youth for college; third, a town or county library; fourth, a college for the colony "for the education of the youth in good literature to fit them for public service in church and commonwealth."† The effect of such an enlightened policy was most fortunate, laying, as it did thus early the foundation for the great prosperity which has since followed. Besides adopting largely the school laws of Massachusetts, it was thought best "that grammar schoolmasters should be approved by the selectmen of the town and the minister of the same or a neighboring town."

The first school in the New Haven Colony of which we have any record was opened in New Haven in 1639, and here Ezekiel Cheever, at the age of twenty-five, began his long career as a teacher. It was not at first a free school, for the General Court held at New Haven in the early part of 1641 "ordered that a free school be set up in this town." For its maintenance the

* See *American Journal of Education* for 1857, vol. iv., pp. 657-709.

† Barnard in *American Journal of Education* for 1855, p. 296.

pastor and magistrates were to consider "what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town," and also what rules should be observed "in and about the same." The early records of New Haven are full of entries, referring to moneys, appropriated to teachers, and to reports of committees on the subject of schools. These committees always included among their number the governor, minister, and magistrates or deputies. In 1642, seven years after the first house was built, a school was established in Hartford in the Connecticut colony and an appropriation of £30 was settled upon it. The master was to receive a salary of £16 a year, and those parents or guardians who were willing to send their children to school and could bear the expense should pay "twenty shillings the year;" others should have their children instructed "at the town's charge."

In general in both colonies the mode of supporting the schools was made partly a charge on the general funds or property of the town and partly a rate bill or tuition, paid by the parents or guardians of the children attending school, "paying alike to the head." But this did not apply to the poor who were sent free of charge. The tax for this purpose was levied in every town with the annual state tax and payable proportionately only to those towns which should establish schools according to law. Trumbull says,* that for the permanent support of the schools "large tracts of land were given and appropriated by the legislature."†

The public school was one of the earliest subjects of municipal legislation, as much, for example, as the roads and bridges, the support of public worship and protection against the Indians,—these four being the principal objects of care and

* Trumbull's *History of Conn.*, vol. i., p. 308.

† At a later date (in 1795, but not incorporated into the State constitution until 1818) the legislature of Connecticut established a permanent irreducible fund, the income of which shall be applied to the support of common or public schools. This fund was obtained by the sale of lands in New Connecticut, or the so-called Western Reserve in the north-eastern part of Ohio, and the income from it, as stated in the *North American Review* for April, 1823, amounted in 1822 to more than \$60,000. This was apportioned among the school districts according to the number of pupils in each. See "Letters on the Free Schools of N. E.," pp. 20, 21, by J. G. Carter.

attention. The code of 1650, the first that was drawn up by the Connecticut colony, provided for the "family instruction of children and the maintenance of schools by towns," and was the same as that of Massachusetts. It remained on the statute books, with only slight modifications, for more than a century and a half. The school system embraced every family and town, all classes of children and youth, and all the then recognized grades of schools. In this way the State laid the basis "not only for universal education, but for a practical and social equality which has never been surpassed in the history of any other community." *

Governor Eaton in 1655 drew up a code of laws for the government of the New Haven colony, then numbering six plantations in which he laid special stress upon the duty of parents and masters to educate their children and apprentices, and imposed fines in case of neglect. He also ordered, as in the Connecticut code of 1650, that as a last resort, children and apprentices should be placed with others "who shall better educate and govern them" both for their own and the public good.

Very early in the history of the Connecticut colonies an appeal came from Harvard College to all the people to contribute towards the maintenance of poor scholars at the college. In response to this the General Court of the New Haven colony "ordered that two men shall be appointed in every town within this jurisdiction who shall demand what every family will give, and the same to be gathered and brought into some room in March; and this to continue yearly,† as it shall be considered by the commissioners." It was determined that about a "peck of wheat," or the value of it, twelve pence, should be contributed by every family that was willing, and in 1644 one of the commissioners "reported that he had sent forty bushels of wheat, the gift of New Haven to the college" at Cambridge. Soon after, that is as early as 1647, they were seriously considering the expediency of having a college of their own, to "be set up as soon as their ability will reach there-

* National Department of Education, September and October, 1887, in "Education in the United States."

† This gift to the college at Cambridge continued to be annually made until 1671.

unto." But at a General Court, held at Guilford June 28, 1652, it was voted that "the matter about a college at New Haven was thought to be too great a charge for us of this jurisdiction to undergo alone."*

The earliest legislation in Connecticut respecting the education of the Indians is found in the code of 1650, wherein the Court orders that the teaching elders shall go amongst the Indians and endeavor to give them religious instruction. Schools were also established among them; the most successful one being at Farmington. This was taught from 1648 to 1697 by the minister of the parish, and, as late as 1736 notices of this school are found in the colonial records which show that it was still in existence. Some very promising boys were educated at this school, and among them one Samson Occum, who afterwards became quite famous.

In 1665, the colony of New Haven formed the union with the Connecticut under the Charter of Charles II. In 1671, county grammar schools were established and the former town grammar schools discontinued. These new schools were accordingly located at Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield, there being at the time but four counties in Connecticut. To aid in endowing these schools the General Court appropriated six hundred acres of land to each of the four county towns forever,—the same to be improved in the best manner and the income applied for the benefit of the grammar schools. Of these schools two, namely those of Hartford and New Haven, the Court decreed should be of a higher grade and also free. They were to teach "reading (but pupils before entering must be able to read distinctly the psalter) writing, arithmetic, the Latin and English languages," and were to have "the more extensive and special enjoyment" of the income derived from the legacy left by Gov. Hopkins.† From that

* Quoted in Pres. Dwight's "Travels in New England," p. 200.

† The will of Mr. Hopkins was made in 1657, shortly before his death. In 1664, the two surviving trustees signed an instrument allotting £400 to Hartford for the support of a grammar school and appointing that the rest of the estate "be all of it equally divided between the towns of New Haven and Hadley to be managed and improved for the erecting and maintaining a school in each of the said towns." Pres. Dwight, in "Travels in New England," p. 206, says, in regard to the distribution

time they—mostly as free and always as public schools—have provided facilities for preparing young men for college. The one at New Haven, called the Hopkins Grammar School, has however, kept the more nearly up to the high ideal of its early patrons; the Hartford school, having in time, lost its character of a public grammar or Latin school, became “the main reliance of the town for the education of all its children,” and so continued until 1798 when the General Assembly restored it to a grammar school, in accordance with “the original intent of the donor.” The grammar school established at Hadley by the allotment from the Hopkins fund, was assisted by donations from individuals or the town, and has ever since been continued either under the name of grammar school or academy. Soon after the union of the colonies other public schools were “set up” and efficiently supported, as also a few private schools to fit young men for college or carry them forward in the higher branches of an English education.

From the testimony of men who were educated in the common schools prior to 1800, it appears that the course of instruction was limited to spelling, reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic. These studies, however, were attended to by all the children, so that it was rare to find a native of Connecticut “who could not read the holy word of God and the good laws of the State.”* The supervision of the schools was shared alike by the selectmen, who considered it a part of their town office and by the clergy who had come to look upon it “as a regular part of their parochial duty.”

By such men and measures were common schools established in all the New England Colonies, thus gradually forming a system of public education, such as at that time, had no “parallel in any part of the world.”

of this legacy, that about £2,000 intended by Hopkins for Yale College “fell through a series of accidents partly into the hands of her sister seminary [H. C.] and partly into the hands of trustees of three grammar schools: one at New Haven, one at Hartford, and one at Hadley in Massachusetts.”

* Mr. Barnard says (*American Journal of Education*, 1855, p. 302), that “Connecticut solved the problem of universal education, so that in 1800 neither a family nor an individual could be met with who was not sufficiently instructed to read the English tongue.”

EARLY LEGISLATION WITH REFERENCE TO SCHOOLS.

Lord Macaulay says* of the Puritans that they believed "the State should take upon itself the charge of the education of the people;" and another† declares, "It has always been a characteristic of New England that she adopted and maintained the principle that it is the right and duty of government to provide for the support of free schools; that every man should be taxed therefor, whether he have children or not." The first legislative act with reference to schools was passed by the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony in 1642, and enjoined the universal education of children, but it neither made the schools free nor attached any penalty for neglecting to establish them. In 1647 another act was passed making the support of the schools compulsory. In this act then we have the origin of the free schools of New England. It reads as follows: "It is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children, as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint, provided those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns."* It was further ordered that, when any town increased to the number of a hundred families or householders, a grammar school should be established, and a master employed who could "instruct the youth so far as they may be fitted for the university;"* "if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay £5 to the next school till they shall perform this order."‡ In 1683 the court ordered "that whenever a town has five hundred families it shall support two grammar schools and two writing schools." By the law of 1642, parents and masters were to look to the profitable em-

* *Macaulay's Speeches*, vol. ii., pp. 334-5, ed. 1858.

† C. K. Dillaway in the *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. iv., p. 286.

‡ *Mass. Records*, vol. ii., p. 303.

ployment of their children, and it was made a "barbarism" not to teach or have others teach their children or apprentices not only reading, but also a knowledge of the laws, and a penalty of twenty shillings was attached for the neglect to do so.*

In the Connecticut code of 1650 the provision for the care and instruction of children was, as already stated, like that of Massachusetts. In this it was made the duty of selectmen to watch over the children and apprentices and see that they were taught to read and also well instructed in the capital laws of the colony. For every neglect therein a fine of twenty shillings was laid, and masters of families were required to "catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion, and also bring them up to "some honest, lawful calling, labor or employment." In case of failure to comply with the law in any of these particulars, the selectmen with the help of the magistrates were required to take such children away and place them with masters who should agree to instruct them in conformity with the law.

In 1677 it was ordered that "if any county town shall neglect to keep a Latin school according to order,† there shall be paid a fine of £10 by the said county towns to the next town in that county that will engage and keep a Latin school in it," and this fine was to be paid annually until they should comply with the law.‡

In 1701, after a full revision of the school laws of Connecticut we have the following legal provisions for the education of children:§

1st. An obligation on the part of every parent and guardian to teach the children to read and besides "bring them up to some lawful calling or employment" under a penalty for each offense.

2d. A tax of forty shillings on every £1,000 on the lists of estates, to be collected in every town with the annual state tax and payable proportionately only to those towns which

* See *Colony Laws*, Chapter 22, Section 1.

† This refers to the revised laws 1671, creating county grammar schools in place of grammar schools for every town having 100 families.

‡ *American Journal of Education*, 1857, vol. iv., p. 667.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 695.

should keep their schools according to law. If, however, this levy proved insufficient to maintain a suitable schoolmaster, the inhabitants were to pay half and the parents or masters of the children the other half "unless any town agree otherwise."

3d. A common school in every town having over seventy* families to be kept for eleven months of the year, and in towns of less than seventy families to be kept for at least half the year.

4th. A grammar school in each of the four head county towns to fit youth for college, two of which grammar schools must be free.

5th. A collegiate school, toward which the General Court shall make an annual appropriation of £120.

6th. "Provision for the religious instruction of the Indians."

We see then that in the early legislation, more especially of the New Haven, Connecticut, and Massachusetts colonies, provision was made for the "honorable employment" of children as well as for their intellectual training. This was a most wise provision, and, had it continued in force, the criminal and pauper record of New England would have been radically different from what it is to-day. If we look closely into these laws, and especially into the provisions for the protection of children and apprentices from the cupidity of parents and masters, we shall doubtless see the first manifestation of that republican sentiment which afterwards spread through the land and proclaimed it free.

THE EARLY SCHOOLMASTERS.

We can scarcely place too high an estimate upon the service rendered to New England by her early teachers. Among these we must include many of her best educated clergymen who, in towns where there were no free or grammar schools, "fitted young men of piety and talent for college and for higher usefulness in church and state."† They were chiefly instrumental in keeping alive "the fires of classical learning brought here from the public schools and universities of England."

* Originally fifty families, but in 1678 a law had been passed that every town of thirty families should maintain a school and teach the children to read and write.

† *American Journal of Education*, 1855, p. 296.

Even with all their sympathy and help and the faithful labors of the pioneer teachers, the second, third and fourth generations of the New England colonists, where schools were not specially encouraged, "seemed destined to fall into barbarism."*

Among the most noted of these early school-masters were Ezekiel Cheever and Elijah Corlett, of whom Cotton Mather wrote :

"Tis Corlet's pains and Cheever's we must own,
That thou, New England, art not Scythia grown."

Master Corlett died February 25, 1686.—7, at the age of seventy-eight, after having been for nearly half a century a notable figure in Cambridge. He was, to quote Dr. Mather again, "that memorable old school-master in Cambridge from whose education our college and country have received so many of its worthy men that he is himself worthy to have his name celebrated in our church history."† Still, though he was able to teach both the English and Indian children, his school seems never to have been large,—numbering in 1680 but nine pupils—nor were the fees he received for tuition at all adequate for his support. To enable him to gain a bare subsistence occasional special grants were made by the town and colony, and an annual appropriation of about £7 10s. from the Hopkins charity fund. For a century or more following his time, his successors at Cambridge, it is said, fared but little better.

Ezekiel Cheever gained a much wider and more enduring reputation. Born in England in 1614 and landing at Boston in 1637, he was for the long period of seventy years school-master without an equal at New Haven, Ipswich, Charlestown, and Boston. He is described as "a scholar, learned, accurate, judicious, a severe and unsparing master, tall, dignified and stern."‡ Dr. Mather says of him, "we generally concur in acknowledging that New England has never known a better teacher. I am sure I have as much reason to appear for him as ever Crito for his master Socrates."§ The early excel-

* Ibid., p. 296.

† *Mather's Magnalia*, vol. i., book 8, p. 818.

‡ *First Century of the Republic*, p. 280.

§ Quoted from Dillaway's *History of the Gram. School in Roxbury*, p. 177.

lence of the Latin school at Boston, over which he presided for thirty-eight years, was due to his care. He was evidently a master whom the pupils "delighted to honor," for he is spoken of by them with great affection, though one of them, the Rev. John Barnard,* of Marblehead, tells us that he did not spare the rod, and cites his own experience, how, on one occasion, the old master said to him, "You, Barnard, I know that you can do well enough if you will; but you are so full of play that you hinder your classmates from getting their lessons, and, therefore, if any of them cannot perform their duty I shall correct you for it." One of his classmates, he adds, taking advantage of this, continued for some days to fail in his recitations, until he, Barnard, concluded that there was no way to escape from his daily punishment except by flogging his tormentor.

Mr. Cheever was the author of the *Accidence*, "A short Introduction to the Latin Tongue," which passed through more than twenty editions, and continued for over a century and a half the text-book of most of the Latin scholars of New England. Dr. Samuel Bentley, of Salem, an antiquarian and collector of school books, says of this *Accidence*, that it was "the wonder of the age." Eminent teachers during the present century, and among them President Quincy, of Harvard College, have highly commended Cheever's *Accidence*, and expressed the hope that it might be restored to its former place in the schools. Besides several Latin dissertations and poems, he was also the author of a small treatise upon "Scripture Prophecies Explained," in three short essays. This patriarch of New England school-masters continued his work with almost youthful vigor up to the time of his death, which occurred in Boston in August, 1708.†

From the very first the founders of the young common-

*In his autobiography Mr. Barnard throws some light upon the conduct of schools at that early day,—one noteworthy fact being that in his sixth year the school-mistress made him an usher or monitor, and appointed him to teach children both older and younger than himself. This was more than a hundred years before Bell or Lancaster introduced their newly-discovered monitorial system.

†For further particulars of the life of Ezekiel Cheever, see *Journal of Education* for December, 1888, pp. 391, 405-6.

wealth thought it necessary to guard most jealously against the employment of unworthy teachers. In the records of the court, May 3, 1654, we find that it was made the special care of the officers of Harvard College and the selectmen of the several towns not to suffer any to instruct the youth or children who "have manifested themselves unsound in the faith or scandalous in their lives."

Much in every way was expected of the grammar school teachers, and the candidate for this office must be a man of cultivation and refinement, which, as it was then supposed, could only be obtained by an acquaintance with the learned languages. The school-master was an important personage in the eyes of the community, being treated with the respect that was accorded to the minister and magistrates. As an illustration of this, it is recorded that "his wife was to be accommodated with a pew next the wives of the magistrates."*

In the eighteenth century there seems to have been a lack of teachers who were capable of fitting young men for college, and thus the necessity arose of establishing what were afterwards called academies. Governor Dummer, who died in 1761, having founded a flourishing academy at Byfield, Mass., was the pioneer in this enterprise. His example stimulated the Phillipses—uncle and nephew—to found the two noble academies at Andover and Exeter, which still bear their names.

SCHOOL BOOKS.

In those early days there were no spelling books nor English grammars. The letters were learned from the Bible, and this book and the Testament and Psalter were the only reading books. The catechism, as in the parochial schools of the present time which they resembled, received great attention. Besides this, reading, writing, and arithmetic were the chief, if not the only branches taught. For a century still there were no printed copy-books and no slates in use,—the ciphering and writing being done on paper. In 1691 there appears in the Boston Almanac an interesting notice of the New England Primer, the second edition being then in press. This new and enlarged edition had fuller directions for spelling, also the

* Emerson,—"*Education in Mass.*," p. 22.

Prayer of Edward VI., and the verses said to have been written by the martyred John Rogers. This primer contained the catechism of John Cotton, printed in 1656, and also that of the Westminster Assembly. It probably resembled the primer of Great Britain which existed before the Puritans came to America. Locke, the philosopher, mentions a book of this name, and in 1759 one, called the Royal Primer, was common in New England. This, or one similar to it, continued in use until about the beginning of the present century.*

There was a little book called the "Horn-book" (named from the horn covers) which seems to have been of simpler plan than the Primer, and of which Shakespeare speaks as "the teacher of boys" in his day. It was so used also in Massachusetts at the first, and even up to a century ago, and out of its supposed indispensableness grew the expression, "He does not know his horn-book," which we have since changed to "He doesn't know his letters." Another important book was "The English Schoole Master," the fifteenth edition of which was printed in London in 1624. "It's main object," as stated in the preface, "was to teach correct reading." The New England Psalter† was used in a similar way.

Among the earliest arithmetics was that of James Hodder, which in 1719 reached its twenty-eighth London edition. The most popular of the early geographies appear to have been Meriton's which was printed in London in 1679, and Laurence Eachard's of nearly the same date. Of the dictionaries, used in New England, Coles', published in London in 1692, and Bollocke's, the ninth edition of which was printed in 1695, were, at the close of the seventeenth century, the standards. In Latin, before the publication of Cheever's *Accidence*, Brinsley's, first issued in 1611-12, was in use; also another printed in London in 1639, called "Directions for young Latinists." A still later one was Hoole's *Accidence*, published in 1681. In Greek there was the Westminster Grammar of 1671, and in Hebrew the grammar of Schickard, issued in 1623, and Buxtorf's, which was printed before 1629.‡

* See *Felt's Annals of Salem*, p. 436.

† This, in the edition of 1784, "has the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, the Sermon of Christ on the Mount, and the Nicene Creed."

‡ See *Felt's Annals of Salem*, pp. 437-8.

The books we have named give some idea of the studies pursued in the common, grammar, and private schools of New England during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century, or during the first century of colonial life. The choice of books appears to have been made as "convenience and preference dictated." With the exception of those for reading, spelling,* and ciphering, none of the earlier ones was retained as late as 1816.

During the eighteenth century school books of all kinds multiplied rapidly. These included works upon arithmetic, book-keeping, navigation, geography, English and Latin grammars and dictionaries, Greek grammars and lexicons, books upon belles-letters, and many others which are named in "Felt's Annals of Salem," and in Barnard's catalogue of "American Text-books."

In reviewing the history of this early period one becomes more and more impressed with a sense of the obligation we are under to the Puritans and Pilgrim Fathers for the interest they took in education. Unfortunately their descendants of the third and fourth generations did not follow their example. So greatly did the interest in education decline that, during a large part of the eighteenth century prior to the Revolutionary war, it is said to have been true of men and women of respectability and influence, that they could not so much as write their names, and that this state of things applied not only to New England, but to the whole country.

Previous to 1769 girls were taught only by school-mistresses; and to learn to read and sew "was for the most part the height of their ambition." But near the close of the century public and private schools accumulated rapidly, and much attention was given to female instruction.† Still it was some time after the beginning of the nineteenth century before arithmetic was studied to any extent by girls, though as early as 1789 it was ordered that both sexes should be taught writing and arithmetic, so as to include vulgar and decimal fractions. Until

*Of the spelling-books, Dilworth's, which was in use in 1780, continued to be a favorite until after 1800. A rival in popular favor was Dyche's.

†See Dr. Wm. Bentley, *A Descriptive History of Salem, Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., pp. 289-41.

1828, when they were placed on an equal footing with the boys, girls were only admitted to the public schools for half the year, namely, from April to October. In short, as Mr. Waterston* states it, more than a hundred and fifty years elapsed from the opening of the first public school before any girls were admitted; a hundred and ninety-three years before they enjoyed equal privileges with the boys.

It may then be said that "with various modifications as to details, but with the same objects steadily in view, viz: the exclusion of barbarism from every family," the Puritans were able to carry to a successful issue their nobly-conceived idea of "maintaining an elementary school in every neighborhood where there were children enough to constitute a school, and of a Latin school in every large town, and a college for higher culture for the whole colony;" and, moreover, that this system which they established has continued to expand with the growth and development of the country, until it has become the basis for school systems in nearly all the States of the Union, besides having had great influence upon education in other countries.

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, February, 1873, p. 387.

ARTICLE IV.—THE POETRY OF COMMONPLACE.

CHAPTER II.—COMEDY.*

It has been suggested to the writer that Bertram Born disappeared from the scene before his character had made its proper impression; that the impression left by the *Incident* was distinct (so it was kindly put) but incomplete. Well then, such is once for all the true nature of incident; and beyond truth to nature the writer does not desire to advance. But the suggestion is cordially accepted as it was courteously offered. We cannot indeed follow the Troubadour physically. He vanished and the incident ended. Yet follow him we may in fancy. We hold the clue to his errant disposition. Evidently he is a man who illustrates in his own life the poetry of commonplace. If we "desire him of more acquaintance," we have only to follow out the clue which is already in hand. We shall not find the mind changed if we transport him across the ocean. Having liberty of choice, let us associate him with finer spirits; let him be younger by so many years that the impulse which ripened in a life of adventure may be observed in its fanciful beginning; and finally, *let him speak for himself in the first person*, while we assume the position of critic or Reader and so candidly question him and receive his replies.

FIFTEEN minutes before, I had been standing in the railway station with my friend Vernunft.

"And so you will not go with me?" I asked.

"No, no, my dear fellow. You are in for it and good luck to you. For myself, I believe your true country life is in your library and bounded by your book-shelves. What lies without, is mud and malaria."

I was wondering, as he spoke, what might be the connection between his easy opinion and his fresh, full cheeks. I did not protest; but noticing that the train was made up and the guard

* See *New Englander*, page 289, March No., 1885.

closing the *coupé* doors, put out my hand. "Friend says to friend when their ways part—"

He. We meet again.

I. With all my heart.

The signal for starting was given. The guard bustled up zealously: "Na, na, sir! You must get in here quick. Only place. No time—" and with the last words I am in the *ladies'* carriage.

If I might otherwise have retreated, I saw no reason for doing so after noticing that there were only two ladies who could suffer from the intrusion, of whom the one was reading and appeared unconscious of my entrance, while the other, protected by a lap-dog, looked confident and friendly. I made my compliments with that impersonality observable in such cases,—as though one should greet a distant landscape or lift his hat to a memory.

Most enviably placed of mortals is a lapling, recipient and interpreter of his mistress' favor, translating thrills into waggings of the tail and recoil by growling and barking and whining.

As I had taken my place toward the center of the *coupé*, the other two occupants were at about equal distances from me, comfortably disposed in the corners, facing as the train moved. Why I should have been attracted rather by the reader, is not easy to explain. The upper part of her face was veiled to shade her eyes, her mouth wore the expression which that feature assumes after one has not spoken for a long time, especially when one has been reading in an absorbed way. I was sure that not a word had passed between the ladies. Her dress had no decided color, and, as she reclined, no decided shape. Why should I wish that she would put back her veil, raise her eyes from the book or in some way give me view of more than a quiet mouth and chin, if only by taking off a glove?

Most enviably placed of creatures is a lapling: his collar attached by a slight cord to his mistress' belt; long silken hair of a color to complete the shading of the overskirt which forms his easeful couch. I should call every blessed one of the whole race St. Peter, seated at the gate of heaven.

"But how very absurd about not seeing that other young

person—the one who has no figure,” *Reader* hereupon observes. “Some nicely-contrived accident to the luggage in laying aside your great coat, or better, some suggestion as to the ventilation addressed to her.”

Born. My dear sir, your light coat would have been worn and have been quite comfortable, this bright morning of early spring. And, my dear sir, you would not have let one winged word escape your lips.

But Mercury, that light-foot traveler, was contriving the disposition of my journey. Rogue Mercury, light-fingered patron of thieves, in what shape will you filch away my attention from the formless figure to bestow the same upon trimness,—from silence, to sink it in the bubbling fountain of a pretty woman’s talk? Why, in the shape of a lapping, to be sure. Quitting his soft lair and advancing the length of his silken cord, this shaggy Mercury is come from heaven to my feet. Sniffing a bit, as matter of form, he has sprung upward to reach my knees. His tether is too short. See now the pretty beast thrown choking to the floor. What more unfortunate! What more fortunate!

Suppose you were riding through a very dark wood on a very grand charger, with your wise head quite in the clouds of a day dream. You are chivalrous and bound nowhither unless to far cities of love and beauty and music. Suppose, then, along the wood way came limping, and whining in friendliness and crouching in friendlessness, a beast of a lop-eared, tailless cur. All the world knows what you will do and all the world loves you for this folly. Out of your saddle and down to his level, your delightful clouds are dissipated by the advent of a lame puppy. And you will stay for his wounds to heal or take him with you to the end of the chapter. May you come to enjoy all you hold most dear for this your absurdity.

Reader. All this has nothing to do with a snug compartment and an over-curious bachelor and the two ladies, whom one might wish better protected.

Born. Nothing whatever, surely, so far as we have gone.

Silk is well known to be electric. Now, when I had picked up the strangling lap-dog and taken my seat nearer, as the brevity of his halter required,—perhaps a foot nearer—to his

mistress, we two were certainly in communication. "He is not hurt," I said, and that was all. But I must maintain that another message, not contained in my words, "He is not hurt," nor yet in her "Oh!" went thrilling along the line. She smiled. I smiled.

Shall I try to find words to fit such a message, to tell what it meant to me, to discriminate what it meant to her? Alas! of such communication we know only the signs. It is flashed—some intelligence is flashed—from a bosom more or less tender to a bosom more or less hardy, and we note its arrival in a peculiar expression of the face. If only we could intercept it, examine it, convert its tingling, burning forces into language as glowing! That would be convenient indeed. How independent, for instance, should we be of the romantic poets. This worshipful tribe is chiefly concerned with describing for us the *accidents* of the grand passion—how He conquers at the tourney and compels the fates; how She sweetly watches from the gallery and piteously implores the fates—with sensibility, perusing which, an echo awakens in our hearts and our own grinding for daily bread and daily advancement seems a worthy struggle, and then Nancy smiles in that delicious fashion. But all this circumstance is only substitute for the real thing; is only the best the poet can give us in lieu of presenting us with a *recipe*, to be taken any time and alone and to produce an effect like that of the message in this true little history which I am telling you. If only it could be condensed in a few words, like the cordial drops in a vial, and so carried about in our waistcoat pocket.—Alas for nothing! Every man and woman is love poet to many and may be love poet laureate to one at least. Let us don our hats and sally forth if we may not thus read such poetry at home. We do know the signs and we ask for no alchemy, no instruction, least of all for mediation. We will not "lie droning a tobacco-pipe, but we will go where she is." Here goes:

R. "I am glad of that. I was about to ask, why lug in tiresome philosophy? Why not tell a straightforward story of the pup,—he being at the bottom of the affair?"

B. Not he. Anything else would have done just as well. If the lady had been knitting a slim silk stocking and had in-

tentionally dropped no more than a *stitch*, I should as promptly have picked *that* up, and in restoring it, have found myself at her side. A lap-dog is nothing and a slim silk stocking, at least while it is being made, is next to nothing. If there were nothing behind them, I for one should not care a fig for either, or for this incident (if so small a matter is deserving of the name). So, too, of the incident throughout these confessions: it is to be only such trifles interpreted. Otherwise the record would have been simply, 'At eight o'clock left the — degree of north latitude and traveled southward — degrees.'

The conversation which followed was all about places. I asked, "Are you going far to-day?" and received in reply, "No; but before the end of the week I shall be in Ashlands." Now it happened that this was a point only a few miles distant from my own destination. I knew the remarkable country quite well, having visited it the previous year, and spoke with enthusiasm. She was at home there and spoke with appreciation.

Everyone knows how such a conversation proceeds,—that it is not in even flow like those we read in books. It is far more irregular; it is broken by interruptions or willful pauses. I might try to report this one in full—for I remember it perfectly,—but the fact is, I fear I should not be able to *punctuate* anything so very irregular. When I had expressed my interest in the fact that she lived quite aside from the ordinary lines of travel (at the same time marveling that there was not the least trace of provincialism in her dress or manner), she explained that it was due to her grandfather's ambition.

"But ambition usually leads one to the capitol, not to the wilderness."

"My grandfather's ambition was of another kind. He was ambitious to realize—to enjoy—. Let me see if I can explain. He was very fond of out-door life. Nothing else seemed worth very much to him. It was not merely horses and dogs and cattle, farming, shooting, fishing, and all that; but I think it was chiefly being out of doors that he liked. His friends wanted him to follow a profession, for he was said to be very clever; and to please them he actually did try several things in succession. I have been told that he did very well, too; but

he was not one bit satisfied. We have a diary that he kept at the time and he says in that: 'If I should achieve the highest success in the Law, what would that profit me?' So finally he decided to follow his own bent; and, was it not original? He would have nothing but the very best, so he took a map or globe or something of the world, and shut himself up in his room with bare walls and only this—globe, I think it was. There he stayed a whole day long, studying this globe and making up his mind where to go to live out of doors. In the evening he packed his trunk, and next morning started for Ashlands. He had decided that this was the best place in the world. Was he not a nice old gentleman?"

"Delightful! Did he-a-live out of doors?" Involuntarily I noticed that she was not much sunburned.

"Almost. But he built a house with wide piazzas."

Reader. I am not sure whether this is meant seriously or in jest. Am I to search out fine thoughts from among these extravagances? As though *Excellent, Most excellent, More excellent still* conveyed more approval than the regular degrees of comparison!

B. I am sure you will find it whimsical, but I do not fear that you will call it thoughtless.

She was beautiful, with a beauty the result of a mode of life. Her grandfather was doubtless a gaunt enthusiast, with leathery skin, round shoulders,—without a single good feature, except a pair of deep-set, intense, black eyes. It was really a physical need of exercise that he satisfied, although he perhaps imagined that he was recognizing a craving of the soul for freedom and natural beauty, when he became a farmer at Ashlands. Suppose he had submitted to the restraints of a city and professional life: his son would have inherited "liver" and his granddaughter would have been born with protest in her heart,—not to say a very imperfect circulation. As it was, you should have seen her cheeks.

R. But what *did* the young person, so fortunate in her grandfather, look like? All trace of the colonist of Ashlands evolved away!

B. Except the eyes, and these were clear, showing the full contentment of self-love.

R. Cold?

B. Quite the contrary: responsive. Let your glance fall from her hair to her bosom, it would seem to her like a tender hand passed caressingly over her face, half closing her eyelids.

R. Is that not too sentimentally expressed?

B. Very likely; but she was sentimental, in a warm-blooded fashion. For example, if she happened to be thinking absorbedly of her *vis-à-vis*, quite probably her eyes would not be fastened upon his features; but it might seem to her to establish a nearer communication with his nature not to lose sight of the thread of gold watch-guard jarring, gleaming with a flash light, near the second button of his waistcoat.

R. You mean that the watch-chain showed pulsations of the heart. Hm— perhaps that will do for description, unless indeed you choose to add this aesthetic person's age,—presumable age.

B. A woman's best age. It does not matter what, except as she may be well placed at the head of the table, and not with other *pan-fish* in a side dish. The numeral should never be mentioned so long as the figure is distinct.

R. By the way, did nothing occur to gratify your curiosity about your other companion,—the one with veil and book?

B. No. I did not once see her distinctly, although several times, when turned away and engaged in the conversation about Ashlands, I imagined that she was quietly observing us. I can tell you what she was reading, however.

R. But it was a physical impossibility for you to see. Do you claim the novelist's privilege of omniscience?

B. Rather than that, say we invent a page or so:

The expression of wisdom in form and feature should be fresh strength, full, mild gaiety, easy confidence and decision, a regard embracing self and the world with equal sensibility and geniality. Portraiture gives seldom more than the marks of a struggle to gain wisdom. The conventional worn face and furrowed brow of the sage are unattractive. Those scars he got before he became wise. Let us see rather the expression of his eyes; and even then we wish to assort the unimpaired freshness of these eyes with blooming cheeks and swelling muscles. But the people will have a sign, proof of long service before

they will concede proficiency. Indeed if philosophy, if *insight*, after brightening the eyes of the seer with the reflection of immortal beauty, should proceed to rejuvenate the whole body in like manner, wisdom would be truly expressed in young manhood. But if it should desire (a most improbable supposition) to speak in the character of wisdom and not be accounted presumption, then let it speak from a cavern and unseen, or masquerading as tottering eld. Of all the men we know, he whose judgment is most uniformly sound, allows himself frequently to be put in the wrong, quite without remonstrance. If his ambiguous or playful words issued from beneath gray mustaches, they would be understood. His facial expression has nothing of keenness, but is in receptiveness like that of a child in a superior's presence; and yet he really weighs most dispassionately and impersonally everything said and done. Whether he seem wise or not is a thing indifferent. This abeyance of judgment, which really proceeds from superiority, is indeed recognized among the highest born and most refined as essential courtesy; but the deferential manner resulting therefrom is not distinguished by the vulgar from weakness or even servility.

How shall we picture the divine nature? In the repose of immortal youth? Surely the forehead is not marked and worn by thought, but is smooth, serene. Shall the lips not be full, the nostrils sensitive? Otherwise, why lips or nostrils at all? Marks of struggle, records of weakness, have no place in the divine idea, and but a sad place in the human ideal.

R. Can you make it seem probable that at the time you supposed her to be reading such stuff?

B. It is little more than the truth. I could not help being interested in the reader, although feeling that this was traitorous, and a poor return for the good nature of my other companion. I did actually imagine that the eyes which I could not see were busied with such words as "beauty," "wisdom," "courtesy," "young manhood," "divine nature," and have but put these together with other words to connect them. *One* word, however, I believe had no place in her own thoughts. It is to me the most charming of words: *Carangol*.

R. And what may that mean?

B. Carangol is the ideal fruit.

R. Does it grow at Ashlands? You were going on to tell—

B. What Miss Ashland said about her home.

There is a wall of blue mountains which divides North from South. In the distance, other mountains are blue; but these, even as they loom up in front of one, and the giant trees half way up the slope became severally distinct. One says, yonder is a magnolia—its blossom is like a passionate white star among the dark forest leaves, and its neighbor is a chestnut; but still the fine blue veil over all. You will doubt sometimes. You bring with you from the South or from the North, where things are all explained, the habit of reasoning: blue mountains are distant; these are exquisitely blue; where am I? Unless you look again at the chestnuts and magnolias, you will doubt and perhaps you will never believe. Perhaps belief is not necessary, for you have only to return whence you came and cherish unbelief to the end of your days in a distinctly green landscape. *There* it looked blue; but you did not believe that you were there. Perhaps you never were,—nor I either.

Can there be a mountain range dividing North from South? Then of course its shady side would do for cattle and timber and shooting; then I should like to use its sunny side as an enormous garden wall. Miles of peach trees, as perfectly defended against the North and exposed to all the mild influences of the South, as are the few branches bearing a few handfuls of apricots by a careful gardener. No frosts there above a certain level. Below that are the petty miseries of an uncertain spring; nearer the summit, the rigors of a harsher season sweep down and invade a portion of the neutral territory; but, secure against both and temperate with an even reflection from the vast southern plain, a belt of nameless beauty and untamed luxuriance stretches away towards sunrise and sunset.

Miss Ashland said that her home was at the foot of the Blue Mountain. I confess that the improbable portions of her description attracted and held my interest. I had thought that I myself knew the country quite well, but I had never seen what she described with quiet appreciation. If Miss Ashland had limited her conversation to what I had myself seen, or might at some future time see, unaided by her intelligence, I

should have forgiven, indeed,—but *forgotten*. Lord, no; she was really telling me about *herself*, in making this description. What she saw, or thought she saw, that was her own heart and life. It was true to her, and she was true. Worth all the landscapes in the world was this revelation; for since the voyage of Magalhaens, that culminating disappointment in history which “proved limitation,” there has been no infinite possibility of material well-being for the human race, save in the infinite hopefulness of a true woman’s heart.

Word-painting of scenery! It would do very well if we had not eyes, or had eyes for the printed word only. The most faithful description is a dull shadow. To give precious moments in exchange for shadows! Worthy to be taken in exchange for a fraction of our lives are these shadows *then* only, when their outline hints to us of another mortal soul, not to be seen with eyes.

I’d make almost any effort in the hope of seeing a landscape through Miss Ashland’s eyes. Certainly I should willingly climb the Blue Mountain to win a better point of view. That is not so very hard to do, after all. The ascent is gradual. A little faith, then a little hope, then as much charity as is readily granted to a pretty woman. A succession of natural terraces until within a few hundred feet of the top. Then an almost sheer wall: there the transition from walking to climbing.

How much we sacrifice by using our fore-feet as hands exclusively. How great the ease with which one swings along the weight of his body when hands and feet work together—as in climbing steep places where precarious foothold is complemented by hand-hold upon roots and trunks of small trees and projecting points of rock. We are so used to depending upon our legs for locomotion, that the addition of the arms is a surprise, as though we had borrowed another man’s strength for a special purpose,—a surprise, that is, unless one is modern enough to know the pleasure of rowing with a sliding seat, when one *kicks* and *pulls* himself along a mile in six minutes. Of course we need dumb-bells and Indian-clubs, we who go upon two feet, wearing ox-hide upon one pair of feet and mouse-skin upon the other. It is work with the hands which makes the heart sing. Such crude thoughts for the ascent.

Here is the summit, dividing North from South. Unspeakable thirst!

Half a dozen springs of cold, pure water burst forth at the highest point (from some cloud-fed, snowy reservoir how far distant?—or only for the occasion?) At this cool altitude they belong to the North; but coming to the light within a few rods of each other, they soon unite their waters, and forming a considerable stream, pour a Danaëian tribute of shining spray into the glowing bosom of the South;—for the cascade reaches the zone—the girdle—the (what did Miss Ashland call it?) the belt of nameless beauty, in almost sheer descent.

— thirst!

Oh, the delight of these sweet waters. I know the fragrance of Rhine wine after a morning's tramp from Johannisberg to Assmannshausen, its yellow sparkle after a nap on the Lurleifelsen. That is as nothing. Standing here (the torrent rushes down in delicious whiteness: a rainbow spans yon deep pool) one wishes that his parched throat were wide as those jaws of smooth-worn black rock and the whole torrent laving it; until one's eyes are directed by a faint trickling to the least bit of crystal spring issuing at the other side of a rhododendron bush and one stoops to near gains and small sufficiency.

R. Of course there is a legend of "lovers' leap" here.

B. Yes, an old version. Here is my chance. I have been thinking that it would not do to tell a story at the present day, although but the chronicle of a few hours, without some reference to conjugal infidelity. Even the printer would send my MS. to the antiquary and he in turn would hand it over to a museum of curiosities. Here is such a circumstance, but brief and cool with lapse of time.

Ages long ago, there lived a lord of this mountain whose name was Red. His subjects were all wild and could not speak. He was absolute lord, for he was a mighty hunter and lived alone upon the mountain and never thought. Below, in the sweet commonplace of the Southern plain, lived a quiet, thoughtful man whose name was White. His wife was fair as a lily. Lily strayed within the influence of the Blue Mountain and felt its enchantment and followed its lord. Red accepted her submission. But before the summer had passed,

yonder, near the black pool at the foot of the cascade,—the red man leading carelessly, poor little Lily following as best she could,—a bullet from White's rifle only too searching. White buried them both in one grave. A triumph of thought! Then White took the fatal leap. Thought was completely triumphant. See this single shaft of spray which is his monument (or Lily's) without inscription, more enduring than marble though at no two instants the same.

But we have won our point of view.

Follow the course of this stream. Yonder it makes its way between two of the foot-hills and with a burst of speed joins a yellow, quietly-flowing river. There is the northern boundary of Ashlands. Evidently for a little distance beyond that point nature is understood; for in the shade of her own laurels, a marble Daphne.

A quiet place. The Tallulah river flows through a winding valley which strikes deep into the heart of the mountains to the westward. It is augmented to a considerable size by innumerable tributary creeks and brooks and springs,—these purest crystal, while the main current is amber, colored by the rich soil. Along the river lie, broadening, or contracting as the hills oppose, fertile bottom-lands. The entire territory falls off naturally into several farms. Very simply, one's farm is all that one sees up and down the valley from one's house. So this farm called Ashlands. A brook, not from the Blue Mountain, joins the Tallulah, first turning a mill wheel and making a pretty pond. The Hall stands upon a mound of regular form,—like an Indian mound—next a thickly-wooded hillside and in the shade of it. From the Hall are seen only one's own creek, laurel-shaded, own Tallulah, bright in the sunshine, own dark-soiled acres, own mill with cobweb lace curtains at the dim windows, own limiting hillsides. One "stamps his foot and claps his hands and turns around to view his lands"—all his, except the warm side of the mountain, lifted high, protectingly, wearing a soft blue veil.

R. No Gothic ruins there, did Miss Ashland say?

B. None; nor other ruin or vain regret. There is a saying at the Hall, If a man chase his shadow throughout the day, he will return in the evening to the point from which he set out,

(or, A certain man chased his own shadow from sunrise until sunset. At noon he rested without a guide. That night he lay down in great weariness at the very place of beginning.)

R. Evidently an upstart saying. A good observation, due, I suppose, to the vagrant colonist of Ashlands. But it must leave its native valley and travel from mouth to mouth, in order to become pithy. The rule of this valley is, I take it, Live in the present moment, or, since you have led the way in inventing proverbs, *The passing moment becomes the immortal past.*

W. Forests descend to meet the corn. At this moment a brilliant morning sun is standing just above the nearest eastern hill. Looking towards yon dark green wall, the intervening air seems a heavier thing than air,—with floating motes of gold,—in which the smallest insects are weaving fairy circles and honey-bees coming and going from the hive are arrows of light.

R. I would travel *a year* and a day to find such a home.

B. Miss Ashland said she loved it dearly.

R. I should like it, too; but if I asked for the moon, I should get green cheese.

B. *At least.* And if you tried for the sun, you'd get at least a sunflower.

Two hours later than the opening of this chapter, we were nearing a large town. That meant farewell to my new acquaintance. I did not like the thought one bit. Her candor and frankness had won my heart; her warm, genuine personality had opened a series of delightful pictures before me. I knew that towards evening the southern mountains would come in sight; that I should look out upon them and think of her, and that they would wear a new aspect to me for what she had said,—they the source of her life and trust and insight. I knew that she had often looked at them as a child blinks into the fire, or a restless soul inquiringly scrutinizes the quiet features of a seer.

There is sure to be a little pause when people begin to think of leave-taking. The right words do not come to one's aid, or one is reflecting upon what has passed in this companionship—or what is to come. The previous nearness has made one's friends a matter of course; now, the thought of approaching

separation seems to place them in a new light. One rests a moment *observing* them, perhaps for the first time.

What passed in Miss Ashland's mind during this pause, I cannot say. I had no clue to it. But she suggested to me the most improbable thing. With a fine, fine thread of association she angled in my memory for a kindred being,—and *lo*, the shade of a nice little boy-poet I saw last fall.

One day last fall I was walking in the park. The leaves were rather pretty, turning, falling, and especially pretty after they had fallen and were floating on the surface of the little ponds and lakes. You have seen that, of course,—where they make a shining mosaic pavement of harmonious color; for the wind catches them and spins them around and darts them, plumps them, lays them into the water with the bright side up. One rather larger pond, with sloping banks, was quite “thick inlaid with patines of bright gold.” The trees on its banks hung over it from force of habit, or to catch a glimpse of their holiday dress, although reflection there could be none; possibly believing the colors now in their former mirror a reflection of their own. It is a little confusing. The thing is so shut in; glowing colors above meeting those below. If one had been instructed by *reflection* only, and not by reading and observing as well,—if one were standing on one's head,—if one were very young.— I don't blame the little fellow one bit. Simply his playmates were on the other side and he started to walk across the pretty pavement. But it must be cold!—One, two, three, four steps, up to the place where he will have a waist when he gets older, and not the least dismayed, with his curly head thrown back. What are you dreaming of, little man, little man? Perhaps the water struck through then, for he stopped,—or perhaps he heard me coming quickly. Your dream is done, youngster, young poet. They were not polished stones, and you could not walk on them; but I rather think your faith was worth the wetting. Never mind, then, never mind. A long time ago, another fellow, whose nose was hooked the other way from your bit of a pug, tried his foot at it when he saw something lovely on the water; and he was afraid, and cried, and began to sink; but all the other eleven thought his faith was worth the wetting. The waves were higher that day, but

never mind ; you've made a good start. Keep on dreaming and believing —— and running home fast as your wet legs will carry your wet trousers, and yelling like a good fellow to keep off the croup.

* * * * *

The train was to halt here for several minutes. I was permitted to find my acquaintance a cab and to see her safely off, giving the number to the driver. Away sped the four-wheeler. Vanished then Miss Ashland.

Returning to the train, I am met by the guard, who shows me to another car, to which he has transferred my shawl and stick. Taking out my purse,—“This is for putting my things back into the ladies' *coupé*.”

“Can't be done, Sir ! Strict orders. I really should not have left you there so long.”

I thought there was something in what he said.

(*Concluded in next number.*)

ARTICLE V.—THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

II.

IN the last number of the *New Englander* we undertook an exposition of the Christian Consciousness, attempting to show what is meant by this phrase, or the reality for which it stands. Basing our exposition on the teachings of the New Testament and the spiritual philosophy which everywhere underlies and pervades these teachings, it was shown that there is a consciousness peculiarly and distinctively Christian, and that it differs from the natural or unregenerate consciousness both as regards its objects, and the faculty or power by which they are known. By this it is not meant that any new faculty is bestowed in regeneration, but that the spiritual sense or capacity for divine knowledge and communion, which belongs to all men but has become closed or darkened, is opened to receive divine light and discern things unseen before; that the objects of this consciousness are divine or *spiritual* things, in distinction from natural things, which it is the province of the senses and the understanding to know,—preëminently *God*, who is a spirit, and the Father of our spirits. It was affirmed that God cannot be known scientifically, either by the senses, the understanding, or the reason in its ordinary functions, but only by the spirit, through self-consciousness and in immediate communion with the Spirit of God. In other words, all true knowledge of God and divine things is an *immediate revelation* to the spirit of man. Whether this revelation come to us through the world of nature, the words of a book, the reason and conscience, or the inspirations of faith, the light of this knowledge is a direct inshining of God into the eye of the soul, and not an inference of the reason, or a mere notional understanding of the words of Scripture, which is all that a verbal revelation, so-called, can give. “In *thy* light shall we see light.” “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall *see* God.”

This immediate revelation of God to the soul is not only plainly taught by Christ and the Apostles, but is a fact of

experience and consciousness, attested by some of the greatest and holiest of men, as well as by multitudes of humble and obscure saints in all ages—a fact whose validity we have no more right to question than that of any other clear fact or verdict of consciousness.

Accepting then this testimony of consciousness as true, the question arises as to the relation of this divine knowledge to other knowledge. In what way and by what organ is this immediate knowledge of God received? Has Christian philosophy any answer to the question of Judas, "How is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us and not unto the world?"*

From what has been already shown, the way is prepared for an answer to this question. We have seen that spiritual knowledge, the knowledge of spirit by spirit, is the most immediate, the most real, and the most certain of all knowledge. We here touch reality or real being, not indeed in its absolute ground—for finite spirit, though self-conscious, is not self-existent—but in that which to us is the ground of all certainty of knowledge. "All other certitude must ultimately rest on the certitude which consciousness has of itself."† We know from reason that there must be a universal Mind or intelligence as the supporting ground and element of our thought; an absolute Reason in which our reason finds its ideals and its standards, traces of which exist in all things around us, which alone makes them intelligible to thought; a universal *consciousness* around and beneath our individual consciousness, and in which it rests. We know also there is a supreme and absolute Will, as the source of all power, whether it be called law, or force, or fate, without which our wills would be lawless and impotent, whose character and authority is revealed to consciousness in the moral law of the conscience.

We know too from the highest of all authority, the word of One who himself came out from God, and knew Him more perfectly than any other being, that this universal mind is also *Spirit*, and the father of our spirits; that He is *love*, whose very law is to impart or unite itself to other beings in a communion of life and fellowship; that He seeks in all possible ways to reveal Himself spiritually and to become not only the

* John xiv. 22.

† Caird, *Philosophy of Religion*.

light but the life of souls. Such being the relation of the divine to the human spirit, the being *in* whom we live and move and have our being, who, as St. Augustine says, is even nearer to us than we are to ourselves,—is it conceivable that the only portal of knowledge and access is the indirect and circuitous one of logical inference, by which we seek to know things remote and foreign to consciousness? Least of all can *personal* knowledge and *communion* be held in this way, whose very terms imply immediate union and fellowship. Is it not true that the very nearness and closeness of this divine presence may prevent our recognition of it?—as the child, or the unreflecting man, is not conscious of the self within him because it is within and not without.

The analogy of other knowledge is a strong argument for the immediateness of the knowledge of God. Of the three great departments or spheres of human knowledge,—the world without, the self within, and God, the supporting ground and comprehending unity of both,—the outward world is that which is first perceived and known through the senses. But the perception of this is *immediate*, although reasoning is involved in a rational and scientific knowledge of it. Next in order of knowledge is that of *self*, which also is an immediate knowledge or consciousness, though awakened by things without. Self-consciousness is given or implied in all other consciousness, but reflection is required to evoke it. The last and also the highest and grandest sphere of knowledge is *God*, which so few attain, but which underlies, supports and completes all other knowledge. This, too, inasmuch as its object is the inmost and most real of all realities, is and must be immediate. The consciousness of God is implied in all self-consciousness, since this is its ground, as a universal Reason is implied in all thought, and as self-consciousness itself is implied in all knowledge. In short, as there is a world-consciousness, the substance and condition of all science, and a self-consciousness, the primary condition of all philosophy, so there is a *God-consciousness*, which is the source and first element of all religion.

As too, the first of these—the consciousness given by the senses—does not of itself insure a right interpretation of nature,

or a true science of things; and as self-consciousness alone does not make certain a true philosophy,—since inner as well as outer facts may be, and often are, misread and misinterpreted,—so the consciousness of God, though immediate and true so far as experienced, may lead, and has often led, to the most false superstitions and the most extravagant delusions in the name of religion.

And here we see the need and use of *reason* in religion, not only in its intuitive but its discursive function, to *understand*, as far as possible, the things of God, and combine the revelations of the Spirit into order and system,—the need, in a word, of *theology* as well as religion. The revelations made to the senses of the sun and the stars are true so far as the senses can receive them, but they will never teach astronomical science. So the inspirations of God's presence and love in the believing soul are immediate and real, a true revelation of God so far as the soul is able to receive it, but they neither supersede nor supply thought and reason and intellectual culture by which alone even divine things can be understood and interpreted.

Spiritual things, no less than natural, belong to a *system* of infinite height and depth, a spiritual or supernatural universe, whose grandeur outreaches the material universe with which science is conversant, and which is often taken for the whole of things. The spirit of man and those revelations of God made to it directly or through the incarnate person and redemptive work of Christ, are parts of this infinite system, where it links itself with the system of nature, so-called; but the entire system, the whole of the mystery hid in God and partially revealed in Christ,—which even the angels desire to look into,—is manifestly too vast for human comprehension.

There are two dangers, therefore, to be avoided, both of which are illustrated in the history of the Church; first, of magnifying individual revelations, single glimpses or intuitions of truth, beyond their real or relative worth, and so falling into fanaticism and spiritual delusion, which is the mistake of the mystics; and secondly, of attempting to reduce to a complete theoretical system logically compact, what is but partially known, like the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, and after

the Aristotelian method, which is the error of our systematizing and rationalizing theologians. The divine method for counteracting or forestalling both these errors is not sufficiently considered.

In the primitive Christian Church we read of "diversities of gifts" bestowed by the Spirit, adapted to the capacities of each and the needs of the whole. To one was given the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits (or judging of true and false prophets); to another, divers kinds of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues,—showing that individual inspiration was not self-sufficing, but needed complementary gifts to make the knowledge of God and of Christ complete. And even among the apostles, the inspiration of each seems to take the form and limitations of the individual mind. To Matthew, the publican, was given the word of historical narrative, being inspired chiefly through his memory; to John, the seer, the word of wisdom as it flowed directly from the mind and heart of Jesus; while to Paul, the philosophic apostle, was given in wonderful measure the word of knowledge, molten in his fervent heart, and cast into the logical moulds of his capacious and finely cultured intellect.

Now if such manifold gifts and inspirations, adapted to such different capacities and types of mind, were necessary to embody and preserve the Christian revelation; if no one inspired teacher, though he were a Paul, was sufficient to know and teach the whole truth as it is in Jesus,—the same necessity and the same limitations exist now in regard to the *interpretation* of the Scriptures. They are to be interpreted by no mere logical method which all can apply mechanically, as if the Bible were a book of mathematics, to be understood by the understanding of its terms; and by no "private interpretation" supplied by mere human wisdom, but only by the self-same Spirit that inspired them; and this, too, subject to the mode of thought and spiritual capacity of the individual mind. All minds, even among the most cultured scholars, cannot read and understand Plato, but only those of a Platonic type. So all Christians cannot receive the profound and mystical truths uttered by St. John; while others are

most at home in the great reasonings of Paul, or the practical ethics of James.

These manifold sides and varying depths of Christian truth and doctrine, which required so many apostles to unfold, cannot all be understood or interpreted by any one commentator or theologian, nor in any one age, but only by the entire and progressive Christian consciousness enlightened and enlarged not only by the Spirit of God, but by all the lights and helps which true science and philosophy and hermeneutics, and above all the history of the Church and of doctrines can supply. The simple and unlearned Christian, who knows God by faith and spiritual communion, has often a deeper and truer insight into the meaning of the word of God than the most learned commentator, since he reads the mind of the Spirit through the spirit within him, while the other is occupied wholly with the letter and its logical significance. At the same time he needs the enlarged and comprehensive view which thought and knowledge and culture give, to keep him from narrow and extreme interpretations, whence are born fanaticism, bigotry and all uncharitableness. He needs the "word of knowledge," to understand the letter, and not to confound the mental form or conception, in which the truth is clothed, with the living and informing word, which alone is spirit and life.

In affirming that spiritual truth is revealed and finds its verification in the Christian consciousness, we do not overlook the fact that Christianity has its foundation if not its essence, in certain historical facts, whose evidence is external, that of testimony and not of intuition. But the meaning and even the reality of these facts is inseparably connected with certain intuitive judgments, without which they cannot be understood, or even believed. The miracles of Christ, including the great miracles, which form the bases or piers on which the wondrous arch of his life rests,—the incarnation and the resurrection,—are all seen and felt to be in harmony with his character and claims as the Son of God, in harmony, too, with our highest conceptions of divine power and wisdom and love, exercised for the redemption of man; in other words, they meet a response, and find a witness and verification in the

Christian consciousness, else we could not believe them. The fabulous miracles related in the spurious "Gospel of the Infancy," are rejected because they contradict this consciousness, and not because they lack authenticity. Those, on the other hand, who reject the true miracles, do so not for lack of testimony sufficient to establish any other facts, but on *a priori* grounds, because they are in contradiction to assumed first principles, viz: the impossibility of miracles; in other words, because in contradiction not to a Christian, or a truly rational consciousness, but to one limited in its range to sensible experience and mere natural laws.

Our exposition of the Christian consciousness would not be complete without considering a little more distinctly the nature of *Faith*, as preëminently the organ of divine or spiritual knowledge. Faith has been too much regarded either as a mere *feeling*, a blind trust in the word of another accepted as authority, or else as mere *belief*, i. e. assent to a proposition or a fact perceived to be true. In the one case, the feeling is not based in reason, and is therefore blind; in the other, the assent is purely intellectual, therefore lacking the moral and spiritual element. Hence the faith of the Church has tended to one or the other of these extremes,—a surrender of reason to authority, or a rationalistic belief wholly lacking in moral earnestness and spiritual power.

But neither of these corresponds to the Scriptural idea of faith as defined by the Apostle, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," where faith is declared to be a *knowing* or self-evidencing, and also a *substantiating* power, making real and present what reason only infers. It is the evidence of things invisible, just as sight is the evidence of things seen.

Faith cannot be understood so long as we hold rigidly to the common psychological division of the soul into intellect, susceptibility, and will, or the knowing, feeling, and voluntary faculties as entirely distinct in their functions,—as if the soul were divided into so many parts, or sections, instead of a vital unity, or organism, whose nature it is to be all in every part. Still less can its nature and place be found while we ignore the distinction in *kind* between the natural and the spiritual in

man, and so confound in our philosophy soul and spirit, reason and understanding, desire and will, sensuous feeling, or instinctive passion, and spiritual love, dry volition and the choice of the heart. More profound and true is the philosophy of the Bible, which recognizes not the intellect, but the *heart*, as the fountain of all truest knowledge as well as of feeling and action,—yea, as the very fountain of *life* in man. There is a knowing which is also being, which knows its object not by inspection, but by a union or identification with it in love and sympathy; and this is below and deeper than the knowledge of the intellect. Love has an insight finer and more profound than reason, discerning things which reason without love could never discover.

Faith is spiritual discernment, or a perception of the heart, in distinction from that of the mere intellect. Its knowledge, therefore, is not a “dry light,” but one in which feeling and will are concerned as truly as the reason. It is an energy of the whole spiritual being going out to and embracing its object. It is therefore both a surrender of *self* with whatever of selfish interest or private opinion may belong to one, to some commanding truth or person,—which is its passive side,—and a reception or appropriation of that truth or being as the sovereign law of thought and action. Hence the power and the grandeur of faith as a principle of the life, its calm and restful, and at the same time its active and inspiring character.

Faith is defined by Coleridge as “the synthesis of reason and will,” which implies that it is both rational and voluntary, and that both act together as one power. We cannot believe what is irrational or contrary to reason, though we may and must believe what transcends the limits of our reason; just as we can conceive of things beyond our sight, but not of things inconceivable. “It is reason’s last step,” says Pascal, “to acknowledge that there is an infinity of things which transcend her powers.” Faith is taking the divine reason or word (*logos*) as supplementary to our own, which being the same in kind must coincide so far as our reason extends. We do not believe as a consequence of seeing the truth, but we see and feel its truth on condition, and in the very act of believing; for as Pascal says in substance if not in words, “In natural things we

must know in order to believe, but in divine things we must believe in order to know.”*

Again, the object of faith is always spiritual, i. e. personal, real being in distinction from mere notions or abstractions. These are the products of the understanding, and are grasped and handled by the intellect, but not by the heart. This knows only persons or realities. We have faith in a person, but not in a proposition. Yet we may believe the latter, i. e. accord to it an intellectual assent; but this is not faith unless the heart goes with it and beyond it, and fastens on a person as the ground and reason of the belief. Thus the Christian believes in the fact of the resurrection of Christ, or that Jesus rose from the dead, only as he first, or at the same time, believes in his person as divine, or the Son of God. Such faith makes the fact of his resurrection credible, and even necessary, while without such faith it is incredible and disbelieved notwithstanding the historical testimony. Believing in Jesus as a divine person, we believe his word as divine truth and of divine authority; while without this faith we accept it as we do the words of other men, i. e. so far as our reason and understanding perceive its truth. And in all other cases, we believe the word or testimony of another so far as we believe in his character, his truth and integrity. And these personal and spiritual things are things of faith or spiritual discernment, and not of demonstration.

To take one more example, we believe in the stability and constancy of nature's laws, because we have faith in *God* as a God of truth and order and not of caprice. We also believe in miracles, or seeming violations of this order, not simply or chiefly because of the testimony of the witnesses, but because we believe in a God who is superior to nature and can bend or supersede its laws when needful, in accordance with the higher law of love and redemption.

In these and all other cases of true faith, its transcendent and spiritually discerning power is shown in looking through all outward signs and phenomena to the invisible and personal reality, reading the spirit within the imprisoned letter, the mind and character behind the outward and partial fact, inter-

* See Prof. Geo. P. Fisher's *Faith and Rationalism*, pp. 83-98.

preting the outward by the inward, the visible sign by the invisible substance; whereas rationalism reverses this order and substitutes reasoning for insight. It is therefore sure to err and to misread the facts it claims to interpret. Judging empirically and according to sense, it argues that God, if he exists, cannot be a benevolent being, since the world is so full of evil. Like Job's three friends, it argues uncommon guilt from such uncommon sufferings; or, like the Pharisees, infers that Jesus is a bad man because he broke the Sabbath by working miracles of divine benevolence and power; or, like Othello, imputes crime to the purest of beings because she is too innocent to suspect suspicion or guard the doors of circumstance.

We speak of faith as a laying hold or embrace of the divine, and also as a receptive power, as in the figure of "opening the door" of the heart, that Christ may enter in; "that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, etc.," in which we recognize the two-fold truth, first, of immediate contact and communion of spirit with spirit, and secondly, of a divine movement coöperating with our own activity in all acts of faith. This makes clear the different functions and the wonderful power and effects of faith. As the organ of spiritual perception, it is the vision of God, or the eye of the spirit open and filled with divine light. As the organ of spiritual life, it is the reception of the Spirit of God, as the physical life is sustained by the inspiration of the air that feeds the lungs. As the organ of spiritual or supernatural power, it is the divine strength working in and through human weakness, according to the word of the Apostle, "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me." "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." In all these functions, and in the whole supernatural history of faith the one constant fact and constituent is the immediate contact, inspiration, indwelling and inworking of the divine in and with the human.

Christian faith as related to the word of God is not belief in a past and finished revelation, an inspiration accorded only to prophets and holy men in the former ages, whose words are the limit and measure of divine truth, but an ever present inspiration and indwelling of God in man; not a mere logical dealing with verbal propositions, but a direct spiritual insight into

spiritual realities. "The words that I speak unto you," said Christ, "they are spirit and they are life." Justifying or saving faith is not the appropriation of Christ's finished work and righteousness as a substitute for ours, but the reception of an ever-living Redeemer, working his own righteousness in us; not a mere belief that Jesus is the Son of God, but a total trust and spiritual adhesion to Him: or abiding in Him as the divine Root of Humanity. In the words of another, it is "the trusting of one's being to a Being, there to be rested, kept, guided, moulded, governed, and possessed forever."

III. Having thus shown the nature of the Christian Consciousness, it remains to consider briefly its place and authority in Christian doctrine.

If it be that which we have seen it to be, we can assign to it no inferior or subordinate place. Its authority is no other than divine authority, the word and Spirit of God witnessing in the heart of the Christian. By this we do not mean that it is infallible in all cases, any more than conscience is always infallible in its judgments, though it be truly the voice of God in the soul. Perhaps we may best illustrate its place and function, and also its limitations, by showing its analogy to those of the conscience.

We speak of the moral law of conscience as the law of God written in the heart, and identical in substance with the outwardly revealed law. It is not the product or reflection of the written law, since it is before it; rather is that the expression and formulation of this—God writing down in words, on tables of stone, what he has first written on the table of the heart. The written law without the conscience to respond to and interpret it would be a mere letter, and the law of conscience without the commandment would be formless and inoperative. The Christian conscience, enlightened by the word and Spirit of God, is broader and deeper than the commandment; since this touches only specific acts, while that embraces all actions and motives, the thoughts and intents of the heart. Hence in all questions of duty we refer, if we are wise, not to a specific precept, but to the court of the individual conscience, the law of God revealed in the heart, the perfect law of liberty, as the only true guide and authority. This may lead one wrong, if

the conscience be not enlightened, or be blinded by prejudice or passion ; but the letter of the Bible, interpreted by the mere understanding, will lead into greater error through unspiritual narrowness and intolerant bigotry.

The application of this principle to the Christian consciousness will be obvious. This is not merely a law, prescribing what is right, but a light, revealing what is true. It includes not only the moral sense and its intuitions, but Reason, the intellectual organ and test of truth, and Faith, or spiritual perception, and all these as enlightened, informed, quickened and inspired by the word and Spirit of God, by all the progressive light and knowledge which Christianity has poured into the world and wrought into human experience since the New Testament was written. To say that this is not an authority in things of faith or of Christian truth and doctrine, while we admit the supremacy of conscience in questions of duty, is to affirm that the light of nature is superior to that of Christian revelation ; that the law of morality is a more certain guide than the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. The ultimate standard or criterion of truth must be internal and not external. For it is not what is written down in the letter of Scripture that can give certainty, or fix the meaning of any spiritual truth or doctrine,—as the various and conflicting interpretations of doctrine by the various sects of Christendom abundantly prove,—but it is the Spirit that inspired the original utterance, revealing the same truth within, or enabling the soul to see the truth symbolized in the letter, which alone can interpret any word of God. The logical meaning of a text—which is all the understanding can see—no more determines its spiritual and divine meaning, than the logic and grammar of Milton's *Paradise Lost* can explain its poetic beauty and sublimity, or than the wood and mechanical structure of the cross can interpret its power and significance to the Christian heart. The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life ; and this spirit is not in the letter, but in the spirit and mind of the enlightened and believing Christian.

The Christian consciousness, in proportion as it is enlightened and inspired, is competent not only to interpret the written word, but to read, as it were, "between the lines," and discern

more of the mind of God than is or can be expressed in language; just as Christ saw in the words of God to Moses the doctrine of the resurrection, or as he read in the ten words of the Decalogue the whole spiritual law infolded, which he unfolded in the Sermon on the Mount. In this connection we may cite the promise to the disciples, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." Was this spoken only to the Apostles? and was it wholly fulfilled in the inspiration they received and the utterances they gave forth? If so, what is the meaning of that later word by one of these same apostles, "Ye have received an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things; and ye need not that any man teach you." To say that this was spoken and applies only to the Christians of the Apostolic age, is to vacate all the promises and declarations of the New Testament of their meaning for us and the later ages of the world.

We have employed one analogy from the revelation of divine law in the conscience. Another may be cited from the revelation of God in the physical world. This can only be interpreted by the same reason in man which is embodied in the laws and objects of the universe—by "thinking God's thoughts after Him," which in the case of Kepler and all great discoverers is nothing else than inspiration. The verification of these laws by the calculating faculty is one thing, their discovery is quite another; and is made only by those to whom it is given.

The spiritual system of truth disclosed in the Gospel is like the physical system, boundless and infinite. All attempts to interpret it by the understanding, or to reduce its spiritual facts and doctrines to logical definitions and complete theological systems, are like the Ptolemaic astronomy constructed from the appearance of the heavens to the eye, and from a geocentric position. Its true interpretation, or a true theology, must be spiritual and Christo-centric. Moreover, the whole truth is not revealed, and could not be even to apostles. A few stars or constellations or galaxies dimly seen, shine down from the infinite vault; a few great doctrines or laws of the spiritual universe are disclosed by inspiration, sufficient to show us the

way of life and salvation. But the whole mind of God is an open realm for faith to explore, as the heavens are to the astronomer. And this revelation of God which we call the Gospel is not primarily in the Bible as a written book, any more than God's physical revelation is in books of science, but in Jesus Christ as a living and divine personality. This is the true Word of God, the truth as it is in Jesus, and not in mere words and propositions concerning Him. This is the real gospel, which we can know in its living power only as we have the mind and spirit of Christ revealing himself within us as his own interpreter. St. Paul's aspiration and study should be that of every Christian: "That I may know Him and the power of his resurrection." Revelation, in this subjective sense, is not a finished but a continuous process and unfolding of the mind of God. The immortal words of Robinson, "God has yet more truth to break forth out of his holy word," are being verified in these last days, and to be verified more and more as the Christian consciousness fulfills its high and sacred function.

What, then, is the relation of the Christian consciousness to the Holy Scriptures? Not certainly above or independent of them, since this consciousness itself, and its power of spiritual discernment, is awakened and formed by a knowledge and study of the Bible. The light by which we read and recognize them as the word of God, comes from or through the Scriptures; as the light by which we see the sun comes from the sun itself. Their divine authority, however, is not independent of the Christian consciousness, but one with it. "The Holy Scriptures," says Rothe, "are an indispensable canon, as being the authentic expression of the Christian consciousness in its original fullness and purity." We here see what was the Christian consciousness of the Apostles and primitive church, or their interpretation of Christ and the great facts of his revelation in the flesh, who lived so near to these facts, and were filled so largely with his spirit. And the Christian consciousness of all subsequent ages must be in accordance with this, since it proceeds from the same Spirit of truth, answering to it as the conscience answers to the written law, or as reason answers to the laws of the universe as revealed by science. And

just as conscience enlightened by Christianity, goes beyond the written precept, and owns a spiritual morality and a "perfect law of liberty," of which the law of commandments is an imperfect shadow; and as reason, having climbed the stairway of the stars, is able to see further into the universe than the science of Copernicus and Kepler and Newton was able to reach,—so the Christian consciousness, enlightened and taught by the Spirit of Christ, will, we believe, not only reach a truer interpretation of Scripture than has yet been attained, but will see further into the mind of God, and the spiritual laws of His kingdom, and the mysteries of the gospel, than even the Apostles were able to apprehend or declare. Who shall say that St. Paul, who avows himself a learner seeking to know Christ, and counting not himself to have apprehended, understood all the mysteries of which he writes—original sin, the person of Christ, the atonement, the resurrection of the dead and the coming of Christ to judgment? Are we forbidden to think that not a little of the difficulty in respect to these doctrines comes not so much from wrong interpretation of his language, as from his own imperfect apprehension of their profound and vast and many sided relations, of which he caught partial glimpses, but no clear and comprehensive view? In other words, revelation being necessarily progressive, the whole truth of Christianity was not and could not be revealed to the consciousness of that age, even of a Paul; but more of it may be revealed to a riper and more spiritually advanced age, according to the promise of Christ himself. It is true of the revelations of the Spirit, as of all human knowledge: "For we know in part, and we prophesy in part, but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away."

We anticipate many objections to the general view here presented, prominent among which will doubtless be the charge of "mysticism;" and this will be deemed by many a fatal objection. We are not careful to vindicate it from this charge, any more than the gospel and epistles of St. John, or many of the sayings and doctrines of our Lord himself. All profoundest truth that reaches below the region of the understanding is mystical; and the greatest and wisest philosophers

are mystics and unintelligible to those of a shallower school. The philosophy that underlies this article, as contrasted with that of Locke, on which most of our theologies are constructed, is open to the same charge, for the reason that it is *spiritual*, in distinction from natural, and therefore most in harmony with spiritual or supernatural truth. In the words of Coleridge: "A system, the first principle of which is to render the mind intuitive of the spiritual in man (i. e. of that which lies on the other side of our natural consciousness), must needs have a great obscurity for those who have never disciplined and strengthened this ulterior consciousness. It must, in truth, be a land of darkness, a perfect ante-Goshen, for men to whom the noblest treasures of their being are reported only through the imperfect translation of lifeless and sightless notions; perhaps in great part through words which are but the shadows of notions; even as the notional understanding itself is but the shadowy abstraction of living and actual truth."

A little mysticism introduced into our too rationalistic theology would be a wholesome ingredient, and bring it into more vital sympathy with the spiritual truths it endeavors to define and formulate. To admit that there are truths and doctrines too profound and far-reaching for the understanding to grasp entire, and permit the little arc of knowledge concerning them to remain an arc, without attempting to complete the circle, might be detrimental to some of our theological "systems," but infinitely beneficial to Christian faith and honesty.

We proposed at the outset of this article to show some of the workings of the Christian consciousness in the history of the church and of theology. Our limits are already so far exceeded, that we have room only for the briefest illustration.

One has but to compare the theology of to-day with that of the Middle Ages, or even of a century ago, to see that progress, great and wonderful, has been made in almost every department of Christian truth. Our conception of God—the root-idea from which all theology takes growth and form—is no longer the same. Instead of a being whose supreme attribute was almightiness combined with arbitrary will and a justice different in kind from that recognized among men—a partial and vindictive being, loving his friends and hating his enemies,

and delighting in the infliction of torture on the helpless victims of his wrath—instead of this creation of human depravity and remorseless logic, the universal fatherhood and impartial self-sacrificing love of God as revealed by Christ the Son of God, is beginning to be recognized and believed. We say beginning, for this idea of God as love, and this love personally embodied and expressed in Christ, has not yet taken full possession of the thought and faith and theology of the church. Our conception, too, of Christ, of his person and character and work, his eternal and essential relation to humanity and to the universe he created and has redeemed,—who will say that this has not changed since the age when M. Angelo pictured the Last Judgment, and when all human and lovable qualities were transferred from Jesus to his deified mother? So too of the doctrines of Christianity, of sin and its retribution, of the atonement or redemption from sin, of the future state, of the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting. What new and transfiguring light has been shed upon these doctrines within the present half-century, which is slowly but surely penetrating these mysteries, and reconciling their difficulties with the intuitions of reason and conscience and the laws of the human soul!

Whence have come these improvements and revolutions in theology? No new revelations have been made; the Bible is the same book now that it was in the fourth century; and the logical meaning of its words is the same as when the pathetic utterance of Christ—"This is my body, broken for you"—was petrified into the dogma of transubstantiation. The only answer is, that the Christian consciousness has become enlarged to receive, and quickened to discover and apprehend, more of the truth of God than in any previous age of the world. Christianity has ceased to be interpreted merely as dogma for the intellect; it has burst through the letter, and has penetrated as spirit and life into the spirit and life of man. Christ has lived himself, partially at least, into the heart and consciousness of the race, revealing his affinity with all that is human, and is slowly regenerating the thought, the conceptions and opinions and sentiments of humanity, as well as its moral and spiritual life.

This result has come to pass not only through the general law of progress by which

—“the thoughts of men are widened
With the process of the suns,”

but also through specific inspiration of religious teachers raised up and enlightened for this very purpose. For while we accord a special degree of inspiration to Apostles and Evangelists, fitting them to record the sayings of Christ, and to unfold the great doctrines of Christianity with such marked and manifest divine authority that their writings have become gospels and sacred scriptures for all subsequent times, yet this does not preclude the raising up of other teachers likewise inspired, though in a less degree, for the further discovery and exposition of divine truth, “for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of the body of Christ.” No Protestant Christian, we suppose, doubts this in the case of Augustine and Luther and Calvin, though their inspiration was manifestly not infallible.

And here we make bold to say, that inspiration as such no more implies infallibility of thought, than it does infallibility of action. There are degrees of inspiration, as there are of sanctification. There are also hinderances in the mind arising out of mental structure or intellectual capacity, or traditional opinion, or defect of knowledge, which clog and hinder the full intuition of divine light and truth, as there are defects of character which the Spirit of God cannot at once overcome. How far this applies to the writers of Scripture, whose inspiration is so manifestly unequal, we will not here discuss. The principle of a progressive revelation, and therefore a progressive inspiration, is one that must be admitted, and which offers a solution to many difficulties insoluble on the ground of an equal and infallible inspiration. But its application to modern teachers and prophets is obvious.

And here the prophetic words of Robinson, already quoted in part, need to be pondered anew by that great evangelical body of which he stands the leader, as embodying the principle here advocated of a progressive theology, made necessary by progressive illumination of the Christian consciousness. In his parting address to the Pilgrims at their embarkation he

said: "I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than I have followed Christ. And if God shall reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as you ever were to receive anything by my ministry; for I am confident that God hath more truth yet to break forth out of His holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches, who have come to a period in religion, and will go no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be driven to go beyond Luther, for whatever part of God's will he hath further imparted by Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also the Calvinists stick where Calvin left them—a misery much to be lamented. For though they both were shining lights in their times, yet God hath not revealed his whole will to them. Remember now your church covenant, whereby you engage with God and one another, to receive whatever light shall be made known to you from His written word. For it is not possible that the Christian world is so lately come out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."*

We close with these remarkable words, which seem to include implicitly all that we have endeavored in this article to show, the capacity in every regenerate Christian soul—and latent in all men by virtue of their divine parentage—to receive and to know divine truth by immediate revelation; and the duty of accepting larger measures of such truth, through whatever medium or instrument it may come.

If any fear lest the door be thus opened to error and delusion, and ask, how shall new truth be discriminated from error except by external standards, since many false prophets are gone out into the world? we answer in the words of an Apostle: "He that is spiritual judgeth all things." And "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God." The Saviour also replies: "My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me; but a stranger will they not follow, for they know not the voice of strangers." The same inward witness and power of spiritual discernment which authenticated

* Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 896-7.

the books of Scripture in the settlement of the Canon, discriminating what was divinely inspired from the spurious and the false, without any outward authority; which has kept the faith once delivered to the saints through all controversies and heresies and corruptions of the church, and even amid the various conflicting creeds and decrees of councils, slowly enlarging and purifying itself, as more and clearer light has broken forth from God's word, or been revealed in the Christian consciousness,—this, which is none other than the Spirit of truth dwelling and working in the heart of the church, may be trusted to preserve the church and the truth in the conflicts and trials that are yet to come; “till we all come into the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.”

ARTICLE VI.—PRESIDENT PORTER'S MORAL SCIENCE
AND SOME OF ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS.

To Yale men a new book by President Porter is an event; it is an event of twofold importance when it is upon a theme connected with the department in which for so many years he has been an instructor. It is doubtful if there is an instructor in the land from whose lips a larger number of educated men have received their knowledge of mental and moral science.

It is pleasant also to have evidence that, in common with some of his distinguished compeers, President Porter with increasing years, shows no sign of diminished intellectual vigor. Unless I greatly mistake, this book marks a decided advance upon his previous work. It is written with the hand of one who has long lived with his subject, and, while he has kept abreast of the latest learning, has not been burdened by the mass of his material or bewildered by wide diversity of views. Compared with such a treatise as Professor Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*, which may be taken as the latest expression of the best English moral science, it is compact, explicit, comprehensive, graphic; its definitions are sharp, its elucidations clear, simple and suggestive. The book has the rare quality of being strictly scientific and at the same time thoroughly readable. As a text-book or a work of reference, which doubtless is the author's thought concerning it, its method is so orderly, and its statements so succinct and harmonious that one is not under the necessity of making many references to learn the author's true meaning. With pardonable pride the older Yale graduates, at least, will say, *Longa ætas Pylium prudentem Nestora fecit*. He taught philosophy in our day and the world has not yet gone altogether beyond him.

The treatise opens with an analysis of man's moral constitution, in which two elements are found to be distinguishable in every exercise of sensibility—the emotion proper, and the attendant desire. The law is universal that every feeling,

whether pleasurable or painful, is no sooner experienced than it awakens a desire that the pleasure may be continued or the pain may terminate. This leads to the position that the object of the feeling is that, be it what it may, which gives pleasure; and the object of the desire is the feeling itself. This object is purely subjective, but it is the primary object, on which the desire directly terminates. We desire an object, not for its own sake, but for its capacity to affect us directly with pleasure. The maxim of the Scholastics, *Ignoti nulla cupido*, is accepted as affirming the correct view, viz: that every object desired must be known, or believed, to stand in some relation to the affectional capacity of the person desiring it, and that this known relation is the direct object of the consequent desire, and the remote reason why the object is desired.

As against those who urge the existence of unconscious impulses which precede all experience, and exclude all knowledge of the subjective good or evil which their gratification involves, the theory maintains that all impulses which remain forever below consciousness can have no relation to those affections or desires which impel to intelligent and responsible volition. And, on the other hand, a clear distinction is maintained between the happiness which underlies every appetite, affection, or desire, as its ultimate impulse, and that so-called desire of happiness which has been held by many to be a special sensibility coördinate with the affections, and superadded to them. This, as matter of fact, does not exist. No man sets before himself the ideal of happiness and desires it, and no single desire can be resolved into the desire of happiness; while yet it is true that every individual desire is moved by the special subjective good which its object can produce.

The sensibilities, so far as they are the subject of Ethics, are penetrated and controlled by the presence and activity of the will. The will is not simply a stronger or more or less permanent desire, nor the personification of the man as endowed with an intellect which is capable of deliberating over what we call a choice, nor are its phenomena resolvable into the activities of intellect and feeling, as variously claimed by the materialists and those philosophical writers who are influenced by them, as Herbert Spencer, Leslie Stephens, Bain, Buckle,

Draper, Froude; it is a distinct faculty of the soul; and its freedom, whatever use man may make of it, and however ample the field of the operation of natural forces, is stoutly maintained. This is the definition of freedom, "To hold that the will is free, is to assert that man chooses, and, in choosing, is freed or liberated from any and all of those limitations and constraints which pertain to physical agencies"

The power to choose is not a power to choose without a motive, but the freedom of the will is to be demonstrated by its use of motives in connection with moral choices. It is found to have liberty to choose when moral relations and moral qualities are concerned. It is therefore free, though in every other relation the character may be shown to be under the dominion of the laws that pertain to physical forces, to heredity, environment, development, and the like. The moment that any of these forces enters the realm of moral relations it comes under the dominion of the will, which, whether the force be great or small, acts in entire independence of it and by a power absolutely its own.

Character, therefore, is not the result of an impress left by the will upon the passive or spontaneous springs of action; it is the sustained energizing of the responsible will. Nor is the will simply the producer of the separate elements, which as distinct choices, have from time to time contributed to make up the aggregate of character; it is the never-ceasing activity which alone constitutes the moral personality. When a sudden and decisive change is seen to occur in the moral life of a man, it is not to be regarded as a change produced by the powerful action of the will making a contribution, however important, to the series of acts which have constituted the existing character, and so materially changing it; rather the man is to be conceived as animated by an unremitting voluntary energy, which at this point has put forth a power equal to the change that is produced and adequate to maintain it. The character is to be termed good or evil exactly as is the single word or act, the special volition; that is, both are alike the will in action. Inward dispositions and habits of thought or feeling are to be recognized as right or wrong, so far as they are consented to by the will, exactly as outward acts are. Viewed as a moral

personality, a man is as responsible for what he is as for what he does.

Passing to the function of the intellect in determining the origin and nature of moral relations, an excellent case is made out in favor of the theory that the ultimate source of moral ideas or obligations is not to be sought in a special faculty, or moral reason, as held by President McCosh, Professor Calderwood and others. These moral relations are shown to be the product of a special application of the reflective intellect to man's natural capacities, finding in them an ideal of attainment which it necessarily imposes as a law upon the will, thus establishing a norm for character. Tested by consciousness, this theory is strongly supported by the fact that when a man asks "For what do I exist, and how can I fulfill the end of my being?" he cannot but answer, "In choosing the highest object, or obeying the best impulses which my nature provides or makes possible." He recognizes the end for which his natural capacities were manifestly created as indicating for him the law of right. This becomes the definition of moral good. Moral good is the voluntary choice of the highest natural good possible to man, as known to himself and by himself, and interpreted as the end of his existence and activities.

This may be regarded as the turning point of the book. Whatever may be said of the analysis of consciousness by which alone a knowledge of the origin and nature of moral good can be reached, an analysis necessarily delicate, and the results of which will always be sure to be questioned, the theory before us has great practical advantages. It is one thing, as our author is quick to observe, to have an ideal which has no known and necessary relations to the actual, and to find it and be forced to use it, we know not why, by instinct or impulse; and altogether another thing to find the basis of our moral ideal in the actual capacities of man's nature. Only in the latter case does the ideal approve itself as rational; it is found in the really possible. Adopting the view that the origin of moral obligation is not to be sought in a "moral sense" or in the intuitions, but is derived by the reflective intellect from a consideration of man's nature and capacities, we get light at once for discussing questions of practical moral-

ity as well as religion. The relation of the individual both to the world about him and to the Creator of his faculties, becomes an integral part of the subject matter from the contemplation of which he derives his "categorical imperative," his clear sense of moral obligation. The duty of serving God and the duty of doing right are found to be fundamental in human nature and essential both to man's true development and to his happiness.

It is worth the while to pause for a moment to compare with this the conclusions reached by writers of another school. Leslie Stephens in his "Science of Ethics," says: "There is no absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness. I cannot prove that it is always prudent to act rightly, or that it is always happiest to be virtuous. The virtuous men may be the very salt of the earth, and yet the discharge of a function socially necessary may involve their own misery. Every reformer who breaks with the world, though for the world's good, must naturally expect much pain, and must be often tempted to think that peace and harmony are worth buying, even at the price of condoning evil. Be good if you would be happy, seems to be the verdict of worldly prudence, but it adds in an emphatic aside, Be not too good!" Of a moral hero, he says: "It may be possible that a less honorable man would have had a happier life, and that a temporary fall below the highest strain of heroism would have secured for him a greater chance of happiness." A philosophy which makes Ethics an idle, if not an impossible, science. Professor Goldwin Smith's comment is, "It is impossible to construct a rule for individual conduct, or for the direction of life, by mere inspection of the phenomena of social evolution without some conception of the estate and destiny of man." It is precisely this conception of the estate and destiny of man which President Porter lays at the foundation of his theory of virtue, and holds before the mind as the permanent object of its contemplation. It furnishes both the law and the authority for moral conduct.

As an incidental merit of this theory it is to be observed that by it the intellect is subjected to the necessity of constant reflection, which constitutes a severe moral training; and the

changeableness of moral codes and their flexibility, the result of endless change of circumstances, strengthen the grip and permanency of the law by increasing its manifest usefulness, at the same time that the intellect is disciplined and fitted to play its part in wisely guiding man in his practical duties.

This scheme of morals makes the service of God an integral part and the true culmination of all right living; while in the other direction it naturally points to God as the author of all. I commend this sentence to those younger alumni who are disposed to make a somewhat bold infidelity a mark of intelligence. "It is," says President Porter, "impossible to construct any theory of ethics unless we recognize the presence of design in the universe." This gives us in modern scientific phrase the words of Sophocles concerning truth, mercy, justice and love, "They have their birth in heaven. Jove alone and not human nature has begotten them, neither can any sink them in oblivion. God is great through them, neither waxeth He old."

*Μέγας εν τούτοις Θεός,
ουδὲ γηράσκει*

Passing from questions of the theory to those of the practice of morals, a remark of the late Professor Green comes to mind. In reviewing the Hedonistic philosophy in his *Prolegomena to Ethics*, he says: "We are no more justified in treating what we take to be untrue theories of morals as positive promoters of vice, than in treating what we deem truer theories as positive promoters of virtue. Only those in whom the tendencies to vicious self-indulgence have been so far overcome as to allow the aspiration after perfection of life to take effect, are in a state to be affected either for better or for worse by theories of the good. The worst that can truly be objected against the prevalence of the Hedonistic theory is that it may retard and mislead those who are already good, according to the ordinary sense of goodness as equivalent to immunity from vice, in their effort to be better; and the most that can be claimed for the theory which we deem truer, is that it keeps the way clearer of speculative impediments to the operation of motives which it seeks to interpret but does not pretend to supply." But while retaining this truth in mind

would do much to lessen the sharpness of the *odium theologicum* and *philosophicum*, which is always quick to charge wrong theory with the responsibility for wrong practice, it is nevertheless no small advantage to be able to pass upon questions of daily duty with the aid of a theory of morals like the one before us, which "keeps the way clear of speculative impediments."

Striking testimony to the existence of God as a moral governor is found in the fact that the world is so constituted that the fundamental principles of duty are never openly assailed or formally denied by men in authority. Every command of parent, teacher, or magistrate, if enforced by any reason is enforced by a reason found in the well-being of the individual and community. "Virtue," says Butler, "is that which all ages and all countries have made profession of in public." To this suggestion of President Porter's may be added the fact that the world has from a wholly selfish standpoint pronounced honesty to be the best policy. Business indeed could not be done on any other basis. One cannot conceive the great business houses that have stood for generations, and in a few instances even for centuries, as doing business in ways that were continuously dishonest. This is the world's testimony that the fundamental conceptions of morality are not only theoretically right, but that they are indispensable in practical life.

The chapter on the Law of Honor will be read with interest in certain parts of our country. It shows that while theoretically it is often identified with the law of duty and conceived as embracing the motives and the conscience, it is in fact simply a "convention," or artificial product of society, imparting certain privileges in return for the recognition of certain external acts. The requirements of honor are satisfied, whatever a man be at heart, if he but obeys the rules of outward conduct which it lays down often with rigorous preciseness. Its immoral tendency is clearly stated, and the conclusion reached that "the man who confessedly and deliberately makes the law of honor supreme, must in heart and principle be a traitor to conscience and to God."

The discussion of gambling is less satisfactory. It fails to

give any definition of the vice, content to apply to it the word "passion," and to treat it as an indulgence which is quick to lead to consequences that are beyond control. This is as inadequate as it would be to discuss intemperance, or the opium habit, or unchastity, from the same standpoint. Why is the indulgence of this passion wrong? Not simply because its ultimate consequences are evil, but because it arrays one man's gain against another's loss; it is therefore essentially antagonistic to the law of God that we love our neighbor as ourself. In doing this it also appeals to, and promotes the growth of a destroying passion in every human heart, the greed of gain. Because the greed of gain, excited in this manner, is always a greed, it is always and everywhere immoral. The extent of the immorality and the amount of evil it works vary with the circumstances. These as exemplified in certain forms of business are referred to, but with what seems a slight apprehending of the extent to which the vice has become prevalent in connection with transactions in all the great staples, opening "broker's offices" in our smaller towns, and even in our villages drawing the young men and small merchants into dabbling in stocks and "going long" or "short" in grain. In view of the mania for "combinations" in connection with baseball and other athletic sports which of late has attracted so much attention, of the struggle over "policy shops" in our large cities, of the sharp contest of the United States post office department to exclude lottery business from the mails, and of the aroused public opinion on the matter of the Grand Army and similar fairs with lottery attachments, the section on lotteries is an amazement. A marked change in public sentiment in late years is recognized; and the application of the general principles of morality as against gambling is acknowledged; and then apology is offered for raffling for benevolent or religious purposes, where the stake is not large! In reply it might be enough to say that when the attempt is made to break up gambling in its more obnoxious forms, the immediate cry is of persecution, because the churches do the same. A method of getting money which is denounced as a "passion" when used for private advantage loses none of its immorality when applied to a charity, public or private; and the talk

of Phariseeism in connection with its disapproval is entirely out of place. The only defensible course for a church or a benevolent organization is to be at least as scrupulous as an honorable business man is. The quick way to make the religious professions of the one and the benevolent professions of the other a stench in the community, is to depart from this straight course. In turning from this discussion one cannot but appreciate the hard sense of the uncouth Western youth, who, when required to write a composition about virtue, wrote as follows:

"ABOUT VIRTUE.—Virtue is a good thing to get a holt of. Whenever a feller gets a holt of virtue, he better keep a holt."

The discussion of the question of Property is thorough-going and satisfactory. The right of acquisition is shown to be essential to man's condition as a social being, and the duties growing out of it are to be determined by this fact. There can be no question that this position is correct. But if property is to be defended as "an arrangement to which man has a natural right which is sanctioned by the nature of man and the will of God," and if attacks on the right to property or the possession of property are to be denounced as "immoral" and "an open offense against one's kind," then too much care cannot be taken by the State to see that property shall be lawfully acquired and benevolently used, i. e., used so as to promote the well-being of all. This is not Socialism in the usual sense, but is Socialism in the true meaning, that which Frederick Maurice and Charles Kingsley gave to it. The right to property is made co-extensive with the duties of property. For the State to be indifferent to the methods by which citizens gain property, or the uses to which they put it, is to expose to successful attack the foundations on which the State itself rests. The State will be found maintaining a theory of right which the practice of the citizens gainsays. All rights then become confused, and any right may be destroyed by blind onset.

Here is the danger from Socialism. As the reckless mouthings of the vicious class, it is little to be feared. But when it becomes the clamor of the masses of the poor against the existing order of things which insures to the few the exclusive possession of vast accumulations of property, regardless of

their personal character, or the method by which they obtained the property, or the uses to which they put it, then Socialism is a peril of the gravest kind. That there is ground for this complaint is the growing feeling in many minds. It is to be regretted that, while everything cannot be said in one book, this subject is not more fully discussed from the side of the people. Words from President Porter would carry great weight. His condemnation of the "moral crime of demagogism" that is found haranguing against all property is emphatic and right; but the men who are likely to read his book are not so much in need of being strengthened in that opinion, as they are of having their eyes opened to see the wrongs which give to demagogism its power, and of being stirred to remove them. The principles are all here; but, as Pascal said of good maxims which are all extant in the world, we need to be taught to apply them.

In this connection a word may be said of the discussion of the function of the State in the matter of Punishment. The position of the book is unquestionable, that the immediate end of punishment is prevention, and the secondary end, the reformation of the criminal and the moral education of the community. Attention, however, might have been called to the retributive element, which while not properly entering into any form of human punishment as an object or end, has a place in a scientific analysis, as expressing the moral sense of the community, and therefore by its emphatic expression toning up the public mind. To this end exact justice is needful; men must see a just relation of the punishment to the offense so far as the law can express it. A prevalent idea in the minds of the criminal class to-day is, that there is one law for the poor and another for the rich. They see many offenders breaking the law with impunity or escaping with scanty penalty; consequently the law is not felt to be justly retributive and loses its power as a moral force.

There is also great need of emphasizing the reformatory function of punishment. The entire question of prison administration is being discussed in some States from the standpoint of relative expense, in the face of the fact that, taken as a whole, the penal system of the country as a reformatory meas-

ure has utterly broken down. Our municipal courts are over-run, and our jails are filled with "repeaters." Judges and jailors alike agree that, the system being what it is, to sentence a prisoner for the first time is to start him on a sure career of growing evil. The law turns him out of prison invariably worse than when he went in, and humane judges continually "suspend sentence" upon youthful culprits to avoid as long as possible sending them to the county school of crime. Here and there serious attempt is making to remedy the evil in single instances, but nothing short of thorough-going reformation of our whole penal system is needful. The work may well begin in the discussion of first principles, and their elucidation in the light of modern requirements, in such treatises as the one before us.

The chapter on Veracity will probably not meet entire approval, for, strange as it may be, while the practice of the average man of good character in regard to speaking the truth to his neighbor is in the main unimpeachable, the philosophers have not yet succeeded in drawing a satisfactory line to show where deception begins to be right. The chapters on duties to the Family, the State, and God, with which the book closes, are all that could be desired.

The general impression left by the book as a whole is of harmoniousness. Turning from a careful reading of any important section, like that on Duty, or the Will, or Conscience, or Self-Love, one feels that it is preëminently wholesome. The intellect is satisfied by careful analysis and definite final statement, and the moral sense is satisfied by the evident justness of the conclusion. There is no finding one's self fixed by a definition, or landed at the end of a logical process, in a conclusion at which one instinctively rebels. As a theory of morals, it is the work of a mind so sound as to justify quoting in connection with it the saying of Vinet, *Savoir ce qu'il croit, c'est connaître ce qu'il est.*

In a day when "mercantilism" affects even our colleges, and the scholar at his books is not altogether exempt from the temptations that beset the merchant in his office, this volume is a valuable testimony to the reality of that world of thought and life whose fruits are not to be gathered into barns nor

exchanged in the markets; it exalts ends whose worth finds no estimate in material values; and calls for effort for which economists can find no rate of compensation in the wages of labor. It shows that satisfaction is to be sought never in what we are, but in reaching after what we may become, and makes the prime duty of man to be a ceaseless energy in striving to attain to that which God has planned and made possible for him. A scheme of ethics which begins with God's thought concerning man as its norm, and ends in bringing the perfected man to the footstool of God, cannot be very wide of the truth.

ARTICLE VII.—GRAMMATICAL SUGGESTIONS FROM A
WORKSHOP.

IN an office-building which I occasionally visit, is a dingy little room occupied as a shop by one of those useful men who can turn their hands to almost any mechanical task, from repairing a fine clock to building a cow-shed, and do it well. To the casual observer, the place is far from beautiful, and has a "cluttered-up" appearance suggestive of habits the reverse of orderly. The floor—where not occupied by benches, lathes, horses, and a rusty stove surmounted by a glue-kettle—is nearly concealed by bits of timber, shavings and miscellaneous débris. The walls are lined with shelves and racks of many shapes, sizes, and colors, obviously put up at different times and constructed of odds and ends, with no thought of symmetry or harmony in their arrangement. And when one examines the tools themselves, they are found to form a collection almost equally promiscuous. No two have handles alike, or look as if they came from the same maker. They are disposed in rude stands, boxes, and cases of irregular forms, which seem to have been hastily adapted to their present purpose in default of anything better. Nothing could be more unlike the finely finished and ingeniously arranged "gentlemen's tool-chests" that fascinate the eye of mechanically disposed visitors in hardware stores.

Yet the occupant of this little shop can lay his hand in a moment on any article in it, by day or by night, and knows the contents as you know the alphabet. And when he puts any implement into service, it is found to answer its purpose to very perfection. The chisels cut like razors; the saws follow the line without the deflection of a hair's breadth; the lathes run exactly true; the vises and clamps hold like a bad habit. For all their rude appearance, it would be hard to suggest any improvement in the practical working of this collection of heterogeneous apparatus.

Now I have often thought, while watching this mechanic at work, that his position (barring, of course, any question as to

relative degrees of skill) is in some respects not unlike that of a magazine contributor preparing an article. Is not the English language, too, a seemingly disordered and inharmonious assemblage of implements, appliances and raw material? Our vocabulary is made up of importations from every country under heaven; our present tenses and their preterites, our individual terms and their significance in idiomatic phrases, our spoken words and their representatives in writing, have in scores of cases about as much seeming congruity as my mechanical friend's delicate watch-making lathe with the dirty table on which it stands and the rough box that covers it. And yet, what work can be accomplished with the English language! What distinction so fine, what conception so grand, what mental creation so lovely, that this unsymmetrical and in many respects unbeautiful tongue is inadequate (if only one knows how to use it) for putting it into permanent form for preservation? As a means for the expression of thought, our modified Anglo-Saxon in the hands of a master excels the comparatively regular languages of antiquity and of many savage peoples, as the mechanic's unattractive tools excel for practical purposes the handsome but untrustworthy contents of the "gentlemen's tool-chests." Less sonorous than German, less sparkling than French, less musical than Spanish, less logical and systematic by far in its structure than Latin, less flexible than Greek, how it surpasses them all for meeting the varied necessities of mankind!

And does not this parallelism suggest a useful lesson to certain hypercritical critics whose wont it is to act the part of grand inquisitors as to the legitimacy of the new terms which are constantly appearing in our language, often to supply real and important wants? A great hubbub was made by this class of people on the introduction of the now well established noun *starvation*, which even Mr. Skeat, notwithstanding his usual liberality of judgment, condemns as a "ridiculous hybrid." Hybrid of course it is—an Anglo-Saxon root with a Latin suffix, as if one were to fit a rough hickory handle into a highly polished *lignum-vitæ* mallet. But consider the circumstances. The implement was badly needed; the materials of which it was constructed were the best at hand at the moment,

or the best that were thought of; and it answers its purpose well. Can we afford to discard it because it is not handsome in appearance? *Reliable* has fallen under the ban of the same class of thinkers. It is badly formed, no doubt; but so, for that matter is its parent, the universally accepted verb *rely*, and still more so the unchallenged noun *reliance*, consisting as this does of an English root with a French prefix and suffix, like an old, well-worn spoke-shave with a pair of bran new handles. (As to the other objection to reliable—that we do not *rely a thing* but *rely upon it*, and therefore the adjective ought to be *rely-upon-able*, any comment may safely be deferred until people begin saying *laugh-at-able* instead of *laughable*; the principle is the same in both cases.) Fault is perpetually found with *talented*, on the ground that participles ought not to be formed from nouns; and perhaps they ought not, in a strictly logical and regular language; but a tongue that already includes *diseased*, *gifted*, *lettered*, *bigoted*, *turreted*, *landed*, *towered*, *blooded*, *cultured*, *acred*, *steepled*, *mitred*, *coped*, *tippeted*, *booted*, *spurred*, *horned*, *unprincipled*, and *widowed*, will hardly suffer much by admitting one more formation of the same anomalous kind. *Stand-point*, *wash-tub*, *shoe-horn*, *cook-stove*, and *go-cart* (*boot-jack* might have been added) are set down as abominations, “slovenly and uncouth,” by a popular writer on correctness in speech, because they do not conform in their structure to a somewhat complicated canon which he lays down as the law for making “compounds of this kind.” His argument is a complete non-sequitur. The laws relating to the development of a language are to be deduced from the history of that development, just as the so-called laws of nature are merely generalized statements of observed facts. And in regard to these expressions which our acceptance of his canon would require us to condemn, it must be noticed that they are not only briefer (always an advantage) but actually clearer than those which the critic would substitute for them. The meaning of a *cooking-stove*, to be sure, is not greatly liable to misapprehension; nor perhaps is that of a *washing tub*; but *booting jack* is open to the manifest objection that it is not for booting but for unbooting, so to speak, that the implement is designed, while *shoeing horn* suggests an

entirely wrong idea—we do not speak of the process of dressing our feet as “shoeing” them; and what sort of a description of the well-known nursery machine would it be to call it a “going cart?”

The fact of the matter seems to be that while of course it is desirable that the development of the language should proceed upon regular lines and in conformity with logical principles, yet it is by no means essential to the usefulness of a word that it should be thus formed; and if only the word is useful, we can well afford to admit it to our already heterogeneous vocabulary, the vocabulary being all the more serviceable in many ways on account of the variety and lack of unity among its constituent parts. The important question in all such cases, looking at them from the mechanical point of view, is, have we need of this tool, and is it the best we can readily procure? If yea, we shall be just so much the poorer for rejecting it on account of its uncouth appearance.

It ought to be remembered indeed that our list of words, numerous as it is, is yet not comprehensive enough to fulfill the highest ideal of a perfect tongue. We need more tools, a good many of them, and it sometimes seems a pity rather that we cannot manufacture and introduce them when the need is perceived, than that some of those we have, offend in their composition the strict requirements of congruity. We badly need, for instance, epicene pronouns in the singular answering to *they*, *them*, and *their*, in the plural. True it is, one can often use *he*, *him*, and *his*, expecting hearers or readers to remember that “the brethren embrace the sistern.” True it also is, one can often get around the difficulty by rearranging a sentence; but there *is* a difficulty, for all that. A man wishes to say that each of his two children, a boy and a girl, has the exclusive use of a bedroom. He naturally begins: “Each of my children has a room to —” how shall he finish? It is not quite right to say that each has a room to himself, or to herself, and it is certainly far from grammatical or pleasing to say themselves. What shall he do? The problem is of daily occurrence, as any one will find who will take pains to watch for it.

We need, too, a preterite for the verb *ought*. We are com-

pelled to say, "You ought to have done such and such things"—which is by no means what we really mean. One cannot possibly be under obligation to *have done* anything—the phrase is absurd. All obligation is *to do*, and it would be an important gain in the direction of clearness and conciseness if we might say, when speaking of past time, "you oughted."

We need, again, a word almost synonymous with *many*, but having a slightly different shade of meaning—a lack which is often supplied, awkwardly and incorrectly, by the use of *numerous* with a plural noun. People say, "there are numerous books on that subject,"—which is clearly ungrammatical; there may be a numerous list of books, but that expression, correct in syntax, does not seem quite to express the idea; and to say there are many books may be rather too strong a statement.

We need, once more, a verb for which *replace* is commonly substituted, there being nothing better at hand. One removes a painting from his wall and hangs up an engraving in its stead. For a brief statement of this action, we have at present nothing better than to say that the painting was replaced by the engraving. Yet this is really nonsense. To replace a thing is to put it back where it was before. Here, as in the case of *numerous*, we may be said to lack a gimlet and find ourselves compelled to bore holes, blunderingly and unsatisfactorily, with the blade of a pen-knife.

Then there are not a few adverbs which one meets in foreign tongues and finds so useful that he wonders at himself for never having noticed the absence of corresponding words in English. Familiar examples are *freundlich* and *hoffentlich* in German. One cannot say in English, "He received me friendly," convenient as it would be sometimes be to do so, neither *kindly* nor *cordially* quite answering the purpose. Nor can we say: "The doctor has hopeably given the right medicine." If you presume he has done so, you may say *presumably*; if you are sure of it, you have *undoubtedly*; but if you only desire to express a pretty strong hope, you must cast your sentence in another mould.

At the same time, we have certainly bad words enough—bad, not because they are irregular in form or composed of

incongruous elements, but because they are for some other reason (adopting Noah Webster's sententious expression) nonsensical. *Helpmeet* is one of these monsters. The result of a stupid blunder in running together a noun and an adjective that stand separate in the familiar verse in Genesis, it can hardly be called a word at all; it means nothing in particular and is worse than useless. *Dissever*, *disannul*, *unravel*, *lesser*, and similar feeble attempts at unnecessary emphasis, are other instances; *sever*, *annul*, *ravel*, *less*, answer the purpose completely, with the advantage of smaller bulk; the addition of the extra syllable is like giving a screw-driver two handles. Equally useless for the most part is the school-ma'amish insistence upon indicating, by the addition of *ess*, the feminine gender in a number of nouns indicative of occupation or position. Sometimes of course the sex of the person referred to has a direct bearing upon her relations to her calling, as in the case of an actress, whom it is often doubtless well to discriminate, in speech as in thought, from an actor. But it can hardly be maintained that any such necessity exists in the case of a woman who may happen to be an editor, a postmaster, a manager, or a poet. Yet we read not unfrequently of editresses and postmistresses; the dignified Westminster Review finds *poet* not sufficiently distinct when the poet is a woman, and gives its sanction to *poetess*; and the Illustrated London News, which often devotes a considerable portion of one of its most entertaining departments to discussions of colloquial English, its meaning and its proprieties, is actually guilty of *manageress*! Here as before the extra syllable is merely an encumbrance; we could not only get along just as well without it, we should actually do better.

Another class of bad words—bad because they do not mean what they are supposed to mean—is exemplified in *gasometer*. The fact that it consists of a term invented in Belgium not much more than two hundred years ago, and a word from classical Greek, welded together, nobody knows why, by the letter *o*—is of no consequence; but what is of consequence is that it means a measurer of gas and is understood as indicating a reservoir of gas. In the name of common-sense, when one means a gas-holder, why not say so? *Hydropathy*, too, is a

disgrace to the language. *Homœopathy* (similar sickness) is all right, indicating as it does a method of treatment based on the belief that "like cures like;" and *allopathy* (different sickness) though of course rather a nickname than a scientific term, may pass muster as designating the practice that commonly relies on agencies which are found to *reverse* the symptoms of the patient. *Hydrotherapy* (water sickness) can only be accounted for by supposing that the inventor of the word imagined that it might mean *water-cure*—which of course it cannot.

But by far the most important suggestion offered by the analogies of the little shop relates to the folly of *misusing* our verbal tools; and just here is the one great point of dissimilarity between the English language and the equipment of the work-room. A mallet may be highly polished as to its head and rough-hewn as to its handle, and yet give entire satisfaction. But it would hardly work well on chisels, if the owner were in the habit of using it to drive nails. That is exactly what we not unfrequently do in speech, and the natural result follows; the nails are not driven straight, and we presently find that we have spoiled our mallet. We speak for instance of *preposterous* statements, meaning only that they are *incorrect* or *absurd*. Now *preposterous* is not properly synonymous with either of these adjectives, but has a definite meaning of its own which can be expressed by no other word, signifying as it does the putting of something first which ought to be last—the getting of the cart before the horse, as it were. We are badly compensated for losing the power of expressing this idea in a single word, by gaining a new and hardly distinguishable synonym for *absurd*.

A mallet which has been so persistently used as a hammer by the legal profession, without sense or necessity, as to be pretty effectually ruined, is *enjoin*. It can hardly be necessary to remark that to *enjoin* a course of conduct is to urge that it be followed; the lawyers, oddly enough, have so perverted the meaning as to reverse it completely; in their dialect, to *enjoin* an act is to forbid it! Thus I read in the *Albany Law Journal* (vol. xxviii., page 48) that "in *Leete v. Pilgrim Church*, St. Louis Court of Appeals, the ringing of the church chimes between 9 P. M. and 7 A. M. was enjoined. The Court refused to *enjoin*

the ringing for worship on Sunday or in the day light hours, and continued: 'But the striking of the clock at night must, we think, be relegated to the category of useless noises. . . . We therefore think that the striking of the hours upon the largest bell between the hours of 9 P. M. and 7 A. M. ought to be enjoined!'" Of course this means that while the court declined to order the ringing of the church bell on Sunday or by daylight during the week, it did command that the chimes should be faithfully operated between nine at night and seven in the morning. Of course also the writer of the paragraph, and the learned judge who prepared the opinion, intended that their words should mean the precise opposite. The mallet in their hands is absolutely spoiled for its legitimate purpose, and to what possible profit? Meaning *forbidden*, why could they not say *forbidden*? Or if it is considered desirable to have a special word to signify the formal forbidding of an action by a writ, far better would it be to raise to respectability a term which is now ranked with the vilest newspaper slang, and say that the action is "injuncted." It may be answered that this horrible word, if it means anything, must be synonymous with enjoin; but the fact is, it has never been used except to signify *forbidden by injunction*; and as for its irregular formation, one who cares more for the substance of this language, its real serviceableness in expressing thought, than for the refinements of grammatical science, will easily disregard that objection. The nail must be driven; the only hammer we have is "forbid;" this it seems will not answer; then for heaven's sake let us pick up even a shapeless stone like "injunct" rather than spoil our excellent mallet "enjoin."

Then there is *aggravating* for *exasperating*. The distinction has been pointed out a thousand times. Everybody knows that to aggravate is to make worse. A man's crime may be aggravated by the circumstances; to say that the man himself is aggravated, means, not that he is annoyed, but that, being an evil at best, he is made a greater nuisance than he has been. Yet it is surprising how many influential writers, especially in England, insist on confounding the terms. Dickens does so over and over again in "Great Expectations": "The Romans must have aggravated one another very much with their

noses;" "Mr. Wopple's Roman nose aggravated me;" "This was so very aggravating—the more especially as I found myself making no way against his surly obtuseness;" "Words cannot state the amount of aggravation and injury wreaked upon me by Trabb's boy." I read the other day in the Mark Lane Express of persons who "jerk the reins in that aggravating manner." A pamphlet lately published in London, and relating to a certain class of books in the British Museum, is entitled "Aggravating Ladies." Most surprising of all perhaps is the following, from the Westminster Review (October, 1881, p. 284, Scott edition): "The selections from the Giaour are exceedingly aggravating." It must however be admitted that the blunder is not exclusively British, for whoever reads that excellent book, "The calling of a Christian Woman," issued only a year or two ago by the Rev. Morgan Dix, S.T.D., rector of Trinity church, New York, will find on page 22 a reference to "the words of St. Paul, peculiarly aggravating to the ears of modern revolutionists!"

Among the great number of other verbal mallets which are often foolishly misused as hammers, the following may be mentioned. The list might be indefinitely extended, but it is the present purpose merely to illustrate the principle.

Executive for secret, in the phrase "executive session." It is generally understood that when the Senate engages in what is properly enough called "executive business," as the consideration of appointments or treaties, spectators are excluded; and from this has arisen a ridiculous custom on the part of various voluntary associations and committees of resolving to "go into executive session," when it is only meant that private business is to be taken up with closed doors. The blunder is doubtless largely due to the usual preference of ill-trained minds for fine and high-sounding words.

Restive for uneasy.—Here is a word which shares with *enjoin* the remarkably bad fortune of having been completely reversed in meaning by bad usage. A restive horse is a lazy horse that wants to rest, and by no means, as sometimes seems to be supposed, a nervous horse that wants to go.

Fabulous for very great.—One may properly speak of the fabulous wealth of an impostor, meaning the property that he

falsely pretends to have. But what nonsense it is, when one thinks of it, to say that a lady's jewels are of "fabulous value," meaning that they cost a great deal of money!

Impertinent for insolent.—An impertinent remark is one that has no connection with the matter under discussion. But the use of the term ought not to imply any censure on the good manners of the person referred to.

Temperance and protective.—Without expressing any opinion as to the advisability of indulging in alcoholic beverages, one may properly denounce, from grammatical considerations only, the absurdity of speaking of a man who abjures them entirely, as "strictly temperate;" how can one be temperate in the use of that which he does not use? And similarly, without expressing any opinion as to the wisdom of a national policy of limiting importations from foreign countries, one may point out that the name "protective tariff," as applied to a tariff by which this result is brought about, is objectionable for the reason that it begs the whole question at issue. Such a tariff *restricts, limits*. Whether it really *protects* anything, in any proper application of the term, is disputed.

Dividend.—It may be worth while to call attention to the obvious fact that a dividend is that which is to be divided. A railroad's dividend, for instance, is a certain share of the profits, set aside by the directors for division among the stockholders. It is sometimes convenient, of course, and perhaps not highly censurable, to speak of one of the proprietors as receiving "his dividend," meaning his *share of* the dividend; but it should be remembered that this expression, is only justifiable as a rough sort of contraction, much like saying "governments" and "railroads" when one means government bonds and railroad securities; and it is to be regretted that the definition of *dividend* in each of the two English dictionaries most in use in this country is so worded as apparently to confuse *dividend* with *quotient*. Webster's as usual, is a little worse than Worcester's.

Circumstance for event.—We continually hear people say that they will "relate a circumstance" that occurred under their own observation. A circumstance occur! They might as well speak of the motionless scenery at a theatre as performing.

Demean for debase.—This blunder seems to have arisen

partly from an imagined relationship between the verb *demean* and the adjective *mean*, and partly from the fact that the verb is used in a good many rather familiar passages in old and standard writers, in such connection that *debase* would have made equally good sense. A recollection of the noun *demeanor*, which is certainly not synonymous with *debasement*, ought to be a sufficient correction of the error.

Merchant for *tradesman* or *shopkeeper*.—In the older and better use of the word, it was strictly confined to persons who carried on foreign traffic. To call retail dealers “merchants” is to multiply synonyms uselessly, at the cost of losing a very convenient distinction.

Sustain for *receive*—chiefly in daily-paper language; “the victim sustained a bruise on his left arm.” Well, it would have been remarkable if the victim had *not* “sustained” a wound of that description. The writer was of course trying to say that the person *received* the wound. How hard it is, sometimes, to be simple!

Liable for *likely*.—A wrongdoer is liable to punishment. To say that he is “liable to escape,” meaning that he is *likely* to escape, is to commit an error that is really comical in its absurdity, when one compares the true meaning of the sentence with the idea intended to be conveyed.

The list stretches out indefinitely; one knows not where to stop. It seems that on this subject, as on some others, there is verily need of line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a good deal. Yet one word of caution must be added. The doctrine that words should not be used to convey ideas foreign to their real meaning, ought never to be so perverted as to interfere with their employment in a secondary, derivative or figurative sense, the legitimate outgrowth of their primary significance. A single illustration will make this clear. The verb to *endorse* means to put on the back of; and the United States Post Office department takes a mallet for a hammer with a vengeance when it informs the senders of registered letters, by a placard displayed in many post offices, that such letters “require the name of the sender to be endorsed on the face of the envelope!” Endorsed on the face! The writer of this notice—who doubtless imagined that *endorsed* was merely

a more elegant synonym for written—might as well speak of hoisting a load down. But no small quantity of what I venture to think rather wooden-headed criticism has been expended on the use of the same verb to signify *approve* or *sanction*, as in the common expression, to endorse a candidate or a movement. It seems to be forgotten that in the usual application of the term—the endorsing of a note or a check—we have always in mind, not only the fact that something is actually written on the back of the paper in question, but also and chiefly the far more important fact that the writer of the endorsement, in putting down his name, agrees to warrant and defend the holder of the document against loss resulting from his confidence in it. In other words, he may be said to *back up* the original maker. And just as it is indisputably good English to speak of a man's friends as backing him, so is it absolutely good English to speak of a lawyer endorsing a layman's opinion about a legal question, or a scholar endorsing the positions maintained in a book on classical subjects. To object to such use of language as this, is to push grammatical criticism to an extreme that is likely only to render it ridiculous, though if the critics could persuade the people to follow them, it would result in a senseless limitation of our choice of words—a real and by no means inconsiderable injury to the language.

ARTICLE VIII.—NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife. A Biography by JULIAN HAWTHORNE. Vols. I., II. James R. Osgood & Company.

IN his preface to the letters of Thomas Erskine, Dr. Hanna quotes the words of Bishop Ewing:—"Should any one attempt to write the life of Mr. Erskine, the difficulty must ever present itself to him that what he has to depict is spirit and not matter, that he has to convey light, to represent sound,—an almost insuperable difficulty." The same perplexity baffles the student of Hawthorne. There are some elements in that unique life which are intangible and elusive. The air of quaintness which envelops his beautiful myths clings to the author himself. Following his footsteps through the ancient streets of his birthplace, amid the grime and din of custom house and weather-beaten wharves, under the dreamy pines of Lenox and Concord, and along the highways of the old world, we half dream that it is some phenomenon we are watching, a brother mortal, to be sure, but not fully real nor wholly intelligible. Yet there was nothing unsubstantial in the physique of this man. He was tall, lithe, broad-shouldered, muscular, masculine. His form might have stood for a model of Apollo; his face for the beauty of the young Augustus. There was nothing effeminate in either. The literary circles of England in which he moved said that so handsome a face had not appeared among them since the days of Burns. In his early years he was strong and athletic; "young engine of all possibilities and energies," his biographer calls him; a well-knit frame, brawny enough for a peasant, fine enough for a king. As the body, so the mind. Within this muscular encasement lay enshrined a soul duplicate like the form that held it; vigorous, yet dainty; sharp, yet kindly; imperial and executive, yet modest; intense, sometimes volcanic, yet self-poised; sturdy and practical, yet gifted with the "vision and faculty divine"; capable of affairs, yet living in a world of imagination whose skies shone with the "light that never was on land or sea."

George William Curtis met him at Ralph Waldo Emerson's, and this was what he saw: "I, who listened to all the fine things which were said, was for some time scarcely aware of a man who sat upon the edge of the circle, a little withdrawn, his head slightly thrown forward upon his breast, and his bright eyes clearly burning under his black brow. This person, who sat silent as a shadow, looked to me as Daniel Webster might have looked had he been a poet. He rose and walked to the window, and stood quietly there for a long time watching the dead white landscape. No appeal was made to him; nobody looked after him. The conversation flowed as steadily on as if every one understood that his silence was to be respected. It was the same thing at the table. In vain the silent man imbibed æsthetic tea. Whatever fancies it inspired did not flower at his lips. But there was a light in his eye which assured me that nothing was lost. So supreme was his silence that it presently engrossed me to the exclusion of everything else. There was brilliant discourse; but this silence was much more poetic and fascinating. Fine things were said by the philosophers, but much finer things were implied by the dumbness of this gentleman with heavy brows and black hair. As Hawthorne retired Mr. Emerson remarked with a smile, 'Hawthorne rides well his horse of the night.'"*

Can this be the same man with the busy, practical, plodding weigher and gauger at the custom house?—the same with the industrious official at a foreign port? The half-modern, half-mediæval brain which at one time weaves the elfish tale of the *Marble Faun*, and at another pleads the cause of the American sailor in a letter to the home government† which is packed with legal argument and common sense, and is equally remarkable for its grip and its grit—can it be one and the same? The pen that paints for us in such transparent shadows the grim Puritan pictures of the *Scarlet Letter*, is it the same with which the surveyor of the port of Salem countersigns bills of lading or scratches the greasy invoices on his desk? This is drudge and dreamer in one. Test him with spectroscope or scalpel as we may, he baffles ordinary analysis. We do not wonder that the author of this biography lays down his pen at the close of

* Packard's *History of Bowdoin College*, p. 303. † Vol. ii., pp. 150-161.

his task with the words, "Superficial men are readily described and understood; but men like Hawthorne can never be touched and dissected, because the essence of their character is never concretely manifested. They must be studied more in their effects than in themselves; and, at last, the true revelation will be made only to those who have in themselves somewhat of the same mystery they seek to fathom."*

I.

A few facts and dates will give us a sufficient outline of this notable life. Nathaniel Hawthorne was born in Salem, Mass., in 1804. His forefathers, whatever their less obvious qualities may have been, were at all events enterprising, active, practical men, stern and courageous, accustomed to deal with and control lawless and rugged characters; they were sea captains, farmers, soldiers, magistrates; and, in whatever capacity, they were used to see their own will prevail, and to be answerable to no man."† His father was master of a merchant vessel, and died in a foreign harbor; his grandfather was a revolutionary privateer. It strikes one as singular that born at a seaport as he was, and with such a streak of viking blood in his veins, his imagination seems never to have been possessed by the grandeur and gloom of the ocean, and the fascination of its mystery is never employed to heighten the shadows of his stories. While yet in his teens Hawthorne was sent to Sebago Lake, in Maine, a hilly region, well forested, gamy and picturesque. This was to knit the muscles and reinforce the vigor of the growing boy. In due time he entered Bowdoin College and graduated in 1825. That was "the famous class." It contained, besides Hawthorne, the poet Longfellow, the historian John S. C. Abbott, the trenchant reformer George B. Cheever, members of Congress Bradbury, Benson, Jonathan Cilley and Sawtelle, and his intimate friend Horace Bridge, long at the head of the bureau of naval supplies in Washington. When these men were sophomores Franklin Pierce was in the junior class, William Pitt Fessenden was a senior, and Sargent S. Prentiss was a freshman. Such a list as this on any one annual issue

* Vol. ii., p. 375.

† Vol. i., p. 83.

might illumine the dullest and driest of college catalogues. After college, an interval of quiet. Hawthorne lived the life of a recluse, reading, dreaming, writing in his chamber by day, taking solitary walks through out-of-the-way streets in the twilight. He knew nobody; nobody knew him. His life in the country and at college had well nigh severed the few links which bound him to his native place. But his imagination was busy, and so was his pen. It was during this hermit life in Salem that he wrote for annuals and magazines those charming little stories which were afterwards republished in two volumes under the name of *Twice Told Tales*, and brought him into sudden fame. The next year he was appointed weigher and gauger in the Boston custom house, under the historian Bancroft. Revolved out of that by the political turn-table, he spent a few months at Brook farm, a communal experiment which gave him the materials for his *Blithedale Romance*. In 1842 he married, and began the new life in the Old Manse at Concord. How "mossy" that rustic lodge proved to be all the world fortunately knows, and the every-day life that flowed on within its walls was of idyllic joy and peace. In 1846 Hawthorne was made surveyor of the port of Salem, and in the intervals of leisure from the duties at his desk he drew that memorable picture of the ancient colonial period, *The Scarlet Letter*. In 1849 he removed to Lenox, and other stories soon issued from his sylvan retreat. Three years later he transferred his household gods to Concord again,—this time to the Wayside, not to the Old Manse. This was the spot he called his home for the rest of his life. And it was from this spot he migrated with his family to Liverpool, to which port his friend Franklin Pierce, just elected to the Presidency, appointed him consul for the United States. To a man of his temperament the duties of the office must have been irksome, not to say odious; but they were performed with an unflinching fidelity, which was partly will and partly conscience. During his residence in England courtesies and honors were showered upon him. His books had preceded him. Literary circles were everywhere opened to him, and he found it not easy to resist their importunity and maintain his wonted reserve. In 1857 he retired from the consulate. After traveling for two years

on the continent with his family he returned to England and completed the *Marble Faun*, which was brought out in 1860 in London under the curiously commonplace title of *Transformation*. In due time he landed on his native shores, and his foreign experiences were embodied in the *English Note Books*, and *Our Old Home*. The breaking out of the civil war rekindled his patriotism and freshened his hold on life. It proved to be only the blazing up of the dying candle. For a long time the vigor had been imperceptibly fading out from the physical frame. In 1864, while on a journey for his health with his friend ex-President Pierce, he calmly died in his sleep.

II.

It was a bright summer morning when Nathaniel Hawthorne and Sophia Peabody were married. July 9, 1842, was the date, and the home of Dr. Peabody in Boston was the place. They must have made a strikingly handsome couple. Hawthorne was a ruddy stalwart man of thirty-eight, his bride a delicate woman of thirty. When Hawthorne was in college, as the biography testifies—"He was the handsomest young man of his day in that part of the world. Such is the report of those who knew him; and there is a miniature of him, taken some years later, which bears out the report. He was five feet ten and a half inches in height, broad-shouldered, but of a light athletic build, not weighing more than one hundred and fifty pounds. His limbs were beautifully formed, and the moulding of his neck and throat was as fine as anything in antique sculpture. His hair, which had a long curving wave in it, approached blackness in color; his head was large and grandly developed; his eyebrows were dark and heavy, with a superb arch and space beneath. His nose was straight, but the contour of his chin was Roman. He never wore a beard, and was without a mustache until his fifty-fifth year. His eyes were large, dark blue, brilliant and full of varied expression. Bayard Taylor used to say that they were the only eyes he had ever known flash fire. Charles Reade, in a letter written in 1876, declared that he had never before seen such eyes as Hawthorne's in a human head. . . . His complexion was del-

icate and transparent, rather dark than light, with a ruddy tinge in the cheeks. The skin of his face was always very sensitive, and a cold raw wind caused him actual pain. His hands were large and muscular, the palm broad, with a full curve of the outer margin; the fingers smooth, but neither square nor pointed; the thumb long and powerful. His feet were slender and sinewy, and he had a long elastic gait, accompanied by a certain sidewise swinging of the shoulders. He was a tireless walker, and of great bodily activity; up to the time he was forty years old he could clear a height of five feet at a standing jump. His voice, which was low and deep in ordinary conversation, had astounding volume when he chose to give full vent to it; with such a voice, and such eyes and presence, he might have quelled a crew of mutinous privateersmen at least as effectively as Bold Daniel, his grandfather; it was not a bellow, but had the searching and electrifying quality of the blast of a trumpet.”*

To such a bridegroom the course of true love had brought a fit bride. Her appearance was as striking, though not so brilliant, as his. A merry childhood had been succeeded by a girlhood of unrelenting pain, produced by severe overdosing in some childish attack. It threatened to be a life-long tormentor. But happily about the time of her engagement to Mr. Hawthorne it relinquished its cruel hold of the brain it had racked so long; for indeed its mission of discipline had been fully accomplished. The effect upon her temperament and character is portrayed in a passage which though colored by the partiality of filial affection, gives us a true account of the ministry of physical suffering:—“For a nature like this what better training and restraining power could be devised than pain. It controlled her without making her feel that her liberty was invaded; it withdrew her into a region apart, where much that would have grieved and shocked her was necessarily unknown. Constantly reminding her of the sensitiveness of her own feelings, it made her tender and thoughtful of the feelings of others; and it stimulated the tenderness and love of all with whom she came in contact. In proportion as it made her physical world a torture and a weariness, it illuminated and beauti-

* Vol. i., pp. 120-122.

fied the world of her spirit. It taught her endurance, charity, self-restraint, and brought her acquainted with the extent and wealth of her internal resources. In respect of innocence, simplicity and ideal beliefs, it kept her a child all her life long; it drew around her, as it were, an enchanted circle, across which no evil thing could come. She was disciplined and instructed by pain, as others are by sin and its consequences; and thus she could become strong and yet remain without stain. What seems more remarkable is that all her suffering never tempted her, even for a moment, into a self-pitying or morbid frame of mind. She was always happy, and fertile in strength and encouragement for others; her voice was joyful music and her smile a delicate sunshine. Natures apparently far sturdier and ruder than hers depended upon her, almost abjectly, for support. She was a blessing and an illumination wherever she went, and no one ever knew her without receiving from her far more than could be given in return.”*

The next page gives us a portrait of the delicate physique in which this disciplined spirit dwelt. “In person she was small, graceful, active and beautifully formed. Her face was so alive and translucent with lovely expressions that it was hard to determine whether or not it were physically lovely; but I incline to think that a mathematical survey would have pronounced her features plain; only, no mathematical survey could have taken cognizance of her smile. Her head was nobly shaped; her forehead high and symmetrically arched; her eyebrows strongly marked; her eyes gray, soft, and full of gentle light; her mouth and chin at once tender, winning and resolute. Beautiful or not, I have never seen a woman whose countenance better rewarded contemplation.”†

A character so beautified by its lonely struggles with pain would make an ideal home for such a heart as his who had won it; while at the same time, in such an atmosphere of mental and moral affinity, it would itself rise and ripen into a sweeter charm. Hawthorne’s love for his wife was quite as much reverence for her high and pure nature as it was joy in the rich exuberance of her heart. He once wrote to her from the midst of his busy life in the custom house, “I always feel as if your

* Vol. I., pp. 47, 48.

† Vol. I., p. 49.

letters were too sacred to be read in the midst of people, and (you will smile) I never read them without first washing my hands." Her affection for him, reverent like his own, had in it all the force and warmth and clinging submissiveness of woman; and from her peaceful sphere of love she seems to have been to him friend, guardian angel, and guiding star, all in one. It was doubtless a part of the everlasting fitness of things that the life of such a man came to be in the keeping of such a woman. Her gentle ministrations made a happy environment for his restless imagination. She protected his hours. She stimulated his genius. She drew around him the few homely comforts which at first were all the household purse could afford, but made dainty and winsome by the touch of her hand. She modulated the tension of his brain. She steadied and rested the often-wearied mind. Her fine mental aptitudes afforded rational companionship, and at the same time helped to soothe the nerves and maintain the intellectual poise. Their home at the manse was idyllic. What came after indeed was sufficiently prosaic—the four years' surveyorship of the port of Salem; but that was only the shell of the happy life within. By the fireside the official tasks were forgotten, and the real life flowed on, full of high thought and sparkling with the poetry of the affections. What came after that was Lenox: a little red farmhouse with the glorious hills for an outlook, and the lake and wilderness handy for exploration and adventure. The shady side sometimes threw its black lines across their kitchen to be sure; where for a part of the time reigned an "old negro cook, Mrs. Peters,—a stern and incorruptible African and a housekeeper by the wrath of God!" But for all that, life there was a sort of bucolic, busy, bright, and full of tranquil joy. In Europe the relationships with the world were more public and more complex. There were wider responsibilities and heavier cares. But the family shrine was presided over by the same loving spirit, only ripened and sweetened by maturity. Mrs. Hawthorne says of the happy years in the Old Manse, "I think it must be partly smiles of angels that make the air and light so pleasant here;" a sentiment which her husband doubtless echoed—especially if allowed to point out which angel deserved the most credit.

We can now better appreciate the atmosphere which Hawthorne breathed in the charmed circle of his home. Its influence upon him is finely told by Mrs. Hawthorne's sister, Miss Peabody, in words written after the death of both husband and wife. "The mental idiosyncrasies of Hawthorne and his wife were in singular contrast,—a contrast which made their union more beautiful and complete. Her ministration was done as delicately as Ariel's 'spiriting,' as was needful with respect to an individuality so rare and alive as Hawthorne's, and a habit so reserved. . . . In the hermitage made for him by his extreme sensibility he was not in the dark, but saw clearly out of it, as if he walked among men with an invisible cap on his head. She guarded his solitude perhaps with a needless extreme of care; but it was not in order to keep him selfishly to herself,—it was to keep him for the human race, to whose highest needs she thought he could minister by his art, if not interrupted in his artistic studies of men in their most profound relations to one another and to nature. . . . She protected him by her womanly tact and sympathy; he protected her by his manly tenderness, ever on the watch to ward off from her the hurts to which she was liable from those moral shocks given by the selfishness and cruelty she could never learn to expect from human beings. For though Sophia had the strength of a martyr under the infliction of those wounds which necessarily come to individuals by the providential vicissitudes of life, there was one kind of thing she could not bear, and that was moral evil. Every cloud brought over her horizon by the hand of God had for her a silvery lining; but human unkindness, dishonor, falsehood, agonized and stunned her,—as, in 'The Marble Faun,' the crime of Miriam and Donatello stunned and agonized Hilda. And it was this very characteristic of hers that was her supreme charm to Hawthorne's imagination. He revered it, and almost seemed to doubt whether his own power to gaze steadily at the evils of human character, and analyze them, and see their bounds, were really wisdom, or a defect of moral sensibility. Their mutual affection was truly a moral reverence for each other, that enlarges one's idea of what is in man; for it was without weakness, and enabled her to give him up without a murmur when, as she herself said, he came to need so much

finer conditions than she could command for him. . . . Before they met they were already 'two self-sufficing worlds;' and this gave the peculiar dignity, without taking away the tender freshness, of their union,—for it was first love for both of them, though the flower bloomed on the summit of the mountain of their life, and not in the early morning; and it was therefore perhaps that it was amaranthine in its nature.”*

III.

It was under these influences that Hawthorne's stories were written. The glow of his imagination could not be quenched by the din and dust and smells of custom house or commerce. Its flame was fed not only from within, but also by a gentle hand at home. Nor could the whispering pines of Lenox, or the shady walks of Concord, beguile his mind to idle dalliance with the fleeting hours. He labored, not continuously, but conscientiously; driven at first somewhat by the *res angusta domi*, but much more by the impulse of his genius and his judgment.

At first the world was in no mood to listen. From the nature of the case his early work was immature. He had not learned how to let his imagination out on its liberty, and at the same time to hold it within those judicious restraints which come partly from the jealous caution of the other mental powers, and partly from the slow lessons of experience. Besides, nobody knew him. Who was this recluse that in his hidden cell fashioned such outré fictionettes for obscure annuals and magazines? And for a time the world, like the Levite, passed by on the other side. In 1832, a more ambitious romance fell dead; but the shorter tales kept on, and began to create their own public. The circles of readers widened. Those who read asked for more. And when, five years later, at the suggestion of his printer, a number of the stories were gathered and published under the title of *Twice Told Tales*, the world woke up and rubbed its eyes, and discovered the genius which had been so long and so modestly waiting without the gate. The reviews led or echoed the general voice. Such words as these, for instance, from his classmate,

* Vol. i., pp. 247-249.

the poet Longfellow, must have gone to his heart: "To this little work we would say, 'Live ever, sweet, sweet book.' It comes from the hand of a man of genius. Everything about it has the freshness of morning and of May. These flowers and green leaves of poetry have not the dust of the highway upon them. They have been gathered fresh from the secret places of a peaceful and gentle heart. There flow deep waters, silent, calm and cool; and the green trees look into them, and 'God's blue heaven.' The book, though in prose, is written nevertheless by a poet. He looks upon all things in the spirit of love and with lively sympathies, for to him external form is but the representation of internal being, all things having a life, an end and aim. . . . As to the pure mind all things are pure, so to the poet mind all things are poetical. To such souls no age and no country can be utterly dull and prosaic. They make unto themselves their age and country; dwelling in the universal mind of man, and in the universal forms of things. Of such is the author of this book." The poet closes with renewed reference to "the beautiful and simple style of the book before us, its vein of pleasant philosophy, and the quiet humor, which is to the face of a book what a smile is to the face of man. In speaking in terms of such high praise as we have done, we have given utterance not alone to our own feelings, but we trust to those of all gentle readers of the *Twice Told Tales*. Like children we say, 'Tell us more.'"

This book not only gave its writer an American fame, but found its way across the Atlantic. When Hawthorne long after went to England as consul, he found himself possessor of a European reputation whose beginning dated from the *Twice Told Tales*.

With this fresh introduction to the reading world, the author turned the crisis of his life and went hopefully forward. Henceforth there was no occasion to be depressed by lack of appreciation. The demand was wide-spread and cordial. His teeming imagination was kindled by it and began to pour forth its treasures. Without haste, yet with sufficient alacrity, he set himself to his attractive task. The books which followed at various intervals are familiar names on both sides of the ocean.

* *North American Review*, July 1887, pp. 59-78.

There is no occasion in our time to reopen the question of Hawthorne's genius, as shown in these remarkable works. The world has read them and will continue to read them. While their range of subject and time and scene shows the ubiquity and versatility of his mind, they all bear the unmistakable water-mark of his peculiar imagination. They are varied and unequal, both as to their mental power and as to their literary finish. But the same unique fancy haunts them all. An indefinable presence hovers about them,—be it a touch of the preternatural in the plot itself, or merely the flashes of strange light that break through the opalescent style. Hawthorne told his friend Bright in London not to read the last chapter of the *Marble Faun* in the second edition; "the story isn't meant to be explained—it's cloudland." The phrase would fit most of the other stories too. If not themselves located in some cloudland, nevertheless the dreamy haze soon drifts athwart their skies, the shifting colors grow sombre and bright by turns, the shadows play upon each other in delightful confusion, and the filmy masses melt away only to reappear in some startling transformation. There is nothing cloudy, however, in the style. The objects to be met in that aerial country are all luminously seen through the crystal words that describe them. Yet they are recognized as not altogether the same with the familiar shapes we are accustomed to in our commonplace life. It is a different region—like and yet unlike. The personages, most of them, are human; but they move in a different atmosphere from ours; we watch them through a tinted medium, which imparts to their form, their doings, their motives, a delicate and charming tinge of mystery. In other cases the actors are not human—only humanesque; as in the Faun, Feathertop, the Snow Image. They are but partly of the earth, earthy. We see them clearly. But they belong to that twilight land of the supernatural, or that outlandish region of the grotesque, whose shadowy inhabitants emerge sometimes in the air, sometimes on our lower level. While we are debating whether or not they are real flesh and blood, they fade into weird ghosts, or mocking spirits, or straw-and-bran puppets.

The earth has bubbles, as the water has,
And these are of them.

Who but Hawthorne could have thrown such a mystic spell around a common oaken figurehead, carved by a young Boston mechanic for the good brig 'Cynosure?' Who else ever conceived of such a ghastly jest upon mankind as a scarecrow brought to life by a witch, and sent out to make conquest of maidens' hearts, like his brother shams in actual life! But the language in which all these figures appear and vanish is perfectly pure and transparent. We look through the words as we look into the limpid brook and see the many-colored pebbles which bestrew its bed. Everything is clear as crystal. And besides, the words often sparkle, as do the ripples on the brook. They are not only translucent, they flash back the light, like gems. Here is the poet's touch, and like the king's touch it gives life to the plain terms of prose and sets them to singing and dancing. Hawthorne is a poet, who contents himself with 'speaking right on,' like Anthony. Without borrowing the measures of poetry, all the same its music and melody constantly skip from his pen.

It is to be noted that Hawthorne was, without seeming to be, a careful student of human nature. In his quiet way he watched the inner life of men, explored their thoughts, observed and weighed their motives. It was an artistic study of mankind, not from any high moral interest in the welfare and destiny of the race, but from the craving of the omnipresent imagination, which was ever busy selecting and recombining the conditions of life into pictures of fancy. Nor was his attention confined to the abnormal, the mysterious, the morbid. Many of his characters show as keen a glance into the common everyday man. And though in painting them it is his instinct to look at them first through the glamour of his own idealism, he comes round at last to a picture which is realistic, practical and true. Witness this charming description of "Susan," whom he saw at Swampscott: "You stood on the little bridge over the brook that runs across King's Beach into the sea. It was twilight; the waves rolling in, the wind sweeping by, the crimson clouds fading in the west, and the silver moon brightening above the hill; and on the bridge were you, fluttering in the breeze like a sea-bird that might skim away at your pleasure. You seemed a daughter of the viewless wind, a creature of the ocean foam and the crimson light, whose merry life was spent

in dancing on the crests of the billows that threw up their spray to support your footsteps. As I drew nearer, I fancied you akin to the race of mermaids, and thought how pleasant it would be to dwell with you among the quiet coves, in the shadow of the cliffs, and to roam along secluded beaches of the purest sand, and when our northern shores grew bleak, to haunt the islands, green and lonely, far amid summer seas. And yet it gladdened me, after all this nonsense, to find you nothing but a pretty girl, sadly perplexed with the rude behavior of the wind about your petticoats."* "Susan" proved to be not a mermaid, but a bewitching little shopkeeper. In a sensitive nature how easy it is to start the poet's dream.

There was a deeply religious tinge in the mental fibre of both Hawthorne and his wife. In the latter, especially, there is a pure, firm, sometimes ardent trust in the wisdom and goodness of God. In the former it is more tranquil, more reserved, less on exhibition—yet apparently has a hold on his inner life as real and as abiding. Very likely it is sometimes only the moral instincts working their way to the surface; but more often it appears to be the result of reflection, or at least of a conscience kept alive and vigilant by the habit of deference to its voice. Hawthorne never goes to church; but it would be unfair to say that because he did not worship with others, therefore he did not worship. His spiritual aspirations would surely have been exalted, and his whole moral nature enriched if he had taken his share in "the communion of saints." But there are many evidences, as well in his own works as in the volumes before us, that the high questions of right, and duty, and God, not merely kindled his imagination, but received sometimes the best thought and the deepest homage of his reason and his conscience. His trust in Providence was not a mere optimism. The leading truths of the Bible appear to have commanded his sincere belief, and to have furnished the principles on which he guided his life. His terse but clear analysis of his friend Herman Melville's religious unrest, could have been written only by a mind which looked into eternity from a very different point of view. "He informed me that he had 'pretty much made up his mind to be annihilated;'

* Vol. i., pp. 128-129.

but still he does not seem to rest in that anticipation, and I think will never rest until he gets hold of some definite belief. It is strange how he persists—and has persisted ever since I knew him, and probably long before—in wandering to and fro over these deserts, as dismal and monotonous as the sand hills amidst which we were sitting. He can neither believe, nor be comfortable in his unbelief; and he is too honest and courageous not to try to do one or the other. If he were a religious man, he would be one of the most truly religious and reverential; but he has a very high and noble nature, and better worth immortality than most of us.”* The same seriousness appears in the impressions made upon him by the vastness and comprehensiveness of the Church of Rome. “Saint Peter’s offers itself as a place of worship and religious comfort for the whole human race, and in one of the transepts I found a range of confessionals, where the penitent might tell his sins in the tongue of his own country, whether French, German, Polish, English, or what not. If I had had a murder on my conscience, or any other great sin, I think I should have been inclined to kneel down there and pour it into the safe secrecy of the confessional. What an institution that is! Man needs it so, that it seems as if God must have ordained it. The popish religion certainly does apply itself most closely and comfortably to human occasions; and I cannot but think that a great many people find their spiritual advantage in it, who would find none at all in our formless mode of worship. You cannot think it all a farce when you see peasant, citizen, and soldier coming into the church, each on his own hook, and kneeling for moments or for hours, directing his silent devotions to some particular shrine; too humble to approach his God directly, and therefore seeking the mediation of some saint who stands beside the Infinite Presence.”† The *Scarlet Letter* and the *Marble Faun*, to cite no other examples, show plainly that Hawthorne’s mind had profoundly brooded over the abyss of sin and its consequences, and that he had brought into contact with these painful problems not merely the analytic powers of his reason, but the quick intuitions of his

* Vol. ii., p. 185.

† Vol. ii., pp. 178-179.

conscience. The moral tone of his thinking is always lofty and pure. His imagination runs riot, not only in the regions of the poetical, but in the domain of the whimsical and absurd; yet never gets away from the great eternal distinctions between right and wrong, nor lends a charm to that which is evil. No thoughtful mind can follow the tragical sorrows of the *Scarlet Letter*, and not find itself more than ever impressed with the utter badness of sin and the sure retributions that overtake it.

IV.

Let us turn now briefly to the volumes before us, to see how this *clarum et venerabile nomen* is drawn by the hand of a son.

It is done with filial esteem, occasionally with affectionate enthusiasm; more frequently with the cool eye and deliberate measurement of the literary workman. There are fine touches here and there of tenderness, even reverence; but the delicate bloom too often is rubbed off by the hasty workmanship. It is a fascinating book, and yet disappointing. Its pictures of home life are so full of sweetness and light that of themselves they illumine the track along which we advance. We get an impression deeper than ever of the fine nature and pure manly character of Nathaniel Hawthorne, but with a secret wish that so sweet a story had fallen into hands which would have treated it not so patronizingly, and with more delicacy and discrimination.

The opening chapter is naturally about "Ancestral Matters." The opening pages of the chapter will strike most readers as a very odd strain of remark to be suggested by such a career. Why should a son, writing of such a father, indulge in meditations like these: "It is not necessary here, to enter upon a discussion of the merits of the theory of heredity; but we may perhaps assume that faults and frailties are more readily and persistently reproduced than virtues,—since the former belong to a man's nature, as distinguished from that self-effected modification of his nature which we call character. A tendency to drunkenness, for example, or to pocket-picking, is more easily traced in a man's ancestry than a tendency to love one's neigh

bor as one's-self, or to feel as charitably disposed towards those who injure us as towards those who injure our enemies. . . . It might seem an ungracious task, however, to analyze this great reservoir of ancestry with a view to reveal the imperfections of an individual. If a man contrives to get through life respectably and honorably, why ferret out the weaknesses which he strove to conceal? Would not vice be encouraged by the knowledge that even the greatest figures of history partook of its infirmity? . . . If it be true that human nature is evil, we shall gain nothing by blinking the fact."* As a piece of speculation this is true enough and trite enough; but as a preamble to such a biography, it seems discordant and unkind. What is to be led on the stage after such a sinister prologue? We almost look for a Duke of Alva, a Claude Duval, or some unspeakable Turk. And we approach the narrative a little nettled at the outset that the name of Hawthorne should be associated with such ungracious reflections, and that by his own son.

We are surprised to find as we advance that the story is told with a singular unevenness. The hand of the editor shows through on every page, sometimes working with filial cordiality, sometimes with a cool, unsympathetic, business-like industry. Different standards of taste prevail in the different chapters. In some the letters and passages from journals are selected with a discriminating hand; and we would fain believe the editor to be of the same patrician fibre with the subject he is portraying. But the next chapter disenchants us; we stumble upon materials for whose admission we cannot account on any principles of taste which Hawthorne senior would have understood. The same remark is applicable to the literary workmanship. There are strong contrasts in the quality. In some places the current of description flows on with the calm breadth and strength of the river—with something too of its limpid, sparkling purity. But anon it strikes into the marshes, and the clear current grows turbid, as if the writer were getting weary of his task and had not the patience to clarify or finish.

One of the most serious blemishes of the narrative is that it so often distracts the attention from its subject to its editor.

* Vol. i., p. 1, 2.

We cannot resist the feeling that if in setting his hand to so attractive a task, the son had forgotten his own existence, the result would have been a more perfect portrait of the father, a nobler tribute to his memory, and at the same time a higher and finer quality of artistic work. This would have emptied the volumes of many pages which now swell their bulk without advancing our knowledge, or giving us any clearer insight into the one character which the book was written to disclose. Why, for example, was that trivial and utterly unimportant letter from Mr. Channing* carefully preserved? We wonder in vain, until near the close we find flattering compliments paid to the manly character and high promise of the boy Julian, and then we are forced to think we have discovered the reason. We have no hesitation in saying that there is too much of this throughout the book. We miss the large-minded modesty that never thinks of self, but bends all its force upon the work of fitly setting forth for the reverence and affection of the world the lustre of the great name it has the privilege of portraying. We would have more Johnson and less Boswell.

In one direction the author has indulged us quite beyond our deserts. Human nature has a tenderness for gossip. Froude's photographs of Carlyle and his home, taken from the inside, have made many wry faces, but no less have been eagerly scrambled for by the throng. It is charming to be allowed such esoteric glimpses into an interesting life. We take a sort of thievish comfort in gratifying our curiosity about things we have no business to see, and getting away surreptitiously with knowledge which does not belong to us. And we easily condone almost any kind and degree of taste on the part of the doorkeeper who gives us full and free range among the treasures within. In the present case indeed there were no cruel puzzles to unmask; there were no high flavored mysteries; there was nothing sensational, nothing coarse; no skeleton in the house, no crook in the lot. Few episodes in human history could be laid bare to the common throng with less risk of unpleasant exposure. And yet even in such a life as Hawthorne's there are sanctities whose rights the world is

* Vol. ii., pp. 182, 183.

bound to respect. An invisible wall is drawn around every freeborn soul for defense against intrusion. And it disturbs the eternal order of things when the screen is pulled away and rude winds blow through the secret bowers, and common eyes gaze at will upon the sacred privacies of the fireside. We could well have been spared the strange pictures of the unnatural life lived by Hawthorne's mother and sisters. It seems somewhat like a desecration of the dead. The inevitable effect is to lower the family in the esteem of the reader; and a few lines would have sufficed to give him all that was needful for comprehending that side of Hawthorne's environment. Love-letters, too, are not made for public property; if they are, they are not love-letters. There are some exquisite samples here given. Few lovers, however rarely endowed, can do their billing and cooing in notes so musical and dainty. And we should be the most ungrateful of mortals not to make due acknowledgment for the privilege of reading them. It is so jolly to make free with somebody else's sentimentalisms instead of one's own. But, all the same, we read with a furtive suspicion that if the writers knew of it, their bones would turn in their graves. The eight pages devoted to Mrs. Hawthorne's chronicle of her ill-starred visit to her grandmother in her childhood,* are beautifully written and entertaining; and perhaps the son inserted it with grim satisfaction, to wreak a tardy vengeance upon his mother's spiteful aunts; but, even so, the episode is not an agreeable one, adds nothing to the progress of the story, and occupies space which could have been usefully employed. The same and worse might be added of certain coarse letters of Ellery Channing,† which are strangely preserved, like bugs in amber; "whimsical" is the good-natured euphemism with which the editor smooths them over; his readers will think them that and something more. It strikes us there are very many pages in both volumes which would have been greatly improved by judicious use of the hiatus. We enjoy reading these copious letters and diaries—but with a sort of mental reservation, for we instinctively feel that if the author had discreetly condensed their redundant effusive-

* Vol. i., pp. 51-59.

† Vol. i., pp. 432-435.

ness, he would have paid a higher compliment to the taste of his readers. Still more do we wish that those personal allusions had been omitted, which may have been harmless enough in a friendly letter or a private memorandum, but spread on the pages of a widely read biography, become discourteous and sometimes impertinent.* However unsparing the comments, the names are preserved in full. We can but wonder that the genius of good breeding did not whisper in the editor's ear that some hearts might be painfully wounded thereby. The cruel disparagement of Margaret Fuller, for example; it is easy to say that these private opinions may be needed in their place to help make up the world's final estimate of her; but in order to know Hawthorne, it is not necessary to know either his or Mr. Mozier's views about Margaret Fuller; and the average reader will find his heart glowing with honest indignation when he sees how far the biographer has gone out of his way to deal a stab at her memory. We deplore also the needless publication of such private sentiments—whether we agree with them or not—as are expressed about the author of the *Proverbial Philosophy*. Hawthorne was a guest in Mr. Tupper's home. It was natural to scribble in his diary the impressions he had received of his host. But he had broken bread at this man's table. Even an Arab of the desert would scorn to betray a host whose salt he has eaten. If Hawthorne had himself published these notes to the world, it would have been taken as evidence of an amazing moral obtuseness, and condemned as a transcendent breach of hospitality. What better is it for the son to do what the father would not? If Americans, or the sons of Americans, who may be entertained in English homes, are in the habit of betraying their entertainers after this fashion, we need not wonder at the criticisms on American manners that come to us from over the water. Besides the poet and his wife there were seven children around that family board who helped their parents to do honor to their distinguished guest. Surely of the seven some may still be living in the prime of their manhood and womanhood, who would be stung to the quick if they should

* See vol. i., pp. 168, 221, 259-262, 269, 291, 293, 414; vol. ii., pp. 69-70, 105, 108-116.

know how the son of that honored guest had betrayed his own father by throwing public derision upon theirs. Worse than this, the poet himself is lingering on in old age and misfortune, to get the full benefit of this gratuitous outrage. Heaven defend him and them from reading these memoirs.

These blemishes do not, of course, overshadow the beauties and graces which really illumine these comely volumes. In the main the story is well told. The materials are gathered with a generous hand, linked together with skill, and arranged with agreeable effect. It is a thoroughly interesting biography. It could not well be otherwise, made up as it is so largely from the writings of Hawthorne himself and of his genial wife. Her letters are indeed sometimes sentimental, and a bit gushing, yet she does her own thinking, and puts it in a dainty style which breathes the perfume of a pure spirit and of a cultivated mind. His, in all their moods, sombre and playful alike, show that they issued from the same brain which grew the "Mosses," and painted the "Scarlet Letter," and carved the "Faun." And for the artificer who has brought out from the parental archives these treasures of the past and has welded them into shape, we can sincerely praise, as we heartily enjoy, much of his work. His style when off guard is careless and phlegmatic, but, at its best, has a certain vigor and melody very unlike the style of his father, but yet business-like and sensible. We wonder that he has not made more of his golden opportunity. With such a name to commemorate, with family resources not open to other biographers, and with personal memories to supplement and interpret them, it would seem to have been within his power to produce a memoir of Hawthorne that should be the classic for all time,—not only a tribute of affection, but a model of art, and itself worthy to take a permanent place in American literature. Instead, he has given us a rapid, effusive, unfinished picture, which is enjoyable, but unsatisfying. Manifestly, the real monument to Hawthorne's memory is yet to be raised. We look forward with confidence to the biography which is preparing for the series of *American Men of Letters*, and rejoice to learn that this particular task has fallen into the hands of so competent a man as James Russell Lowell.

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS.

ARTICLE I.—A CRITICISM FROM YALE OF THE LAST HARVARD EDUCATIONAL MOVE—GREEK AND THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE.

It is publicly announced that the authorities of Harvard College have at last consummated the deed to which they have long been tending. They have decided that a student can be admitted as an undergraduate in the Department of Arts without any knowledge of the Greek language. As the curriculum after entrance at Harvard is largely elective, it necessarily follows that no knowledge of Greek will be required for receiving the first degree in Arts. We ought not to be surprised at this decision, so far as the logic of events may have forced us to forecast what seemed inevitable. And yet we must confess our surprise at the accomplished fact. Even Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., must be astonished that his guerrilla raid upon the sacred shrine of the long-worshipped Fetich has resulted in so speedy a surrender to the rampant iconoclast.

We would suggest that a commemorative service be held at Sanders' Theater for the manes of the Fetich, by some antique dramatic representation in Attic Greek,—only once and for the last time. We are not certain which would be the more befitting, whether a plaintive wail in the manner of the sad Sophocles, or something in the sarcastic humor of the merry Aristophanes. At all events, let not the oldest and the most literary University of America be wholly unmindful of the honor which it paid to Greek in the past before it formally marches over into the camp of the Philistines.

One of the oldest, the most learned, and the broadest of our scholars, in commenting upon this revolutionary proceeding, remarked: "My chief interest in the retention of Greek in our academic curriculum is founded upon its relation to the Christian religion." It will be remembered that the Protestant interest

in a revived Christianity had much to do with the introduction of Greek to the English Universities. We trust that the partial abandonment of it in the oldest American University does not signify a weakening faith in the supernatural facts of the New Testament History, or in the Eternal Truths which that History illustrates and enforces.

But it will be said this decision is altogether a private affair, and only concerns the domestic economy of a single household and with this its neighbors have nothing to do. What does it signify to the students or guardians of other colleges, whether a single institution introduces or omits a single study from its curriculum, so long as fair notice is given of what the community may expect and of what the college proposes to teach? We reply, that the matter in question is not what is taught or omitted by one or more colleges, but what has long been agreed upon and understood in the organized commonwealth of scholars as to the principal studies which are proposed as the conditions of receiving a degree common to all. These conditions have been observed in most of the Academies of Christendom since the revival of Greek learning. Whatever may be thought of academical degrees, it cannot be denied that they have borne a common signification among scholars and educators. This significance has been more or less definite, but the meaning of none has been so definite as the meaning of this the lowest degree of all; and, therefore, the most extensive of all in its application. It is true that this degree like all the others, at different periods and in different institutions, and most of all with different individuals, has signified in fact very different grades of scholarship in both quantity and quality; and yet but one negative criterion has been stable and well understood, viz: that no student who is absolutely ignorant of Greek should be admitted to the standing which this degree gives a man in the commonwealth of science and letters.

This statement itself is enough to settle the point whether this is a private or domestic question, or one that is public and social. In an intelligible yet more dignified sense, the degree serves a similar purpose with any trade mark which has a definite meaning and is used for a definite purpose. To use such a mark with another meaning and for another purpose, may possibly interfere with the interests of other parties, and certainly may furnish ground for offence and complaint. It is true the trade mark may have previously been affixed to a very inferior article of use

or traffic. The new goods offered in the place of the others may be far better in the opinion of the maker and the user of them, and yet if the mark has had a definite meaning and has been agreed upon for centuries and by parties who are supposed to be held to a mutual understanding, it is not for a single party to use the symbol in a meaning which deviates in any considerable measure from its original import,—least of all when it is notorious that the other parties, if consulted, would be earnestly opposed to the proposed change in its application.

We take the liberty here to cite the opinions and arguments upon this point from a very able writer, written as long ago as the year 1831. The writer was the late Professor George W. Benedict, and it occurs in an exposition and defense of certain proposed changes in the administration of the University of Vermont. The argument concerns the proposal of a New England College to dispense with both the ancient languages as a condition for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It reads thus:

“ Were our estimate of the value of ancient learning less than it is, and did we believe that a fair substitute for it in a liberal education could be found, our opinion of the propriety of insisting on an acquaintance with it as a prerequisite for a degree would not be altered. It is unnecessary to inquire into the origin of academic degrees, or what they originally signified. That they have a pretty determinate meaning now, is well known. Saying nothing of the requisitions for a degree in the European Universities, which every scholar knows to be different from those in our country, it is presumed universally that the person who receives the degree of Bachelor or Master of Arts has pursued to a considerable extent a course of study comprising important portions in the principal parts of the general circle of Arts and Sciences. Among these, the study of the ancient languages has been considered as occupying a very important place. This being understood wherever the degree is known, with what propriety can a widely different meaning be given to it except by common consent among those institutions (or at least a majority of them) which have the right of conferring this degree? If one college may without any violation of the implied rights of the republic of letters at its individual pleasure, lay aside a knowledge of Greek and Latin as requisite for a degree, surely another might, with equal propriety, cease to require a knowledge of the pure mathematics beyond the elements of common arithmetic, another

dispense with everything belonging to the science of the mind, each substituting what it is pleased to call an equivalent of something else. There could certainly as strong reasons be given for doing so in either of the last named cases as in the first. At this rate a degree would soon mean nothing at all. Suppose persons having received the degree of A.B., yet unacquainted with the ancient languages, to carry diplomas as credentials to those parts of our own country, or to other countries where the signification of this degree remains unaltered, saying nothing of the opinion which might be produced respecting the college by which they might have been conferred, would not the effect with regard to all the colleges of the same part of the world be exceedingly unfavorable? Would it not be said that if one college has made this alteration, other changes may have been made, or are liable to be made, and a degree can no longer be considered as indicating at all the course of mental discipline and the character of the attainments of its possessor?

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"The whole bearing of the procedure in question, if countenanced, will be, we think, to render a degree of no value, because it will be a sign of nothing specific. What its possessor has been studying, or what he might know, must be left to conjecture or ascertained by examination. Must not the result of the whole be an unfavorable opinion abroad of the standard of scholarship in our colleges, and an actual lowering of it at home, the injurious effects of which on colleges and the community must be great indeed? If the colleges agree to throw aside all degrees, very well. In that case, every man proceeding from a college must be examined by those who would be informed of his scholarship. If degrees are to be given as sureties of scholarship of a determinate kind, it is all important that they mean alike." *

The actual practice of the colleges of this country has been in accordance with the views which are here so lucidly and forcibly expressed. Within the last forty years, and especially within the last twenty-five years special curricula of study have been introduced into many of the colleges and universities of this country,† which are analogous to many of the elective courses which are

* Exposition of the system of Instruction and Discipline pursued in the University of Vermont, 1829, 2d Edition, 1831.

† For a brief sketch of the several changes that have been proposed within the last fifty years, see *The American Colleges and The American Public*, 2d Edition. Charles Scribner's Sons.

provided for in the ample programmes of Harvard College. We need only refer to Michigan and Cornell Universities and Yale College. In all these new courses Greek is omitted altogether, while many of them require Latin—some advanced mathematics and high attainments in special and applied science. Inasmuch, however, as no Greek is exacted and less Latin and also less Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Science, than in the generally accepted curriculum, another degree has in every case been provided for each, e. g., either Bachelor of Philosophy, or Bachelor of Science, or Bachelor of Letters. Several hundreds of students in one department in Yale College have been admitted to one of these degrees, and very many in the two other institutions named. In these cases it is true less Latin is exacted than presumably Harvard will require from its incoming Freshmen. But this fact of itself does not alter the obligation which should hold each college to the duty of comity and general understanding with respect to every one of its degrees. It will doubtless be urged in reply that the examinations and instruction in the studies required at Harvard under the new system, especially in its one classical language—suppose it to be Latin—will be so superior and thorough as to justify this deviation in the case of the Bachelor degree. To this we reply let this be supposed: doubtless it has always been true that many a student who has failed to receive the degree of B.A. has in general culture been far above many who have in fact received it, but this does not prove in the least that the old curriculum is not the best on the whole, nor that the arrangement by which it has been made the condition of a certain degree ought not to be adhered to until it is abandoned by common consent. The fact that all the colleges with the exception of Harvard which have introduced material changes in their curriculum have also assigned a special academic degree to each, shows what their opinion is in respect to this common understanding.

The next thought which suggests itself in connection with the change that is now consummated in the Harvard curriculum is that it will tend to shorten the time given to general or non-professional education. The elective system with Greek or Latin left out renders it possible for the student to prosecute many classes of professional studies in the college course. The defenders of this system do not deny this. They find in this feature an advantage. They contend that aside from the three so-called

learned professions those who wish will be able also to prosecute any branch of physical science, or English Philology or criticism, the higher mathematics, music, history, etc., and to give to it the best part of four collegiate years. It is not denied that many will be tempted to do this who have in view some definite occupation to which a select curriculum may introduce them. Indeed this is openly acknowledged and is urged as a great advantage in that it furnishes a more active stimulus to do good work and makes it possible to unite professional with liberal studies. This class of students has our cordial sympathy. We would by all means favor and further schools of special training for particular callings and of shorter courses of general training for those whose time for study is for any reason contracted. This has been done most liberally in scores of well conducted collegiate schools which unite most happily the features of liberal and special training. Moreover, in some cases, such schools or classes may be blended with the college and the university as to studies and teachers and apparatus. And still it remains true that in consequence of the existence of these arrangements it becomes the more necessary to provide a fixed curriculum of what are properly known as liberal studies, covering the field of classical reading, mathematical and physical science, of philosophy, criticism, and history. For such a curriculum the demand was never more imperative than at the present time for the very reason that so few will respond to it. For the same reason this demand should be reënforced by whatever value or honor there is in a special academic degree.

We ought not to forget that in a country like ours the attractions of professional and business life as well as the temptations to travel and do nothing are necessarily enormous and almost irresistible to an increasing class of students. The student who is not held by necessity or stimulated by special ambition to special culture is in haste to finish his preparatory studies and to be at his work or his play in life. For the college to aid him in this premature and often suicidal haste is to do precisely what the college ought not to do, especially because the field of general culture in letters, history, science, and philosophy was never so inviting and never so rewarding as at the present instant. Moreover, whatever may be gained in increase of energy in single cases by substituting professional for liberal studies is more than lost by narrowing one's range of pursuit and contracting the capacities for future growth.

We believe that all these results are both expected and desired by the advocates of the omission of Greek. A few years since it was hoped that a large class of students whom youth and easy circumstances and previous culture might combine to tempt and inspire to continued non-professional study after graduation—would avail themselves of any facilities which might be furnished at home for advanced studies after taking their first degree. These expectations have not been responded to so generally as was hoped for. Or rather it should be said that the majority of such students very naturally prefer to prosecute such studies at a continental university which gives them at the same cost the attractions of a foreign residence and the opportunity to gain a more complete mastery of one or more modern languages. But this disappointment furnishes no sufficient reason why the college should be in haste to assume the functions of the professional school, or why, in order to gratify either those instructors or those students who prefer to limit themselves to a few advanced studies, certain fundamental studies should be wholly omitted or receive only a superficial attention. So far as elementary and fundamental studies can be mastered in the preparatory schools the effort to introduce into the university elective studies at an earlier period is altogether natural and laudable,—but to seek to find time and place for such courses by a serious mutilation of either the preparatory or the college curriculum is to commit what may be called the unpardonable sin against the next generation of scholars.

For this there can be no palliation or excuse except by denying that there are any studies which deserve to be called liberal by eminence. This ground we understand to be taken by both President Eliot and Mr. Adams. They reason, when they attempt to reason, thus: All study is liberal if it be prosecuted with a willing mind and an awakened interest. The more zeal is excited, the more willing will be the effort and the more gratifying the reward. For this reason, among the languages, German is more liberal than Greek, and English is better than German, for all the purposes for which we study the languages at all. Science also is nearer to nature and to facts, and for this reason is more liberal than philology, or history, or criticism, or ethics, or politics, and if it were only taught as it might be and as it ought to be, it might be made as effective a discipline for all the highest purposes of human culture as any of the so-called literary studies. Things, not words, facts,

not theories, phenomena, not speculation, excite the child with fresh and untiring wonder, and were it not for the incurable stupidity of elementary teaching and the perverse obstinacy of traditional prejudices, a truly liberal method might conduct our children into youth and from youth into manhood, singing along the flowering paths of Natural History, and these would gradually transfer them to the fruitful and wonder-inspiring fields of Science proper.

As for the pure Mathematics—we beg pardon, we do not remember that either President Eliot or Mr. Adams have ever ventured to follow out their line of argument in this direction, and yet the logic of their reasonings ought to make them say, that somehow or other the anticipated utility of the most abstract processes of pure mathematics when applied to mensuration and railway construction, to writing railway reports and to calculating eclipses and striking balance sheets—may render them so attractive that even mathematical study shall charm like the geometry of the dance, or the rhythmic harmonies of the symphony.

The logic of President Eliot, if he is taken at his word, not only admits but requires us to believe that the study of English for all disciplinary purposes is as good as Greek and may be better, even for the youngest minds, and that the study of nature only needs to be skilfully managed in order to be as effective from the beginning to the end of the school and college curriculum as linguistic or literary studies. He not only implies this but he asserts and defends the position in his article entitled “What is a Liberal Education.”*

And yet no one is more positive in his criticisms or louder in his complaints, that, notwithstanding their abundant opportunities and the loud call of public sentiment for more than a generation, very few preparatory schools are to be found, whether public or private, in which the elements of English or of the natural sciences are taught with any tolerable efficiency or success. This, notwithstanding the pressing demands of public sentiment, the notorious popularity of scientific studies, and the lavish expenditure of public and private funds in the purchase of apparatus. We presume that he would not hesitate to concede that if a rigid examination in the advanced elements of the physical sciences were insisted on as a condition of entering upon a course of scientific study, it would be more difficult to exact it than it is

* The Century Magazine, June, 1884.

at present to secure an adequate preparation for the ordinary classical curriculum.

The true explanation of these disappointments is to be found in the principle which can never be shaken by either the assertions, the writings, or the assumptions of the advocates of the opposite theory, that, for the best training in youth and early manhood, no appliances are so well fitted to the great majority of boys and young men as the study of the classical languages. Such studies naturally require the careful study of geography and history, and as naturally are varied by the mastery of one or two modern languages, with the elements and practical exercise of Natural History. Supplementary to all these, the use of good English may be supposed in all school exercises.

The first objection which would be likely to be urged against our theory is that the efficient realization of it requires more time than can be given to any preparatory course, especially in the haste and pressure of modern life. To this we reply, nature is lavish of time before the days of manhood are reached. Leisure and health, and play-time are accorded to infancy, childhood, and youth. Twenty years out of a life of sixty is nature's proportion for a generous preparation for life, and in twenty years wisely allotted and faithfully used, there is time for the amplest preparation which ordinarily should be looked for. Idleness and self-will, overeating, overplaying, ignorant and unfaithful nurses, ignorant and wrongheaded parents, bad theories of education, unfaithful administration, and over severity or over laxity in government, interfere very materially with the best use of these opportunities.

In an education truly liberal, language in its simpler forms, written or spoken, the facts of natural history, and the elements of science, and the pure mathematics are the prime instruments of the earliest stages of culture.

Science, whether psychical, or physical, or mathematical, should be reserved till the later years, when reflection dawns and matures. Previous to this period the memory should be stored with facts, in songs, and stories, and dates, and paradigms, and poems, and speeches. The modern languages should be taught as complementary to the mother tongue, giving accuracy and copiousness to each, and reflecting a sense of present reality upon the classical tongues. These last, however, should be the *pièces de resistance* from the beginning to the end,

being, as all but anti-classical bigots know, preëminently adapted to all those analytic and constructive processes which the mastery of their forms and syntax requires, and reflecting upon the growing mind of the young scholar, the clearness and freshness, the brightness and bloom of the morning of life's dawning culture. Rigid yet flexible, clear yet profound, multiform in their flexions, yet distinct in every articulation, adequate to the complete manifestation of every emotion, yet rarely overcome by any frailty of sentimental or overstrained excitement, they seem prepared by Divine Providence for the consummate culture of all generations. Woe be to the generation that refuses to avail itself of these divinely provided instrumentalities, and a double woe should rest upon the advisers of any generation to dispense even with half of these beneficial influences.

But it still will be asked why insist on Greek? Surely Latin ought to suffice for the classical element, especially in view of the demands upon the time and the energies, from the modern languages, from modern science, and modern life? Because, we reply, the ideal of a liberal education cannot be realized without time, and when the time required is judiciously used, and pupil and teacher are animated with earnestness and diligence, there is no better use to which a year or a year and a half of it can be applied out of the eight years of solid work, from 12 to 20, than to the study of the Greek language. For let it be observed first of all this appropriation by no means involves the taking of so much solid time without return. It is the confident testimony of all who have made a faithful trial, that the student who masters the Greek language, finds in the help that it gives him in the other languages, if he proposes two or three modern tongues, little loss of time, while his gain in enjoyment and culture is acknowledged by all to be enormous.

To all this what is conceived to be the practical reply will be urged that these considerations can only apply to a few of the brightest and best minds, and therefore may be set down as simply romantic when applied to three-fourths or two-thirds of any college class. To this we answer that a course of study ought to be judged of by what it can and will do for the healthy, the faithful, and the favored of every company, for the reason that if the ideal is lowered to the limits of success for the indolent, the half-prepared or the dull, there will be no real success to any.

It is idle to say that many, and even the majority, of students, forget their Greek very soon, when it is equally true that they

as truly forget their mathematics, their physics, and their chemistry, unless they have occasion to keep them in hand, and therefore are certain to keep them in mind. The student who cannot read a sentence in Homer will usually be unable to demonstrate a theorem in geometry, or to calculate an eclipse, or to state a chemical formula. The question always is or should be not what any study has done for the *memory* of any man, but what it has done for his mind, his habits, his tastes, and his character.

But why add Greek to Latin, or why not omit the Latin and take the Greek? Because neither the Latin nor the Greek, by itself, represents what antiquity can do for the modern races in the way of special and general discipline and culture. The one supplements the other in every particular for which we study a language at all. The fact that one supplements the other makes it possible to prosecute the one by the aid of the other, as all will testify who have made the trial, shortening the time for each, and giving as the result a satisfaction and conscious strength which must be experienced to be appreciated. But that it is worth more than all that it costs will be attested by the conscious enjoyment and power of those who have gained these possessions, and by a confessed deficiency on the part of those who have failed. We say nothing here of good or bad methods of teaching, or of the wisdom or unwisdom of the methods and theories of schools or colleges. We simply assert that no man who has mastered in any moderate sense of the word the Greek and Latin languages, and who has also mastered the elements of whatever is proposed as a substitute for either, is the only competent judge of the value of any. To the judgment and testimony of such men we make our appeal, and to such only.

The new scheme at Harvard is open to a still graver objection. It provides that after admission to the college the student may bid farewell to both Latin and Greek and yet receive the Bachelor's degree, thus limiting the study of either Latin or Greek to what is required for admission. How utterly inconsistent is this with the general principle insisted on by President Eliot, that no study can be pursued in a liberal spirit which is not thoroughly mastered is obvious from a very little reflection. According to the new theory, the student enters college with his scantling of Latin or Greek, mathematics, and one or two modern languages, and forthwith selects a few specialties to which he devotes all his hours, and then claims his degree according to the contract. Such an education may be very useful to men

of marked proclivities. We will concede that it may be the best for a very few, but it does not deserve to be called a liberal education in the best, nor in any appropriate, sense of the term.

No scheme could easily be devised which is more certain to divide the unity, to weaken the strength, and to lower the tone of our higher institutions of learning.

We grant all that may be said by our critics even in the extreme form, of the prevalent defects in classical teaching in both school and college. But the half of what they can say, in criticism of these defects, does not equal the severity of their representations of the defects in instruction which they say are universal, in the sciences of nature and the English language. We submit the suggestion that the preparatory schools are probably in their way not greatly inferior to the colleges, and that in a young country like ours it is perhaps not surprising that both should be so defective in their ideals and achievements.

We are well aware that our schools are neither perfect in their theories, nor in the application of them to practice. The recent decision of the authorities of Harvard College proves emphatically that the colleges are not infallible. Whatever view is taken of this decision, it reminds us most forcibly that while it is true that no country is animated with a more flagrant zeal for improvement than is our own, it must also be confessed that no country is so zealous for change, so confident of the success of any untried methods, and so intolerant of the wisdom of experience. No country is so little controlled by the opinions of the learned class, and has a learned class that is so fickle and eager for novelty, and at times so loud and voluble in its appeals to popular feeling. We should naturally look for counsels of conservatism to our oldest and wealthiest university, surrounded as it is by a community which is sensitive to many of the noblest and best traditions of generations of cultivated men. We confess our disappointment at both the matter and form of its breach with its own honored past, and with its associates of the present generation.

P. S.—Since the above was sent to the press, we learn from trustworthy sources that the reported decision which has occasioned our somewhat free animadversions is not accepted by all parties as final. We take the liberty to add the earnest desire that the considerations which we have suggested rather than expanded, may be duly weighed by the authorities of Harvard College, and by that portion of the American public which feels a direct or remote responsibility for our institutions of higher learning.

ARTICLE II.—PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY.

John Phillips, the son of Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Andover, Massachusetts, was born in 1719. He graduated at Harvard College in 1735. While still very young, after the usual term of study, he received approbation as a minister, and is reported to have been "a devout, zealous, animated and pathetic preacher." Distrust of his own powers, deepened by his admiration of Whitefield's surpassing gifts as a pulpit orator, led him to abandon the clerical profession. He became a teacher at Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1741, and subsequently entered into mercantile business, in which he was eminently successful. Meanwhile he was urged, but in vain, to become pastor of a new church, of which he was made ruling elder; while in civil life he filled the offices of Justice of the Peace, Representative to the Provincial Assembly and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and added to them a commission as Colonel of a corps organized as a body-guard for the (then royal) governor.

His was a case under a law which has verified itself to us in the observation of a long life, without a single exception, that a man never grows generous as he grows rich. All the munificent rich men that have emerged from poverty, within the range of our knowledge, showed while poor the traits that ennobled their wealth. Mr. Phillips, when earning a scanty livelihood as a teacher, put on record in his private Diary the resolution, "Being sensible that a part of my income is required of me to be spent in the more immediate service of God, I therefore devote a tenth part of my salary for keeping school to pious and charitable purposes." His educational benefactions commenced in 1770 with Dartmouth College, in which, besides several liberal gifts for immediate uses, he created an endowment for a professorship of Divinity—a fund considerably larger than that of the Hollis professorship in Cambridge which so long voiced the sectarian battle-cries of New England polemicists. He also made donations to Harvard and Princeton colleges, and for the use of schools in several towns in the neighborhood of Exeter. With his nephew, Samuel Phillips, who took the first steps in the enterprise, he was the co-

founder of Phillips Academy in Andover, and was the largest contributor to its funds, and that by an amount, as we believe, equalled by no subsequent benefactor.

Having thus rendered signal and enduring service to his birthplace, he made arrangements for securing like privileges to the town of his residence. He procured an act of incorporation for Phillips Exeter Academy in 1781; and in the following year he conveyed to the trustees named in the act his first gift for a permanent endowment, and with it prescribed a constitution, which has remained unchanged, is read, as he ordered, at every annual meeting of the board, and has become obsolete only in one rule, which the degeneracy of the times has rendered impracticable, namely, a provision that no student should board in a house in which family worship was not observed—in lieu of which requirement, in accordance with the *cy-pres* doctrine, the students are assembled in the Academy chapel, at an early hour, for morning prayer. The founder himself suggested the application of the *cy-pres* principle in still another matter. He prescribed that the principal of the Academy shall always be a church member, holding "sentiments *similar* to those hereinafter expressed," which represent a type of orthodoxy now obsolete. The first principal, selected by the founder himself, his fellow-townsmen and friend, expressed at the outset his dissent from the creed of the constitution, and was assured by Dr.* Phillips that his religious *status* was entirely satisfactory. In subsequent elections the trustees, though for many years a majority of the board have been of other denominations, have deemed themselves bound to regard as candidates for the office only persons whose religious and ecclesiastical relations were *similar* to those of the founder.

Dr. Phillips died in 1795, leaving by his will the two academies at Exeter and at Andover, residuary legatees, the former of two-thirds, the latter of one-third of his estate. The entire amount of his gifts and bequest to the Exeter Academy was about \$60,000—equal to more than four times that sum at the present day, as will appear from the fact that the first principal entered upon his office with a salary of five hundred dollars.

The Academy was opened in the spring of 1783, under the

* Mr. Phillips received the degree of LL.D. from Dartmouth College in 1777.

charge of William Woodbridge, a graduate of Yale College. At the end of five years he resigned his office, ostensibly on the ground of impaired health, to which might probably have been added that of limited success. Benjamin Abbot, who had just graduated at Harvard College (1788), took charge of the school a month or two before Mr. Woodbridge's resignation, but declined to assume formally the office of preceptor or principal till 1791. In the first year of his service he received more new pupils than had offered themselves for the three preceding years. He thus entered on his permanent tenure of office with a reputation already established. He filled out fifty years of service, in a course that culminated without decline. He held from an early period confessedly the foremost place among American teachers. His special scholarship was fully adequate to his work ; his general culture, large and broad ; his character and bearing as a Christian gentleman, preëminent among the eminent. With a mien, temper, and spirit which one could not fail to call Johannine in the later sense of the word, he could on fit occasion revert to the apostle's early style as a "son of thunder ;" and while he was benign and lenient with a gentleness not less even than motherly toward the venial faults of boyhood, no one could ever forget the intensity of his sorrowful indignation at aught that was false or mean or vile in word or deed. No man of his time can have done so much as he toward shaping character in honor, integrity and purity, or toward commending Christian faith as the only sure basis of character, by the beauty of holiness in his own life, and by the queenly place which he always gave to religion in observance and in precept. On his resignation at the close of his half century, there was a general gathering of his pupils from all parts of the country, to offer a parting tribute of reverence and love to one who had been, in the consciousness of each and all, a friend and benefactor even more than a master and teacher. Daniel Webster presided ; and there had at that time never been in America so numerous an assembly of distinguished men of all professions and of all walks in life. Dr. Abbot survived this occasion for eleven years, serving for the larger part of this time on the board of trustees, retaining to the last his unimpaired vigor of intellect, and sinking slowly

and gently into his last slumber, with the "hope full of immortality."

Gideon Lane Soule, a graduate of Bowdoin College, was an instructor in the academy, for the academic year 1818-19. In 1822 he returned to Exeter as Professor of Ancient Languages, and had become so distinguished by his ability as a teacher and a disciplinarian, that no other candidate could be thought of for the place which Dr. Abbot left vacant. The result fully justified the choice. Dr. Soule's chief class-work was in Latin, and those who remember his Latin classes have never seen them surpassed, if equalled, in grammatical and critical thoroughness, in the degree to which the students were made to enter into the spirit of their author, or in the signal accuracy and elegance of their rendering Latin into English. At the same time he had the dignity and the grace which commanded the respect and won the affection of his pupils. At the head of an increasing and able corps of teachers he maintained his position with such high-toned courtesy and such assiduous kindness, that he never needed to claim the deference which his associates were only too happy to yield. In method and order, in all the details of organization and management, he had the consummate art of concealing art. The complicated machinery of the large school under his direction seemed to move spontaneously, with never a check or jar. His paternal care for the well-being of the individual students in a large measure precluded and superseded penal discipline, to which he rarely resorted, unless when he feared the contagion of an offender's vicious example.

In 1870, the academy building, erected in 1794, was destroyed by fire. It was replaced by donations from the alumni and other friends of the school, the largest gift, of 10,000 dollars, being from William Phillips, a kinsman of the founder. The dedication of the new building in 1872 was made the occasion for another grand festival, under the presidency of John Gorham Palfrey, in honor of Dr. Soule, on the completion of his fiftieth year of continuous service. Till within a few weeks of this occasion he had retained undiminished vigor of body, no less than of mind; but an illness from which he then seemed hopefully convalescent, issued in but partial recovery, and was

followed by a rapid decline of working power. He resigned his office in the following year, when the trustees, in consideration of an indebtedness to him far beyond their ability of payment, voted for him a retiring pension of 1,200 dollars per annum, and the use for the remainder of his life of the principal's official residence.

Dr. Soule was succeeded by Albert Cornelius Perkins, a graduate of Dartmouth College, a scholar of high reputation, a teacher of large experience, and a man whose sterling worth and varied powers of usefulness secured for him a foremost place in the esteem and confidence of the entire community, no less than of those concerned in the administration of the academy. Of his work at Exeter, it is enough to say that it was in consequence of personal visitation, careful inspection and minute inquiry, on the part of a committee of the trustees of a largely endowed school in Brooklyn, N. Y., that he was invited to take charge of that institution with a salary which justice to his family would not suffer him to decline. He resigned in the summer of 1883, a few weeks before the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the opening of the academy. This occasion was memorable for the assembling of hundreds of the alumni and a vast concourse of friends and guests. George Bancroft presided at the table, and though an octogenarian, renewed his youth in recalling its happy memories, and in sprightliness of address, flow of humor, and promptness in repartee, seemed to have thrown off a full half-century of his years. On that occasion the academy received a gift of 25,000 dollars from John Charles Phillips, of its founder's family, then the youngest member of the board of trustees, and lately removed by death from a career of distinguished merit and abounding usefulness.

The present principal is Rev. Walter Quincy Scott, D.D., a graduate of Lafayette College in Easton, Pa., and late president of the Ohio State University. His reputation for scholarship and for executive ability gives ample promise of success in his present charge.

The principals have from the very first had associated with them professors and assistant teachers of superior merit. The list of names of presidents and professors of colleges who

gained their earliest reputation as teachers in this school, is by no means small. We find on it Presidents Dana and Lord, and Professor Adams, of Dartmouth College; President Chadbourne and Professor Fernald, of Williams College; Chancellor Hoyt, of Washington University, St. Louis; Professor Cleaveland, of Bowdoin College; President Walker and Professor Bowen, of Harvard University. Besides these we have the names of such clergymen as Abiel Abbot, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, Henry Ware, and the twin Peabodys, and, on the bench, of such jurists as Judges Thacher, Emery, and Ware. There has never been a time since 1808, when, in case of the resignation of the principal, his place could not have been acceptably filled by one of the teachers already on the ground; and in the last two vacancies, had it not been for the theological provision in the endowment, the choice would undoubtedly have fallen on Professor Cilley or Professor Wentworth, both of whom have been in the service of the academy for more than a quarter of a century, and have shown administrative capacity of a high order, no less than surpassing ability as teachers in their respective departments.

The entire property of the academy, including real estate, is less than 400,000 dollars. The school-building is substantial in its architecture, and well arranged, and contains, with an adequate number of recitation-rooms, a spacious hall or chapel, a library room, and a room for the use of societies among the students. Near it is Abbot Hall, of four stories and a basement, with lodgings for nearly sixty students, a dining room, a kitchen, and apartments for the family of the steward or matron. Hard by, but outside of the academy grounds, is Gorham Hall. This was an hotel, needless as such, and to the last degree undesirable. It now furnishes rooms and board for about thirty students, while the keeper is permitted to reserve a certain portion of the house for the accommodation of strangers, especially of the parents and friends of students. This last-named arrangement is worthy of notice, as it is often made availing by parents in placing their children at school or in case of the illness of a student. There is also a house built early in the present century for the use of the principal, which has been recently remodeled, with the modern conveniences that may render it serviceable for many years to come. The

academy grounds, including an open square in front of the principal's house, contain about six acres, furnishing a limited space for athletic exercises, and at the distance of nearly a quarter of a mile is a large field, properly graded for such purposes, and giving ample room for the various sports in vogue among the students.

The invested funds of the Academy are about 240,000 dollars, 36,000 dollars representing a fund which is to accumulate for two lives, on the expiration of which one-half of the income is to be added to the principal, till its annual income shall amount to 20,000 dollars.

The history of this accumulating fund is well worthy of our passing notice. John Langdon Sibley, the Librarian *emeritus* and the historiographer of Harvard College, was the son of a hard-working and poorly paid country physician in Union, Maine, whose resources were so slender that he postponed for a year the purchase of a pair of spectacles in order to buy a Greek Lexicon for his son, then a beneficiary at Exeter. The father, who died in 1860, left a legacy of 100 dollars to the Academy, "in grateful remembrance of the favors" received by his son nearly forty years before. Mr. Sibley paid this sum immediately, and added to it 200 dollars, thus constituting a small fund for the purchase of text-books for deserving students. On receiving, shortly afterward, the entire savings of his father's long life, amounting to 4,500 dollars, he gave this sum to the Academy in his father's name. To this he added in two subsequent donations 8,000 dollars, annexing to his last gift the above-named conditions, by which the income of the fund first becomes available after his own decease and that of his wife.

Of the funds of the Academy, the sum of 1,000 dollars represents a legacy from the late Governor Gilman for instruction in sacred music, and 7,000 dollars is the amount given for specially endowed scholarships. By the will of the late Francis Parkman Hurd, M.D., the Academy will, when the estate is settled, receive 50,000 dollars, which will become a part of the permanent fund.

We have spoken incidentally of the beneficiary funds of the Academy. It is believed that no institution of learning in the country, except Harvard College, has bestowed so large an

amount in aid of meritorious students, and that none has bestowed so much in proportion to its property and income. In point of fact, even rich men's sons have been largely beneficiaries, the price of tuition having never exceeded sixty dollars per annum, which is considerably less than the actual cost for each student. This fee is remitted for all for whom the payment is otherwise than easy. Sometimes a full half of the students, never less than one-third, have claimed this exemption. In Abbot Hall, the rooms simply, yet sufficiently furnished, are occupied by students who cannot afford more expensive lodgings, at a merely nominal rent, less, indeed, than is paid for the care of the rooms and for incidental repairs, and board is furnished there at cost, with occasional subsidies from the funds to lessen the cost. Still farther, twenty-four students, chosen from among the applicants in the joint ratio of need and merit (yet never without evidence of superior scholarship and faultless character) receive from the income of scholarships and of the funds of the Academy a sum nearly sufficient for their board in Abbot Hall. At the same time students are employed in various services about the Academy, and the citizens of Exeter furnish a very considerable amount of employment for such students as are disposed to work for their own support. It should, in this connection, be emphatically said, that at Exeter poverty is held in especial honor, both with the students and in the community around, and the youth who saws wood or tends the furnace-fire is always likely to be a favored guest and a life-long friend of the family for which he labors. This whole beneficiary system has contributed very largely toward sustaining a high tone of scholarship and character. It attracts scholars who have to depend solely on their merit, and it attracts such only; for it is sufficiently well understood that mere poverty receives no favor,—that stupidity, whether rich or poor, finds neither furtherance nor encouragement. Such being the case, the beneficiaries, oftener than not, lead their classes, are looked up to by their fellow-students, and are held in high regard by those outside of the Academy whose esteem is best worth having. The list of beneficiaries is a roll of honor. It bears the names of not a few who have held foremost places in political life, in literature, and in our seminaries of learning. Of our most distinguished historians, Jared Sparks, John

Gorham Palfrey and George Bancroft were supported mainly by the funds of the Academy. Jared Sparks was a working carpenter, with the love of learning, but with no higher ambition than to fit himself for keeping a country district school during the part of the year when he might find little employment at his trade. His ability was recognized by a brother of the Exeter preceptor, who procured for him a scholarship, and offered to take the trunk that contained all the young carpenter's worldly goods on the rack behind his chaise, while Sparks performed the journey from the heart of Connecticut on foot. Mr. Bancroft, while American Minister at Berlin, founded a scholarship in grateful memory of Dr. Abbot, his "incomparable preceptor," and of the benefit received from the endowments at the disposal of the Academy. The late President Chadbourne, whose many and various services covered a larger field than it is often given to any one man to traverse, said publicly, not long before his death, that the question, whether he should obtain a liberal education or return to his father's farm, depended wholly on an examination which, if successful, would give him an Exeter scholarship. We might fill pages with similar testimony, showing not only the help that has been given to worthy men, but the valuable services that would have been lost but for the aid thus rendered to genius and excellence in those first steps on the lifeway which are the hardest to be taken. Of the proportion borne by beneficiary aid to other expenses, some idea may be formed from the Treasurer's estimate for the current academic year. Of an estimated income of 28,600 dollars, the salaries of teachers are put at 14,500 dollars, and the amount to be paid to beneficiaries at 2,820 dollars.

The Academy now has, besides the Principal, four permanent Professors, an Instructor in French and German, and an Instructor in Physics and Chemistry. The last catalogue shows 251 students, from 28 States and Territories. There are 51 from New York, 46 from Massachusetts, 45 from New Hampshire, 13 from Illinois, 11 from Maine, 10 from Pennsylvania. The range of religious denominations that furnish pupils to the Academy is similarly wide, 86 belonging to the Trinitarian Congregationalists and Presbyterians, 57 to the Episcopalians, 29 from Unitarian, and 20 from Roman Catholic families, 19 registered as Methodists, 14 as Baptists, and the remainder

classed under nine different names. The students are required to attend public worship regularly, most of them are regarded as under the pastoral charge of the clergymen whose ministrations they frequent, and many of them are teachers or pupils in the several Sunday schools. They have among themselves a religious society, which holds regular meetings, and in which the clergymen of the town, not excepting even the Roman Catholic priest, have manifested a helpful interest.

While the age of admission is but thirteen, and a large number of the scholars are still mere boys, there are so many of mature years, especially among the beneficiaries, as to raise the average age above seventeen.

The school has, it is believed, for nearly its whole period of existence, been second to none as to instruction in the classical languages and in mathematics. In these departments it has never been without teachers of distinguished ability. The mathematical text-books of Professor Wentworth have become very widely known and are in extensive use, and there have been and are on the ground classical teachers whose class-work, could it find adequate expression in print, could not but win for them an equally high reputation. The methods of teaching in Latin and Greek, wrought out by long practice and successful trial, at once greatly abridge the time and labor expended on the old methods, and give at an early period such a working knowledge of the languages as used to be acquired only and hardly after many months of dry and weary toil over the grammar. In French and German the instruction is all that could be desired, the reading and the colloquial use of the languages receiving equal attention. In the department of English great progress has been made, with the determination that it shall hold as high a place as either of the other departments, so as to send out pupils who shall have acquired conversance with much of the best literature in their own tongue, and shall have learned to write with accuracy and ease. In the natural sciences the work—but recently among the requisites for admission to college—is well begun, and it is the hope of the trustees to make of these sciences a permanent department so soon as they can find the right man for its organization and management.

It is of no little worth to the school that it is situated where it is a foremost object of interest to a community

comprising a large proportion of persons of intelligence and cultivation, affording advantages and privileges of which the students enjoy the full use, and remote from any great centre or source of corrupting and depraving influence. An ideal site might be in many respects superior; but of actual sites few could be better. The best test of the school and its surroundings is to be found in its graduates; and those who have had the opportunity of extensive comparison believe that no school in New England can show a larger proportion of its pupils who in college, in the learned professions, and in active life have done the most ample honor and borne the fullest testimony to the worth of its instruction and discipline.

But the Academy craves not empty praise alone. Because it has done so much good, it needs and seeks the means of doing more. Its funds have been managed not only with integrity and wisdom, but with rigid economy as regards all but the essential purposes and interests of the school, and at a minimum of cost. It has a large and beautiful collection of portraits of eminent men who have been pupils, teachers and trustees; but only two of them, those of Dr. Soule and Mr. Sibley, have been paid for from the funds; the rest have been obtained, in great part, through the kind agency of Benjamin Franklin Prescott, late Governor of New Hampshire. But there are pressing wants which can be met only by new liberality on the part of the alumni and friends of the Academy. Among these are a gymnasium, a better furnished physical and chemical laboratory, a fund for the library, which is very small and is increased chiefly by an occasional gift of a volume or two, and a sufficient additional fund to add two at least to the list of permanent teachers. So many of the alumni are men of ample fortune, and so unanimous are they in tracing to Phillips Exeter Academy the teaching, examples and influence which contributed most largely toward all the good that they have been and have achieved, that the appeals in behalf of this institution cannot be left unheeded. The trustees are doing all in their power toward a new departure, a more complete organization, and a full and generous response to the increased educational demands of our time. They are fully adequate to the work; all that they need is such supplies as they well know how to make availing to the best purpose.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

DISCOURSES BY PROFESSOR PARK.*—To many, this volume, so long looked for, will be a welcome sight. Those whose entrance into Professor Park's class-room proved a birthday of thought, are sure to welcome it: those whose memory of the New England pulpit embraces the last half century, with a pleasure not lessened by anticipation may here read, with satisfaction, what they listened to with delight; those who continue to be instructed by solid preaching may here find food for profitable thought; and our younger preachers are likely to value these sermons as models of their kind. For the most part, they are full and forcible discussions of great doctrines and deep philosophies, the results of which are urged upon the conscience in the grand manner of a great man.

The Discourses are sixteen in number, opening with the famous Election Sermon on "The Indebtedness of the State to the Clergy;" embracing the still more famous one on "Conscience;" a noble sermon on "The Prominence of the Atonement;" another on "The Gospel Preached to the Poor;" still another on "Union with Christ" (preached at Professor Fisher's ordination); and concluding with a fascinating presentation of "The Righteous Man's Satisfaction with the Character of God." Others, not here mentioned by name, are productions of remarkable power, notably the one on Gen. iii. 13-19, "The System of Moral Influences in which men are Placed," in the introduction of which is inserted this characteristic remark,—a text for a volume on inspiration: "The truth lying under these words is too deep to have been so vividly exhibited by so ancient a writer without the aid of special illumination from above."

Some of these discourses, treatises rather, are fenced with elaborate and scholarly notes; notes explanatory, corroborative, and defensive, notes rich enough to make the stated pastor long for like chances to tell what he means, how many great men agree with him, and how people must *not* understand him.

Looking at these discourses as homiletically constructed, the

* *Discourses on some Theological Doctrines as Related to the Religious Character.*
By EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1885.

preaching clergy will be rewarded by a study of them, (1) as disclosing a masterly method,—they earn Hooker's praise, in "making all that goes before, prepare the way for all that follows and all that follows confirm all that went before;" (2) as illustrating the true theory of progress in a sermon, namely, to be always on the move, but not at the same speed; to wind at times like a genial river, where (according to Dr. Withington), though the bends may detain the flow of thought, they should do so among green fields and waving trees, leaving the whole landscape impressed on the mind;" and (3) as blending elegance with force in the citation of Scripture. This whole book is composed and published in the interest of revealed truth; and a great part of its power is in the way it "holds the Bible in solution." The spirit of each text is the text of the sermon, and the spirit of the Scriptures rather than the mere words, armed with book, chapter and verse, is the sword here so efficiently wielded by the soldier of Christ.

The Andover press sustains its high character in its issue of this book. As becomes its author and its contents, the book, *as a book*, is stately, elegant, and accurate.

THE LOST FOUND.*—These excellent expositions of Luke xv. were published in Great Britain several years ago; and it is to their credit as things of life and light, that, with little alteration, they are read here, as well as there, "unto edification."

Dr. Taylor's view of the parables he expounds is as follows: The first two, "The Lost Sheep," and "The Lost Coin," show us the Divine agency in the sinner's recovery; the third, "The Prodigal Son," lets us see the result of that agency in the sinner's own activity. But this is not all. Each parable "brings before us a particular kind of sinful experience. The first portrays the helpless sinner; the second depicts the man who has fallen so low as to have lost the stamp of his Creator, and the consciousness of his degradation; and the third sets before us the sinner who is knowing and deliberate in his iniquity. And so, correspondingly, we have in the first parable, the work of the Divine Son—the Good Shepherd; in the second, that of the Holy Spirit; and in the third, the Eternal Father's eager desire for the salvation of sinners, and His great delight in their deliverance."

* *The Lost Found, and the Wanderer Welcomed.* By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

From this outline the author has expanded his discourses in his usual praiseworthy manner. Good sense and fervent piety at once guide and impel him through the exposition. His prayer to be "kept from saying anything to mar the force, overlay the beauty, or destroy the pathos" of the truth in hand, seems to have been answered.

It is because we so fully justify and admire this exposition of these parables, that we venture an inquiry upon the propriety of introducing into it, even an implied apology for their contents. As we read page 12, the expositor seems to give way, for a moment, to the theologian, in a sort of defence of the parables for not containing the doctrine of the cross. But there are other saving doctrines they do not contain, and cannot contain without distortion. The Evangelists never seem anxious lest certain omissions may be noticed in their records. Why, then, should their expositors allude to such omissions. The truth *in system* is not what the expositor is after, but the truth "*as it is written*,"—where it may land him is also outside his inquiry. The fact is, the Evangelists are "orthodox," even if, on a given occasion, they do not present the "five points," nor four of them, nor three of them, nor two of them, nor one of them. This little book itself is brim full of the Gospel, yet its rich pages by no means exhaust "the unsearchable riches of Christ."

THE REALITY OF RELIGION.*—The discourses here published are creditable specimens of the intelligent and timely work of a young city pastor. They make pretence to neither originality nor profundity; but are sent out "in the belief that there are men and women of every class and creed, scattered throughout the world, who have felt, with pain and hunger of heart, a craving for reality in religion." Though disavowing "any reference to points of temporary interest or transient dispute," the accomplished and warm-hearted author finds himself unable to discuss his living topics, without some references to the leading philosophies of the day. See, for example, in the second discourse, the admirable classification of those who discuss the question, "Is God real?"

The drift of this whole discussion is well set forth in its order of topics: "A Real Religion Necessary;" "The Living God";

* *The Reality of Religion.* By HENRY J. VAN DYKE, JR., D.D., Pastor of the Brick Church, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

"The Living Soul"; "The Living Word"; "The Living Sacrifice"; "The Living Christ." The spirit of the little book is as commendable as its logic is exact, the heart of the preacher giving force and glow to his well-defined and progressive thoughts. The material form and finish of the book befit its contents; it is a pleasure to commend the Scribners' press, for furnishing an author's brain-work with such a comely outfit.

THE CONTINUITY OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.*—Professor A. V. G. Allen, of the Episcopal Divinity School at Cambridge, has presented in this comely volume an historical and theological discussion of uncommon ability and interest. The topics are, the Greek Theology, the Latin Theology, Theology in the Middle Ages, Theology in the Age of the Reformation, Conflict of the Traditional Theology with Rationalism, Renaissance of Theology in the Nineteenth Century. The author manifests a decided predilection for the Greek Theology in contrast with the Latin. The chapters are marked by freshness, discrimination, and independence of thought. It is a work which those who are interested in Church History and in "the burning questions of theology" at the present day will find to be in a remarkable degree able and scholarly.

SAYCE'S EMPIRES OF THE EAST.—Professor Sayce is one of the most prominent of the English oriental scholars, and has presented in a small volume, a summary view of the ancient Empires of the East. It is written in a clear, animated style, and embraces information which many seek for who have not time for more elaborate studies. The explorations in Assyria have added to our knowledge of this period of history an amount of new light inferior only to what the deciphering of Egyptian inscriptions has furnished. Professor Sayce appears to be an enemy of Herodotus, and his reflections on the honesty of that charming chronicler are not to be received as "law and gospel."

ECCLESIOLOGY.†—This volume is a condensed summary of the lectures on this subject given by the author in his regular course of instruction. He treats the subject under five principal divisions.

* *The Continuity of Christian Thought: a study of Modern Theology in the Light of its History.* By ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School, in Cambridge. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.

† *Ecclesiology.* A Treatise on the Church and Kingdom of God on Earth, by EDWARD D. MORRIS, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Lane Seminary. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885, pp. iv. and 187.

ions: The church in the divine plan, its idea, history and justification. The impersonal constituents, its doctrines, sacraments and ordinances. The personal constituents, its members and officers. The church as a divine kingdom, its government, politics, and discipline. The church in human society, its unity, growth and relations. It is not a polemic in defense of the polity of the church with which the author is connected, but is a comprehensive and philosophical exposition of the idea, constitution, administration and work of Christ's church. He treats his topics concisely but with great precision and clearness of thought. His exposition of different theories of the church, its organization, government, and work is candid and fair. His conception of the work of the church in its relations to the family and the state, to education and culture, to morality and reform, to civilization and human progress is just and timely. He recognizes the church as one, the Christian church being the continuance in a new form of the church under the Old Testament dispensation; the whole drift of the thought is in the interest of a comprehensive unity. The reader will only regret that the plan of the book does not admit a more full exposition of the many topics of great practical interest of which it treats.

In discussing the Christian ministry the author says: "This ministry is in the new dispensation all that the priesthood was in the old." (p. 79.) This is not in harmony with the general course of thought, and seems to be a sentence inadvertently meaning more than the writer intended.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of the Huguenot Emigration to America. Two vols. By Charles W. Baird, D.D. 354 pp.

Phillips & Hunt, New York.

The Hallam Succession; a tale of Methodist life in two countries. By Amelia E. Barr. 310 pp.

Anthè. By Mrs. G. W. Chandler. 272 pp.

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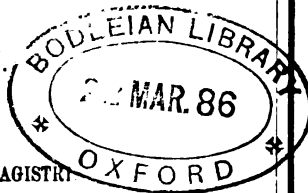
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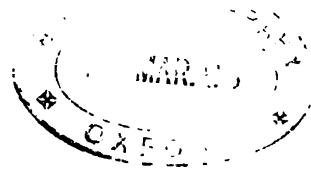
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No. CLXXXV.

JULY, 1885.

ARTICLE I.—SKEPTICISM AND WOMAN.

WHAT is there in the relation of Skepticism to Woman worthy of special attention? What has sex to do with questions of belief or unbelief? Truth is truth, and error is error, irrespective of such differences. There is not in religion, more than in mathematics, one doctrine for men, and another for women. Truth, in its very nature, must be the same for all moral intelligences. Woman has, therefore, with respect to the Bible, one duty with man—to inquire whether it be indeed the word of God. Half of the race, however, is represented by woman, and motherhood puts her into the most direct and influential relation to the entire race. Mothers are naturally and necessarily the educators of mankind. In addition, we have the social power of woman, who reigns acknowledged queen in society, and in the family the special influence of sister and wife; combined forces at once the most tender and the most constraining. It becomes, then, of importance to know what is the relation to Faith and to Skepticism, of her

who watches by every cradle, who trains every child, who makes the atmosphere of every home, who gives character to social intercourse, and who is man's companion in all life's varied experience, knowing him as she does her own soul, and often accompanying him to the last moment, when the veil is parted, and he passes into the invisible and eternal world.

Now it is not to be denied, or concealed, that, for some reason, infidelity in a woman affects us with more horror than does infidelity in a man. It shocks any community, when a woman deliberately arrays herself against the religion of Jesus Christ; somewhat as when a lady indulges in coarseness of speech or rudeness of manner. The explanation is partly to be found in our appreciation of the religious element in woman's nature. Her wealth of affection, of sentiment, of imagination, of faith, of hope, which gives her such a charm as sister, sweetheart, wife and mother, prepares her also in an eminent degree to be impressed by spiritual facts and truths, and to welcome the peculiar revelations and consolations of Christianity. While religion must rest on intellectual perceptions of truth connected with logical processes of thought, it is yet largely concerned with those moral intuitions and refined spiritual sensibilities which are characteristically strong in woman. True, no man merely reasons, no woman merely believes; but the mental tendency in man is toward logical demonstration, and in woman toward intuitive faith. Hence the male sex furnishes the ablest theologians, and the female the most enthusiastic advocates; and this irrespective of the differences of education. A Mohammedan may scorn the opinion of a woman who rejects the claims of his prophet; because the Moslem women are kept in ignorance, have little opportunity to develop intellectual strength, and are believed either to have no immortal souls, or to be immeasurably and forever beneath men in every human excellence. Not so with the Christian: he puts no restraint upon female education, he has no contempt for female religious opinion. Rather does he believe in the high moral nature of woman, in the special religious instinct of her sex. Oftentimes has male logic erred, where female intuition went straight to the mark, in matters religious, as well as secular. And so the experience has oft

been renewed of the skeptical male disciples of Jesus, who discredited the report of the Marys, when these returned with an account of an empty sepulchre, until, as the historian relates, they went to the sepulchre themselves, "and found it even so as the women had said." It seems, then, to the modern world of Christian civilization, something unnatural, when a woman takes ground against the sacred book which embodies the highest religious conceptions of the best thinkers and the purest lives that the world has ever known.

Moreover, an element of ingratitude appears in this unbelief, as one reflects upon the special indebtedness of womanhood to the Bible. When the student of history inquires for the influences which have brought woman out of ignorance and dishonor, to occupy the throne upon which she now sits, he traces them mainly, though not exclusively, to Christianity. Lecky, himself a rationalist, admits that primitive Christianity, *before it was corrupted by ascetic notions*, contributed largely to this result; and he testifies ("Hist. of European Morals," ii. 379, 384-386) that a "very important result of the new religion, was to raise to a far greater honor than they had previously possessed, the qualities in which women peculiarly excel; that "the general superiority of women to men in the strength of their religious emotions and their natural attraction to a religion which made personal attachment to its Founder its central duty, and which imparted an unprecedented dignity and afforded an unprecedented scope to their characteristic virtues, account for the very conspicuous position they assumed in the great work of the conversion of the Roman Empire;" that "Christian sentiment is chiefly a glorification of the feminine qualities of gentleness, humility and love;" and that "from age to age the impulse thus communicated has been felt; there has been no period however corrupt, there has been no Church however superstitious, that has not been adorned by many Christian women devoting their entire lives to assuaging the sufferings of men, and the mission of charity thus instituted has not been more efficacious in diminishing the sum of human wretchedness than in promoting the moral dignity of those by whom it was conducted." Lecky's testimony as to the revolution brought by Christianity in favor of moral purity in

woman is most pronounced. He says (ii. 335, 366, 371): "Christianity soon constituted itself the representative of the new tendency. It regarded purity as the most important of all virtues, and it strained to the utmost all the vast agencies it possessed, to enforce it." "The passages in the Fathers, asserting the equality of the obligation of chastity imposed upon both sexes, are exceedingly unequivocal." "Against these notions (in favor of concubinage) Christianity declared a direct and implacable warfare, which was imperfectly reflected in the civil legislation, but appeared unequivocally in the writings of the Fathers and in most of the decrees of the Councils." He also testifies that it was the influence of the Christian Church which secured legislation against unchastity, divorce, and oppressive treatment of wives, mothers and widows (ii. 370, etc., 388). Maine, another hostile rationalist, bears similar testimony ("Ancient Law," p. 224), saying: "The provision for the widow was attributable to the exertions of the Church, which never relaxed its solicitude for the interests of wives surviving their husbands, winning perhaps one of the most arduous of its triumphs, when, after exacting for two or three centuries an express promise from the husband, at marriage, to endow his wife, it at last succeeded in engrafting the principle of dower on the customary law of all Western Europe." A third skeptic, Renan, ("The Apostles," p. 136) uses this emphatic language: "The wise men of that day considered woman as a scourge to humanity; as the first cause of baseness and shame; as an evil genius whose only part in life was to impair whatever there was of good in the opposite sex. Christianity changed all this. . . . Woman never had a religious conscience, a moral individuality, or an opinion of her own, previous to Christianity."

And if we survey the world at the present day, the only parts of it where woman is held in honor, and is allowed full opportunity of development, are those where a Christian civilization rules. Heathenism and Mohammedanism ignore or crush woman. She is made a beast of burden and a slave, or else a toy and an instrument of lust. And it is noteworthy, that it is the Christians alone who go to her rescue in those lands of barbarism. The loud-voiced infidel agitators for woman's rights

are never found on heathen shores, or among the Moslems, seeking to raise the millions of their degraded sisters, by cultivating their moral and intellectual nature, and by enlightening and softening their oppressors. No; they leave such practical and self-denying work in behalf of the abused sex to the missionaries of the gospel and remain amid the comforts and privileges of Christian lands, to argue in behalf of their peculiar ideas and methods of human progress. This world-wide favorable influence of the gospel is so obvious, that one expects women to show a corresponding gratitude to the religion of Jesus Christ, and is tempted to meet the skeptical talk of a female unbeliever with an "*Et tu Brute*" exclamation of reproach. The comparative rarity of any such exhibition is greatly to the credit of the head and heart of the gentler sex, and is in keeping with the well known lines of the poet:

"Not she with trait'rous kiss her Saviour stung,
Not she denied him with unholy tongue;
She, while apostles shrank, could dangers brave,
Last at the cross, and earliest at the grave."

And this feeling is intensified when one remembers how commonly infidelity has been allied with social revolutions and lax moral principles at war with female purity and happiness. Success in undermining a woman's faith in her Bible is often used to persuade her to throw away her virtue also; the seducer believing that the principal defence of chastity is broken down, when Christ is no longer loved as a Saviour, or feared as a Judge. Nor can one easily forget the significant facts touching the sexual relations of many representative skeptics and rationalists, male and female, in former and in later times, in the old world and in the new; some of whom have been noted for amours outside of the marriage relation, and others for separations and divorces in connection with it. They resembled Catharine II. of Russia, of whom Prof. John Fish remarked, that she attached the same importance to free thought as to free love. And it is notorious, that the theories of skeptics in respect to marriage and divorce have varied widely from the strict morality of the Christian code. But these are questions on which cultured women usually have an intuitive perception of what is fundamentally right and neces-

sary, so that they dread infidelity as the enemy of their sex, from a native fear which does honor to their refined sensibility.

And thus it comes to pass, that the male skeptics are obliged to admit, that the arguments which satisfy their own intellects, fail to convince the minds and persuade the hearts of their mothers, their sisters, their daughters, and their wives. Thus Mr. W. R. Greg (Preface to *Creed of Christendom*), speaking from his own experience of the sadness and reluctance with which a serious-minded skeptic breaks with his old ideas and associations, says: "He loves the church where he worshiped in his happy childhood; where his friends and his family worship still; where his gray-haired parents await the resurrection of the just; but where *he* can worship and await no more. He loves the simple, old creed which was the creed of his earlier and brighter days; which is the creed of his wife and children still; but which inquiry has compelled him to abandon." It is easy, indeed, to say, that this difference is owing to the superior learning and logic of the men; but it is equally easy to retort, that it is owing to the superior purity and spiritual insight of the women; nor should it be forgotten, that the skeptics often show their own appreciation of these latter qualities, by preferring that their wives and daughters should adhere to Jesus Christ. Indeed Auguste Comte, who in his first speculations, made small place for feeling or sentiment, in his completed system of Positivism vied with Romanism itself in an idolatry of woman's moral nature; declaring that to a Positivist, every worthy woman furnishes the best personification of the true Supreme Being, and that the female sex is in his system the moral Providence of the human race.

And yet it may be instructive to notice the fact that woman has had her representatives among the skeptics. Her intuitions do not always preserve her from misleading philosophical speculations, or from errors born of fancy or of passion. The fall of our race is traced in Scripture to the skepticism which the Devil succeeded in arousing in the heart of Eve, as she stood before the enticing fruit, and listened to his guileful words. And in later history, the tempter from time to time has found some woman whom he could influence to oppose the true religion. And so the prophet Elijah had his antagonizing

Jezebel to defend the Baal worship, and to persecute the worshipers of Jehovah; and the career of the stern preacher, John the Baptist, was cut short by the lust-inspired machinations of a Herodias, with her doctrine of easy divorce and free love. Paul, too, had his occasional troubles from this quarter; for we read in the book of Acts that at Antioch in Pisidia, "the Jews stirred up the devout and honorable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts"—an example which has a following at the present day, Paul still being odious to some "honorable women;" though, when it serves a purpose, they are fond of quoting his words that "there is neither male nor female, ye are all one in Christ Jesus." And the apostle John seems to have had knowledge of a female antagonist of early Christianity, whom he likens to the deadly enemy of Elijah; for in the message sent through him to the church in Thyatira, we find this rebuke: "Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach, and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols."

About the year A. D. 210, we gain a glimpse of an anti-Christian influence in the person of Julia Domna, wife of the Roman emperor, Septimus Severus; at whose special command Philostratus wrote his life of Apollonius of Tyana, who has been aptly described as "partly philosopher, partly magician; half mystic, half imposter." This life seems to have been a kind of parody on the gospels, and to have been intended to present a rival of Christ. That Julia Domna should have inspired it, shows that she was probably an enthusiast in behalf of the waning imperial religion. It has continued to be quoted and pressed into service by skeptics, down to the present day. (See Lardner, vol. vii., p. 486, etc.) At the beginning of the fifth century, when Christianity had secured imperial recognition, and its adherents formed in many places the mass of the citizens, there arises the sad picture of the gifted and beautiful Hypatia, daughter of the mathematician Cleon, and herself a mathematical author, who deriding the claims of the new faith, defended the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. She lectured publicly at Athens, and then at

Alexandria; and such was the attraction of her beauty, her learning, and her eloquence, that crowds attended her lectures, including the highest dignitaries of the State, and a gorgeous train of attendant horses and slaves thronged the door of her academy. This moved the envy and the wrath of Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, who with a certain ability was a narrow minded, persecuting bigot; and, at his instigation, a superstitious and fanatical mob assaulted her, during Lent, and dragged her from her chariot to the door of the Cesareum, which had been turned into a church, where stripped naked, she was ruthlessly murdered by Peter, the reader, her flesh being cut from the bones with oyster shells, and her body dragged through the streets and then burned. (See Gibbon, chap. xlvii.; also Socrates' History, vii., c. 13-15.) With such a savage spirit in the representatives of Christianity, one cannot be surprised, that they had not made a convert of Hypatia, or that she preferred the sublime theories of Plato to the superstitious ritualism, ascetic monkery, and corrupt ecclesiasticism, which operated to desecrate the name of Jesus, and to hide those facts and truths which have ever had a winning power over woman's intellect and heart. Then, as in more recent days, a spurious Christianity reacted to produce unbelief; and a woman, who might have been a distinguished ornament of the church, remained outside of its pale, and perished as a martyr of the heathen philosophy. But the bishop, who directly or indirectly was responsible for this failure to illustrate true Christianity and for this disgraceful outbreak, has been canonized by the Romish Church, as a man of special orthodoxy and sanctity! On the other hand, Hypatia has had the memory of her personal charms and genius embalmed by a clergyman, Rev. Charles Kingsley, in the volume of fiction which bears her name, and from whose pages the reader gains a life-like view of the peculiar times in which she lived; which witnessed, as the author truly says, "the last struggle between the Young Church and the Old World."

Passing from these early Christian ages down through the centuries to the time just preceding the French revolution, woman does not arrest our attention among the opposers of Christianity; though in the secret skepticism before the Refor-

mation dawned, in the partial avowal of it by various scholars at the revival of learning, and in its more pronounced form by the English Deists, it is probable that she had occasionally a sympathetic part, in connection with husband, brother, father or friend. The philosophical speculations of David Hume were early translated into French, and procured for him many female admirers across the Channel, who showed him extraordinary attention, when he visited France in 1763. Dr. McCosh in his sketch of Hume's life (*The Scottish Philosophy*, p. 125) remarks: "He was the special favorite of the ladies, who at that time ruled the fashion in Paris. In particular he was flattered and adored by the Countess de Boufflers. His correspondence with that lady had commenced in 1761. . . . This lady, it is proper to say in plain terms, was the wife of the Comte de Boufflers, still alive, but the mistress of the Prince of Conti. . . . Hume might also be seen attending the evening *salons* of Madame Geoffrin. . . . He also waited on the entertainments of the famous Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse, who, originally an illegitimate child, had raised herself, by being first the humble companion and then the rival of Madame Du Deffand, and was well known to have been the mistress of a number of successive or contemporaneous lovers. There must have been something in the philosophy of Hume, which recommended him to so many ladies of this description. We believe they were glad to find so eminent a philosopher, with a system which did not seem to bear hard upon them. The courtiers told him that Madame de Pompadour 'was never heard to say so much to any man.'" But in the progress of the French philosophic school of skepticism, woman came largely under the spell of unbelief; as in the age preceding, she had been a power allied with the priesthood and the throne, in the defense of the church of Rome. We note this, not only in the personal friendships which Rousseau, Voltaire, and other skeptical writers formed with ladies of wealth and social position, who shared their views, but also in the vast number of the female readers of their works, who became enthusiastic advocates of their religious, social, and political theories. Perhaps the celebrated and ill-fated Madame Roland may be taken as a distinguished specimen of the better class.

In youth she devoured the writings of the French philosophers, though at first without discarding her Christian faith. But, after her marriage, she became more and more engrossed in the ideas which led to the revolution, and which had the greater power of impression because they antagonized terrible evils which, in the name of monarchy, Christianity, and established society, made miserable the entire mass of the people. It was a natural suggestion, to make clean work of the proposed reform, and to overthrow all these institutions together. Madame Roland's *salon* became the headquarters of the advanced thinkers and plotters; for thither came, four evenings in each week, Brissot, Pétion, Buzot, and Robespierre, and Lamartine remarks that now, "as in the conspiracy of Harmodius, it was a woman who held the torch to light the conspirators." Not long after, she concealed Robespierre in her own house, when his life was in danger. When her own life was at issue, in the mad passions of a later period, she would not ask Robespierre's mercy, and she perished on the scaffold by sentence of the very power which she had helped to create. Lamartine says: "No modern feelings of Christian sentiment taught her to bow with resignation to her lot, and to look to heaven for help; her intense abhorrence of superstition had destroyed in her the belief of a present Deity, or a sure immortality. A heathen in the midst of a Christian country, her virtue partook of the same character as her opinions; her Providence consisted in the opinion of men, her Heaven in that of posterity. The only God she invoked was the future: a species of abstract and stoical duty, itself its own judge and reward, supplied the place with her of hope, consolation, or piety." The statue of Liberty stood close by the scaffold to which the Jacobins had sent her, and as she was about to lay her head upon the block, she bowed to it and said: "O Liberty! Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name." Thus by a sad experience she found, that if corrupt priests could desecrate religion, infidel statesmen could equally desecrate freedom.

But it was when French infidelity had worked down from the literati to the masses, that its effect became most marked on the women. That effect may be condensed into a single

word: It *unsexed* them. It took away modesty, gentleness, refinement, compassion, and substituted boldness, coarseness, lewdness, and ferocity. With religious faith went morality and all the virtues which adorn womanhood. The females in Paris, who adopted the ideas of the skeptical philosophers, and they were many, organized themselves into clubs called fraternal societies, and societies of republican and revolutionary women, and these had their orators, and actively discussed the political topics of the day. They took part also in the civic processions, bore banners, and thronged the tribunals and the place of execution, growing each day more excited and tumultuous. Lamartine says: "The fraternal society was composed of educated women, who discussed with more decency the social questions analogous to their sex; such as marriage, maternity, the education of children, the institutions of relief, and the assistance of humanity. They were the philosophers of their sex. Robespierre was their oracle and their idol." "The Revolutionary Society was composed of abandoned women, adventurers of their sex, recruited for vice, either in the depths of misery, or in the hovels of debauchery. The scandal of their meetings, the tumult of their motions, the caprice of their eloquence, and the audacity of their petitions annoyed the Committee of Public Safety. These women had dictated laws under pretext of bestowing their counsel upon the Convention." Prominent among these was Theroigne de Mericourt, popularly called *La Belle Liegeoise*, "the impure Joan of Arc of the public streets," who had originally been robbed of her religious faith and her virtue by a young nobleman. She was very beautiful and of good family, and "had received a finished education." She became acquainted with the leading revolutionists, and "Romme, a mystical republican, infused into her mind the German spirit of illuminatism." She appeared on the streets at the first outbreak, and was the leader in the attacks on the Invalides and the Bastille. She headed the women who rushed to Versailles, and brought the king, *per force*, to Paris; and was an orator on the streets and in the clubs. At last she fell a victim to the women whose rage had outrun her own, known in history as the Furies of the Revolution, and under whose suspicion or jealousy she fell.

They seized her, in front of the Tuileries, and, stripping off her clothes, flogged her publicly—a disgrace which overthrew her reason, and drove her to the madhouse, where she lived for twenty years in “one long paroxysm of fury” (See Lamartine’s *History of Girondists*, i. 466–468). How completely unbelief had sway in those days over both sexes, and how ready both were to take part in the open proclamation of their irreligion, is evident from that famous scene in the National Convention, on the 9th of November, 1793, when Chaumette, at the head of a vast crowd, entered, conducting by the hand, Mademoiselle Condeille, “one of the handsomest courtezans of Paris,” who wore a blue veil, which he raised to display her beauty to the multitude, saying: “Mortals! recognize no other divinity than Reason, of which I present to you the loveliest and purest personification.” And then he, the President, the Convention and the people bowed, in affected adoration. On the 20th of December, the Convention and others went to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, taking for the representative divinity this time, Mademoiselle Maillard, a handsome actress, who, preceded by women dressed in white, with tri-colored girdles, was borne on a palanquin to the altar, where lay a mutilated statue of the Virgin; and there a torch was lighted by her emblematic of the light of philosophy, and incense was burned in her honor, while every possible profanation of the building was practiced. (See Lamartine, iii, 298, etc. Carlyle’s *French Revolution*, ii. 336, etc.) If it be progress, to leave Paul and Christianity behind, these women had certainly made extraordinary progress!

If now we turn to England, about this same time, we find a female skeptic attracting attention in the person of Mary Wollstoncroft, who ultimately became Mrs. William Godwin. In 1790 she published a reply to Burke’s strictures on the French Revolution, and the next year issued her “Vindication of the Rights of Women,” in which she argued against the marriage institution, and advocated the political equality of the sexes. Her practice corresponded with her theory; for, in 1792, she went to Paris, where she lived illicitly with an American, by whom she had a daughter, and who afterwards deserted her, on her return to England, so that in her despair

she threw herself into the Thames, but was rescued. Afterwards she formed a similar connection with Mr. Godwin, also a free-thinker, but was married to him at last, and died a few months later. In the more recent developments of skepticism woman has occasionally been prominent. Thus, Fanny Wright, who, being left an orphan, was educated by her guardian in the ideas of the French Materialists, lectured extensively in this country in favor of various social reforms and of religious free-thinking; but her ideas were so very free, that she roused a general opposition, though here and there she established societies which bore her name. In 1838 she married a French infidel, M. Darusmont; but after a few years she separated from him. She was undoubtedly philanthropic in disposition, was a decided opponent of slavery, and endeavored to establish in Tennessee a colony of emancipated slaves, at very considerable cost to herself. Her last years were embittered by the alienation between herself and husband. Possibly infidelity is not the best preparative for happy marriage unions. It is the maligned Paul who says, "Husbands love your wives, and be not bitter against them." "Husbands love your wives, even as Christ loved the church and gave himself for it."

England has developed of late not a few women of ability who have espoused the side of unbelief. The late Mrs. Cross (previously bearing the name of Mrs. Lewes, yet unwedded to Mr. Lewes), but better known by her *nom de plume*, "George Eliot," was one of them. Her rationalistic views only color in a general way her powerfully written works of fiction, in some of which she shows a high appreciation of the practical influence of the Christian doctrine and life in which she had been trained. The wife of John Stuart Mill shared his studies and opinions in philosophy and religion, and in the touching dedication of his book on "Liberty" to her memory, he speaks of her as "the inspirer and in part the author of all that is best in my writings." And this reminds me that Renan dedicates his rationalistic "Life of Jesus" to "the pure spirit of my sister Henrietta." She accompanied him in his visit to Syria, was taken ill with him and died, while he recovered. By her side he wrote the work. He says: "Silent, by my

side, you read every leaf, and copied it as soon as written, while the sea, the villages, the ravines, the mountains were spread out at our feet. When the overwhelming light of the sun had given place to the innumerable array of the stars, your fine and delicate questions, your discreet doubts brought me back to the sublime object of our common thoughts. One day you told me, that you should love this book, first, because it had been written with you, and also because it pleased you." Miss Harriet Martineau, the well known authoress, though a Unitarian in her earlier life, subsequently embraced the Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte which she did much, by translations and otherwise, to introduce to English readers. It is well to compare her dying words with those of Paul:

Said Miss Martineau :

"I have no reason to believe in another world. I have had enough of life in one, and can see no good reason why Harriet Martineau should be perpetuated."

Said Paul :

"I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course. I have kept the faith ; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day."

A very able skeptical writer is Sarah S. Hennell, author of "Christianity and Infidelity," "Present Religion," and "Thoughts in aid of Faith." Though not always clear in her style, she has much philosophical learning, and not a little subtlety and acuteness of thought. Her model philosopher is Herbert Spencer. Another similar author, vigorous and more lucid, is Frances Power Cobbe, who edited the English edition of Theodore Parker's works, and has published numerous volumes and pamphlets of her own, on religious and reformatory topics. She writes calmly and seriously, has a woman's sense of the value of pure morals and spiritual religion, and confesses the beneficent influence which Christianity has exerted in this respect. In her book, entitled "Broken Lights: an Inquiry into the Present Condition and Future Prospects of Religious Faith," she thus expresses herself (page 100): "Christianity may fail us, and we may watch it with straining eyes going slowly down from the zenith where once it shone ; but we need neither regret that it should pass away, nor dread lest we be left in the gloom. *Let it*

pass away—that grand and wonderful faith! Let it go down calmly and slowly, like an orb which has brightened half our heavens through the night of the ages, and sets at last in glory, leaving its train of light long gleaming in the sky and mingling with the dawn. Already up the east there climbs the sun!" She then outlines what she thinks will be the "Faith of the Future," which differs not at all from the old fashioned Deism of Lord Herbert and his successors. She thinks it will include faith in a personal God of infinite goodness, in immortality and final bliss for all mankind, in moral law based on the intuitions of conscience, in prayer, in sorrow for sin, and in the love of our fellowmen. Unfortunately she does not see that the gospel alone gives certainty and power even to this scheme, by its doctrine of redemption through Jesus Christ. I need only add that various women have had a conspicuous part in the advocacy of Spiritualism as a professed substitute for Christianity, though all spiritualists have not taken that position of unbelief. As mediums, as lecturers, and as authors, they have come into every community, railing against ministers and churches, announcing themselves as the apostles of a new gospel, and declaring that the race had outgrown the Bible, and was hereafter to be led onward by daily communication with the spirit-world. And so the mystic Jezebel, of whom John wrote in the Apocalypse, has in our day been replaced by Victoria Woodhull and similar prophetesses!

If inquiries for the explanation of the part which certain exceptional women have thus taken in the advocacy of skepticism in contradiction of their native religious instincts and of the highest interests of their sex, and with such seeming ingratitude to woman's best friend, it may be said that, in addition to general reasons affecting all classes, four influences concur to this sad result.

1. There is to be considered the fashion of skeptical thought, in some literary circles; which influences female minds in contact with them. Women affect others and are strongly affected by others, through social intercourse. Their sympathetic nature conforms to the ruling influence about them, and is favorably impressed by the opinions of those in whom they have personal confidence. It is thus that a wife commonly

shares the sentiments of her husband; that a maiden is attracted to those of her lover; that daughters become advocates of views advanced by their fathers, and sisters are carried away by the ideas of their brothers. Faith in the intelligence of others accompanies woman into every social circle. In many cases, therefore, if she has a taste for literary pursuits, mingles with educated persons of a "liberalistic" turn, and perceives from the tone of conversation and the character of the books cited and the authors praised, that skepticism is in vogue among those of her friends who pretend to represent science, learning, and literature, her mind will easily take the contagion, unless a deep religious experience shall counteract it. This influence was especially manifest during the latter part of the eighteenth century in France, when skepticism, under the name of philosophy, was "the rage" in the *salons* of the ladies equally with the clubs of the literati.

2. To this must be added an insidious influence on the educated women of the day from a temptation to assert a pseudo-independence. The very fact that in the past women have not received as high an education as men, and have therefore been necessitated to rely largely upon the opinions of the other sex, brings them, now that equal educational advantages are enjoyed, into danger of asserting a false independence. The danger is similar to that which assails young men in the earlier stages of their education. The fear of not having credit for self reliance, or for learning, or for genius, and the desire to strike out boldly and accomplish something new and startling, operate in some cases, it is to be feared, to lend an evil charm to what claim to be "advanced" opinions on the subject of religion. Women whose minds are of a masculine type will be the more readily carried away by this delusion, and fancy that their mission is to enlighten the world on the deep questions now mooted in philosophy and religion. These will throng skeptical circles and advocate projects of reform upon skeptical principles, calling upon their sisters to throw aside the superstitions of ages, to rise above Judaism and Christianity, to scorn the teachings of priests, and to think for themselves upon disputed questions. It is natural for such minds to imagine that the only independent

thinkers are those who agree with them! None make more zealous members of mutual admiration societies.

3. Candor leads me to admit that in many cases female skepticism has been a sincere revolt from a corrupt Christianity. That consideration may well explain the readiness with which, a century ago, the women of Paris of all classes accepted infidelity. They had really known Romanism and not Christianity—Romanism with the scandals attendant upon its celibate clergy and secret confessional; with its support of civil despotism throughout Europe in the worst forms; with its inquisitorial racks and dungeons and its hatred of religious freedom; and with its peculiar dogmas, abhorrent to reason and yet declared to be infallibly true. Said the Abbe Fauchet, himself a priest, but one who sided with the revolution, and who afterwards became the Bishop of Calvados; "Look at these ministers! They would have swum in the blood of patriots. This is their own expression. Compared with these priests, atheists are angels." And so, also, in other lands, Protestantism has had an aspect, at times, of Judaic asceticism, of a dead orthodoxy, of a heartless conservatism, of an outworn and superstitious ritualism, of a narrow bigotry, and of fanatical excitement. Where there was no personal acquaintance with the gospel as a religion of purity and intelligence, of love and liberty, it is not surprising that the recoil was from faith to unbelief, from what seemed superstition to that which claimed to be reason, from the patron of wrong to the professed friend of reform.

4. And lastly, in an age when skepticism has gained an influence, one must expect to see the effect of woman's enthusiasm and tendency to extremes of feeling and action. She has a wealth of emotion and a readiness to devote herself unreservedly to a cause in which she feels interested, to which the colder temperament of man is a stranger. This is a great but dangerous power. It is this quality acting upon her religious instincts which has made her saintly and seraphic, when it was guided by intelligence and culture, but wildly enthusiastic and fanatical, when it was used by ignorance and superstition. One should bear in mind also her sudden transformations of feeling, when she is maddened by a sense of

deception and abused confidence. In such case her ardent love turns to deadliest hate, and resorts to the most daring expedients to compass her ends. The French atheists deliberately calculated upon the power of these tendencies. Writes Lamartine (iii. 316, etc.): "The women of the people had been the first to applaud the shamelessness of Herbert. Mirabeau had incited them by one word pronounced at Versailles on the evening of the days of the 5th and 6th of October. 'If the women do not mix in it,' he said in a whisper to the emissaries of the Parisian revolution, 'there will be nothing done.' He knew that the fury of women once inflamed rises to excess and to profanations which surpass the audacity of men. The women of Paris, running at the head of the republican bands of the capitol, had in effect first violated the palace of the king, brandished the poniard over the bed of the queen and carried to Paris, on the end of their pikes, the heads of the massacred body-guards. Theroigne de Mericourt and her bands had marched to the assault of the Tuilleries, on the 20th of June and the 10th of August. Terrible during the combat, cruel after the victory, they had assassinated the vanquished, spilt their blood and mutilated their bodies. The revolution, its agitations, its days, its sentences and its executions had become for these furies a spectacle as necessary as the combats of the gladiators were to the corrupted female patricians of Rome." A similar fact came out even in the reaction from these excesses; when the more sober part of the revolutionists shuddered at the wholesale massacres initiated, and felt that a horrible tyranny had been instituted in the name of liberty. Then fanaticism, thinking that the end justified the means, inspired Charlotte Corday, whose favorite author was Rousseau, to assassinate Marat, and to glory in the deed, as a noble expression of patriotism, to her last word upon the scaffold. In this enthusiasm of feeling she refused to have any minister of religion attend upon her, saying, "The blood I have spilt and my own which I am about to shed are the only sacrifices I can offer to the Eternal!" And as the executioner cut off her hair and put on the execution dress for the guillotine, she exclaimed, "This is the toilet of death, arranged by somewhat rude hands, but it leads to immortality." One

mourns, in her case, a noble nature so badly balanced, and which could thus be misled into a false heroism ; but a similar tendency in woman in more peaceful forms sometimes takes the lead in a war upon Christianity and social order, thinking to render service to humanity. God forgive them, for they know not what they do !

But such unbelievers are exceptions to their sex, which maintains a steady faith in the religion that has been its best friend in this world, and that sheds the only clear light upon the world to come. The women of Christendom prefer to walk in the steps of Hannah and Elizabeth, of the three Marys of the gospels, of Dorcas and Priscilla, of Perpetua and Felicitas and other martyr sisters of the early church, of the women who suffered for Christ in the Papal persecutions, and of those who, on the mission fields, have labored to save their sex from degradation and death, or who, in quiet home duties and amid life's ordinary trials, have added power and beauty to Christian discipleship. And even should dark days return and the courage of men fail, woman will, as of old, keep her station beside the cross.

ARTICLE II.—THE POETRY OF COMMONPLACE.

CHAPTER III.—TRAGEDY.*

Born continues: A very late supper at which my friends had said good-bye—each one fervently wishing God-speed many times—had not been the best preparation for an early start, but had most perfectly attuned me to repose, as I now began to realize. Certainly a pleasant thing to think over is the best companionship, and such a supper as this is a pleasant thing; but one remembers such a supper with unfeigned and lively delight the *second* day after. However, I have filled my corner in the *coupé* and pulled the brim of a soft hat over my eyes, sinking into a state of indifference with only one faint desire,—that it might be converted into sleep with a dream of *Carangol*. Three other men in the *coupé*, each filling his corner. I rather wonder, are they also expecting that to-morrow their last night's supper will be remembered with pleasure; but really I don't know. I rather think the door is opened and a lady and gentleman enter; that she is small and trim as she stands there at the window apparently waving farewell signals with German cordiality; but really I don't know. I am quite sure, however, that as the train moves off she lights a cigarette, and sitting between the two men opposite me and trying to improve the situation by putting a dainty foot against the cushions at my right, still looks uncomfortable. It is a slight body and does not balance well in vast spaces. Two words from me, as many bows of offer and acceptance, and she is in my corner, while my boot must assist me as hers had shown the way to preserve a median equilibrium. The soft wool is again pulled over my eyes. I rather think she must be comfortable, but really I don't know.

Reader. Unbearably sleepy! However much you may be disposed to represent yourself as making the most of each moment always, and always finding opportunity, what are

* See *New Englander*, page 289, March No., and page 844, May No., 1885.

minutes when one is drowsy from the after effects of dissipation, or what opportunity now without rudeness? Do go to sleep, Sir Restless!

Born. Precisely that occurred. But why the reproach? Is it restlessness simply to see what is about you and to live with the people who are next you? What then shall we say of the spirit which does *not* find itself at home in its surroundings but withdraws from them, busying itself with what is past or to come, or turns its back upon the present passing world, impatient for an *event*, so that the eyes are blank and meaningless, the eyes we see? Such is the stolid public, dear Reader, which tires itself. And indeed that is tiresome—that is restless dreaming; while to become conscious of the application of your thoughts to your surroundings is to wake. That man is awake and is my friend whose dream of past and present is woven in with the threads of his every word and act.

It seemed I was again in the study which I had occupied some six months before. At that time I was working up a subject in Northern literature. Accordingly I fancied myself beginning to read early in the morning—not a particular morning but a typical morning. Of course the previous night had been supperless and I was keen with early coffee. A precious time is the early morning!

Reader. Too precious to be exposed to the danger of loss. I say, it is to be hoarded in the only safe place—in bed.

Born. But then all your faculties are keenest. Is it not a waste to—

Reader. It is the only safe way. If you must be out in the early morning, do not venture to talk with your best friend; refuse to notice anything less exquisite than your favorite flower. Why, in the early morning, just because you are so sensitive, you wear your heart on your sleeve, and anyone plucking you suddenly by the arm, even in friendliness, may wound you beyond endurance.

Born. Then at least I happened upon the right thing the morning in question; for the leaves fell apart at the page I had been reading the night before—at the story of Skirnismál. The barbarous Icelandic text with its choice of readings I had plodded through the night before, and now was delighted to trans-

late easily and not too literally this earliest form of the "Sleeping Beauty" legend.

Reader. Is this not an arbitrary selection? You have some point to make in illustration or contrast, and so suppose yourself to have been reading this story of Skirnir of all others.

Born. The story was suggested—this rather than another—by the view from my windows, as will appear.

Midway in the heavens, where the sun pauses at noon, is a throne, Hlithakialf. Here had Freyr, that beautiful and brilliant God, taken his seat overlooking all worlds.

Lord of sunshine and rain, and of all wholesome growth, him shall we invoke for the blessings of fruitfulness and peace.

And not in vain do mortals call upon his name. When Grendel, that foul spirit, attacked the Danes' mead-hall and bore away Hrothgar's thegns, crunched their bone-casing, drank their blood in streams, then did a hero grapple with the joyless one to overcome him, and men called this hero Beowulf, thinking him one of themselves—but in that guise came Freyr.

In other lands, where the Rhine's flood is said to conceal an enchanted golden hoard, showing only in the sparkle and yellow gleam of its vintage, Freyr won for Gunther a peerless bride, daughter of Odin. There men called the hero Sigfrid.

Seated upon Odin's throne Hlithskialf, the bright God, looked towards the home of Giants, and there, going out of her father's house, a maiden. So fair was she that sky and sea repeated the reflection from her bare white arms.

With more than the love of a young man in the springtime of life he loved this beauty wasting in the untamed wilderness, and his heart was sick with longing.

Spake then Skirnir, servant to Freyr and companion from boyhood: Tell me, Freyr, God mighty among the people, why you brood here in the wide hall alone throughout the day.

Freyr. How shall I tell to thee, friend of my childhood, the mighty grief of my soul? Dearer than all delights of heaven is that one beauty of the dreary giant's home. Take my fleet horse then which safely shall bear thee through surging flame; take my good sword, too, that safely shall ware thee, that swings of itself in a brave man's hand. Woo her, compel her to come to me.

* * * * *
Skirnir (speaking to the horse). Dark is the way. Quickly does it become us to traverse the misty mountains. We two shall fulfill the master's command if that strong giant does not catch us both.

* * * * *
Over the wild mountains, through the wall of surging flame rode Skirnir. Surrounding Gerth's hall, a rude stockade, and at its doors a guard of savage hounds. Within the hall an earth-born captive maiden is singing :

There is a land dear to our memories, eastward it lies, still by the summer seas ; no fairy battlement lifted to the sky forbids the frore storm wind his boisterous entry : cometh 'tis said drought, blight, cometh dull winter's night, yet bathed in summer's warmth shall memory hold it continually for you and me.

The watchman speaks : Art thou prepared for death, horseman ? Never messenger or message of hope shall reach Gymir's beautiful daughter.

Skirnir. Boldness beseems the man ready to die better than complaining. Fate has decreed the length of my life.

Within the dwelling Gerthr speaks : What uproar is this echoed in our halls, that the earth trembles and all the dwellings in Gymistead are shaken ?

Her handmaid replies that a messenger stands without.

Gerthr. Bid him enter our hall and offer mead to drink, although he should prove a murderer and our enemy. (Addressing *Skirnir*) What one of the immortals art thou who hast dared to come hither through walls of flame ?

Skirnir. Not of the immortals am I—a servant fulfilling his master's behest. Golden apples do I bring, and that magic golden ring of the blessed Baldr. These are thine : peace and increase and the love divine of heaven's brightest God.

Gerthr. Love is not bought with gold, nor am I needy.

Skirnir. Mark well the sword, maiden,—its sharp, unfailing blade.

Gerthr. Love is not to be compelled, and I am not unprotected.

Skirnir. Mark well the sword, maiden. Thy defense will be of no avail against its enchanted edge. With the curse of solitude and hatefulness, fetters and hopeless desire, thou shalt be cursed. Anguish and tears shall be thy portion. Thou shalt become a breeder of monsters, or, a stranger to the love of man, shalt dry like a thistle in the oven.

Gerthr. Hail to thee, hero ! Receive this rimy cup of old mead. It never entered my dreams that I should choose one of the race of the gods. Barri is the forest called where I will meet Freyr. After nine nights in its still recesses will Gerthr make Niorthr's son happy.

Then *Skirnir* rode homeward. Freyr awaited him.

Freyr. Tell me *Skirnir*, before thou hast taken off the saddle or advanced one step, what thou hast accomplished in the home of giants.

Skirnir. Barri is the wood called where Gerthr will meet thee after nine nights and make Niorthr's son happy.

Freyr. Long is one night, longer are two ; how do I long for the three. A month is less worthy than half a night after the joyous wedding.

Inextinguishable charm of this nature myth ! Every child knows the story of that lovely princess : her century-long sleep under gold-brocade happily concluded by the kiss of Prince Prettyman in silver. Here before my very windows is the scene of a similar legend. A conical hill shuts in the eastern

horizon, and is crowned by a tower which is all that remains of an ancient stately castle, still called *Thornburg*; for simple peasants in the valley still believe and relate the legend of the sleeping princess. In yonder tower was her bedroom for a hundred years, they say. Covering yonder hillside the impenetrable growth of thorny forest—a modernization of the wall of flame. . . . Whether the sun is already higher than this tower, I am sure I cannot see for the mist. The narrow valley has a slothful habit of drawing closer this its gray curtain when day threatens its repose and sleeping on. But since too early for a walk, a good hour for looking over this little heap of books in the corner, decidedly dusty, with torn covers, a legacy from former occupants. The last of these former occupants was Von Edelstein. He was here a week ago, and if I may judge from the enormous carved cigar-bracket ornamented with his corps insignia, the rack of duelling swords, old fashioned pistols (one of these missing—which, by the way, is less remarkable than that the others, choice and curious weapons, should have been left behind), the dingy cotillion favors on the walls, was a man of generous and varied tastes. The old servant tells me that he disappeared without explanation. Perhaps, then, he will return? She thinks not. I need have no fear. He was a grand young gentleman, she says, but very proud and reserved. And yet he was amiable, that she must confess, and free with his money. Here is a folio, “Rules of the Student Duel,” with many colored plates showing ideal students practicing ideal cuts upon each others’ unscarred and smiling faces, on the title page of which is inscribed with elaborate flourishes a dedication to the honored studiosus Von Edelstein from the author, with the admonition “Fight with a will, that when you die, you’ll die a master of Paukeri.”

I wonder if these rooms were altogether comfortable in Edelstein’s opinion. Certainly “something ails them now.” Airy and light enough, with a double exposure, abundantly furnished with a huge writing desk and sofa, five tables by actual count, a clock that does not go, two thermometers which never agree, and a barometer on bad terms with the weather, griffins in part tailless but otherwise decorative carved in the woodwork above the four white doors, stuffed birds perched

upon empty cigar-boxes, antlers, a row of pot plants not too thrifty—yes, abundantly furnished. I rather think there have lived too many people here before me, each impressing something of his character upon the place. Very nice to *visit* a spot with its varied history written so plainly upon the walls; but let me furnish my own chambers, if you please. The house must have looked quite as old as it does now when a battle famous in the world's history was fought within cannon range of it, and an invading army was plundering and burning along the mild valley. For many years, beginning in the last century, the publishers of a scholarly journal made this front room their office. The solid old desk with its supply of pigeon-holes and narrow drawers, so many tombs of brilliant "unavailable" articles, may be traced back to these venerable associates or perhaps to their successor, the professor and director of the local madhouse, whose name still stands upon my door and portrait still hangs upon my wall. And then these eminent scholars whose residence here is commemorated by the tablets inserted in the façade above the trellis which grape vines cover very prettily in summer: did they, too, look out of these windows upon the Thornburg and the peasants on their way to market so many hours each day as to become famed for industry? But the present is with me, or rather just below me, in the shape of an armor-er's shop, from which occasional whiffs of gunpowder, exploded, I suppose, in trial cartridges; while the past is still living, barely living, above me in the person of a white-bearded old gentleman whose careful savings keep the roof over his head—just over his head. That street-boys nudge each other when the old gentleman passes, and have a gesture to indicate their conviction that all is not well beneath the snow-white hair; that the gunsmith prefers to come home from his quiet evening at the "Golden Angel" on the stroke of twelve; that I hear now and then the voice of some woman—I do not know whether of one I have seen or not seen—high-pitched and hysterical: this is all natural and explicable enough. Simply it must be that the house is very large, only half tenanted, and the four doors of my sitting room suggest the whole of it at once.

The mists in the valley did not lift this morning, but began to condense, and the air was full of driving rain. I began to walk to and fro in the room. By the way (so the thought seemed to come), why not make an excursion into the rooms next adjoining mine? Why not have this side-door opened and in future take my walk of a rainy forenoon behind a row of six windows instead of three? I turned the key and entered a long, narrow, bare chamber, chilly and with a musty odor—a room like a coffin, for all its grotesque green frescoing and inlaid floor. The little old servant was there, and to my surprise actually making preparations as though she had heard my thought.

“May I rent this chamber also?”

“Yes, sir, three days from now. A guest is expected to-night.”

I withdrew, closed the door without locking or even latching, because indeed it showed some stiffness in the matter, and that evening heard the guest arrive. A number of men in heavy boots seemed to accompany him in respectful silence, and their footsteps had that pressure which suggested their bearing heavier luggage than for one who stays but three days. It occurred to me that he might be a very quiet gentleman, and as I heard nothing from him I inquired no further, although wishing rather curiously that he might open the door and call upon me. He did not, however; for, poor gentleman, they sent him wreaths and stiff winter flowers on the third day, and many friends came to say farewell, and a number of men in heavy boots bore him away as they had brought him. It had been a quiet neighbor, who considerably did not disturb my reading or sit with me after bed time: so I followed along with the sad company who would see him off, walking slowly with our hats a little raised. My quiet neighbor had been none other than Von Edelstein. His body had been found not far from the town, near a path through the woods, whither he had often resorted for study or recreation. On the ground beside him an old-fashioned pistol, discharged. Only that was known. My predecessor! Here was his last tarrying place before the impulse came which carried his spirit away out of reach of our approval or disapproval.

Reader. Fortunately *you* are not out of reach of our disapproval. Why spoil the effect of your adaptation from northern mythology, showing divine aspirations divinely enjoyed, by this unexplained human despair and tragedy. It is true that tragedy possesses a certain kind of interest—creates a sensation; but unless serving some worthy purpose, it has no place or worthy office in literature.

Born. I am ready to go even further. Tragedy unexplained, or indeed not distinctly instructive, is positively demoralizing. Indeed, so averse am I to the vicious influence of tragical examples that I should prefer in writing a gradual progression in unmitigated sweetness from “babble of green fields” to the fullest harmonies of the human heart, so that the type of fiction should be a *sugar-loaf*, homogeneous and symmetrical, suggesting an eternity of sugar-plums. Between the mere nuisance of a grumbler and the author of tragic fiction, the difference is one of degree, not of kind.

But in all seriousness, the meaning and explanation of this tragedy were revealed to me as such things come to pass. Probably the train of thought which has just been recorded was suggested or guided by sleepily half-apprehended fragments of a conversation which was being carried on between two of my neighbors. The German lady and gentleman who entered just before I fell asleep are speaking with great earnestness and animation. German I assume, but wait one moment. German he evidently is, with his unusually high forehead, bright, thoughtful eyes, shapeless mouth and awkwardly cut beard. He speaks with a slight military affectation, she with a marked French accent. So then, he is *von*—something or other, and she is Swiss. Her hat has been put aside, and the prettily shaped head, neatly laid hair, and frank manners are evoking unmistakable admiration from him. I next notice that each courteously employs the language of the other until the requirements of a lively conversation hurry them away into fluency and the native tongue. He was saying: “I knew him most intimately. I think that in his impulses he was the purest and most unselfish man I ever met, and he had a pretty talent for many things without absorbing interest for any one thing. When he had come to be twenty-five years of age and still had reached no de-

cision as to his life's work, he decided to bury himself in a little town, where, secure against interruption, he might examine and test his qualifications for various kinds of work. In point of fact I believe that at first he did nothing but think, and because his health could not bear the strain, think morbidly. Well, I have told you the result."

The Swiss lady hereupon asks for more detailed information, which is accordingly imparted.

"He was persuaded that his individual happiness must in the course of his life be derived from effort directed to some end not too remote from the *sum of human happiness*. The plebeian Goethe, who sought self-culture apart from the current of history, the grand movement of civilization, was to him the type of brilliant error."

Reader. Surely he was right in this and hit upon the very cause of the much-disputed coldness, self-seeking and isolation of Goethe. Goethe did not understand the movement of history. To him it seemed conflict, unrest,—while his own development must be secured and fostered in harmony and quiet.

Born. If he had once apprehended the tireless, steady march of progress from conflict to harmony, anarchy to law, in which all men are sharers and workers; if he could once have realized that his own individual desire and the demand of his individual nature (which he recognized and consciously obeyed) were identical with the universal real desire and demand (not recognized by the masses, yet unconsciously, slowly, through long ages obeyed), how that tender, merciful heart of Goethe would have yearned in love over his fellow men in half-darkness, as he was in the full light—over his dependents whom he was destined to aid in their struggle for light and freedom and self-culture, harmony and rest.

The German Baron. No, my brother's nature was too sympathetic even for the theory which would have the outcome of egoistic actions—in severalty antagonized, in the mass blended and harmonized—profit to the community. He believed that for his own German nation, the most urgent need was for thought upon life; and that whether in an Utopian state the best thought upon life could be had from those producing also material good things or could not, at least

among the German people of the present day it must be contributed by specialists as their sole gift. He believed that so far as he had any special aptitude, that was in its nature associated with service in the undertaking to supply this national desideratum. In view of these considerations he proposed to himself the following course: To devote himself to the study of the Germanic race and the explication of its race-life.

It is obviously not well that one separate his interests from those of his own people, unless that be done in recognition of the superior claims of the world at large; and wherever one is to end, it is clear that all proper estimation of or intelligent devotion to one's native land must be preceded by a general survey in the cosmopolitan spirit. As for service dedicated to Germany, the question is worth a full statement:

A. The next universal phase of civilization, Teutonic.

B. I think it will be a real advance, or think 'twill not.

C. Whether real advance or not, it will *be*; and I do best to go with it and help direct it, that my exertion be not thrown away.

(Or, in place of A. B. C.)

D. Each phase of civilization contains chiefly what one does not want; somewhat of that one does want. Let us take all of good we find in record and promise and make ourselves after that good. If it seems not best to hold our peace, let us speak in such terms.

My brother would say, One cannot do good work except as he epitomizes his race. The fact was, a facility in many things had tempted him often into discursiveness, which in turn would leave him stranded upon the conviction that in what he had undertaken he was only ordinary. His thought in this final plan was, then, that to accomplish the considerable he must choose the really valuable and never forsake that but make all things contribute to it. He, being a member of the German race, became a student of German history to learn what this race of men was so far back as it may be traced with distinctness; to learn how it grew, how it had been changed from without; what it had been, what done, what suffered, what thought. He would live over in his thought the whole life of his race and set as a limit not a period but his own capacity.

As the orrery agrees with the planetary system, a microcosm with a macrocosm, he desired that his mental life should follow the life of the German people.

Of the paths of approach to such a subject he had in mind at various times at least four, which became several to him under such heads as the following: 1. Ethnological, which would lead through comparative studies of all peoples to a luminous survey of a particular people. 2. Of imitative observation, Literary, and that is the picturing of some period or group within a period through the capacity of impression and felicitous expression. 3d. Metaphysical or Poetical, which proceed like the first from generalizations, but from generalizations derived from human nature studied as an *unit*, from analogy or subjective truth. Finally, the combination of direct, immediate, study of the subject with fancy. For instance, in place of the royal family, which is undoubtedly the frame upon which the garland of orthodox history is strung, he would have substituted *authors*, i. e., the most notable creators for the most notable creatures. This last attracted him most strongly.

His training up to this time had been what you would expect from his opportunities and position in society—religious, with a strong leaning to modern philosophy, literary and social, philological. Why did he not follow out one of these broken paths, satisfied with moderate success, satisfied with moderate satisfaction, or with simply existing like a healthy brute in the happiness and pride of physical strength? Let him ask, let him hesitate who has not tried both lives or who has not known the love of the best. Early training survives the subsequent. It was of the first importance to him that he should know right, do right. No one could tell him anything conclusive. The wider his breach with *religions*, the more *religious* he became. That, I mean, he would have said. That of course we could not admit. By *religious* he would have understood, sensible of restraints as such and given to self-denial in the pursuit of his objects. Now restraint in a minor degree there must be: that is, subordination (perhaps conscious) of a less or apparent desire to the greater or real desire. But restraint is at most only an incident of true living, while to call such living religious is to name restraint its essence. Deepest insight,

most responsive living, least restraint. The noblest, the least religious.

He set about finding the Right, and not in childish fashion, as though it had been something in another town—in a far country—in a book not yet read. To know what was good and right for him and for the people of his race, was to know what manner of men we have been, are—what we have tried and found not good, what we have tried and found good for us. Such was the study and teaching of history as he planned it. Like all our larger purposes this seemed to bring together and make useful the diverse employments of previous years. He did not change his life, but granted recognition and freedom to that which had always been the undiscovered central force in his life. One sin only he knew: the sin against this nature so far as he understood it. One salvation only he saw: loyalty to this best for himself, best for all. His plan then was to be his life. If his plan should prove good, the life lived in it would be his gospel. Dross and filth is that which is not properly used. Damnation is that a man become such dross. Could the truth if found make us happy?

The Swiss Lady. Yes. We all know the effect of morsels of truth: that a true thought apprehended will lift us above care: that, for instance, of all the pages we read a thousand pages will "leave us cold," but on the thousand and first a single sentence will thrill us, transport us. We forget our conventional selves; we become our real selves. We shout with laughter, we weep. Tears and laughter are alike a pure delight to us. That one sentence held a pearl of truth; it has restored to us our natural selves. We hold the thought to our hearts throughout the day and the day becomes lovely. Why not every day and a constant possession of the truth?

The German Baron. Was this a rule for my brother's own guidance solely, or is it a law of education? The aims of education, however variously they may be stated, are in their last analysis what I have stated to be the aims of my brother in his own education. They are that men should know right and do right. Otherwise there is no education. Unless the two desiderata are sought in the order also of knowledge and the fruits of knowledge, unless the external desideratum of orderly

activity seeking the best ends is to be obtained through the intelligent choice of the individual, there is no logical education, there can be no perfect security. I have never seen such a scheme of education in operation. What I have seen has been a scheme which prepared its victim (1) to partially understand the works of men and the works of nature, *taken one at a time*; (2) to work themselves the better at whatever they might make their specialty; (3) (superadded to the secular a religious department) to ground their motives on and coördinate their activities in accordance with a full-grown doctrine, which may be reconciled with the doctrines of the secular departments or may not—is at least distinct. The claim advanced for this species of education is that it broadens and softens the natures of those men who do not develop greatly beyond the point up to which this educational process takes them; that for those few who continue to be scholars, their special studies in any department honestly pursued will supply the chief deficiencies incident to the previous common training; that for both classes the system is designed to stimulate the spiritual in man's nature and to give him clean-cut rules of conduct. Those who think the religious doctrine finally and absolutely sufficient would make it the central point of the system, and they are right so far as their belief is justified. Under present circumstances, they tend to bigotry. Those who hold that any code of religious belief that could be now generally accepted would be essentially false, would make this religious element in education inconspicuous as possible. They are also right in a hopeless way, and their tendency is to anarchy. So far as I know, every system of education in Christian countries is either incomplete or it is a Christian system, as having this religious element. The "secular" departments deserve the stigma contained in that description of them, inasmuch as they are not so coördinated as of themselves to teach men what is right and what is not right. They are arranged in dependence upon this religious department. Without it they are an incomplete education. The fact is that our systems of education, nominally completed by the addition of Christian ethics, are really incomplete because the fabric of Christian ethics is decayed. Could any system of ethics, new, strong, with a thousand years

of vigorous life before it, supply this desideratum completely? Unless capable of indefinite expansion and ready growth in correspondence with the growth in other branches of inquiry, no. If such a system is to come—so good a system, or even one which because it irresistibly controls the popular mind must therefore be adopted, what is to be done in the meantime? I do not know any other answer to the question than that with which my brother answered his own question.

Well then, he stood upon the proposition that the teaching of history contains the rule of life. His attempt was to be this: to make the teaching of history clear, simple, accessible to all, covering all classes of questions. To succeed in this attempt it was necessary that he should do nothing without this motive; to fail in this attempt was better for him than to have succeeded in another less worthy, because the attempt made was a life partly lived—otherwise completely lost. . . .

The rule of education is not to make learn, but to let learn. The first thought is to cherish germs of character. The individual is prepared to learn any particular thing by a course of experience leading up to it, completed. Unless the preparatory course, which it is impossible to limit or even foretell, has been completed, there can be no real learning, striking of root-lets, appropriation and growth thereby. If the preparatory course has been run, the desire to appropriate, learn that particular thing, will be dominant. It will need no stimulus or compulsion. O, the shamelessness of the "Master" who commands *one*, This task to-day, that task to-morrow; who commands *two*, This task to-day; who commands the future nation (as though it were a ductile metal mass—not of infinitely varied organisms), Such tasks for every one in such succession throughout the years. Of course there is no education not derived in antagonism to the schools. The golden age is that in which one neither is instructed nor instructs. Infancy fights its way to manhood by casting off restraints just so fast as it comes to understand them. Its strength increases *pari passu*. Manhood rejoices in this strength and is golden until it begins to make restraints for children—rules, laws, bugbears; then it is called maturity and is already tainted. Comfort ye my children. They who would frighten you,

scourge you from "sin," would give all their authority in exchange for the power to sin without knowing it. It is the taint of mortality that ye smell in instruction, such that the world is unrelishing until ye will have no more of it and reject it utterly. If ye were wise as vigorous, children, ye'd smile and pity your instructors. But the golden age is not yours, sniffing helplessly. It will be yours, perhaps. Keep it just as long as ye can before it is displaced by insidious "maturity."

The two-penny rule of prohibition holds society down—that we read from history. Not more than one man in a century has escaped the oppression. One slave and fool teaches its obligations to another—father to son, master to pupil—so that any faint glimmering or intuition of better things is buried under authority. Can't we live for strength, live for what we love, live for life and leave negation to old ladies in the chimney corner? Is any man free—is he better than a coward and a weakling—who keeps company with misgiving, apprehension, caution, suspicion? I say, either a vitality which despises if it notices caution—which takes in everything and converts all into force—or the life is not worth a remark if indeed it is worth keeping.

Admiration, emulation of historical, fictitious or observed characters is changed by untoward event, by discovery of associated weakness or something else unsatisfying, into independence and recurrence to philosophy. One says, all that saves them from pity is their partial possession of Philosophy. Making a wider observation of society—as through the social picture presented in the Englishwoman's "Mill on the Floss," for example—one cries out: This state of things is intolerable. I cannot be an actor in such a society. Therefore, what such individuals enjoy only occasionally shall be my constant companion; and surely I must make for myself a system other than that under which this community lives—or rather whines and scolds and quarrels and lies and like a dog dies.

No part of my brother's idiosyncrasy was more familiar to me than his opinions respecting physical culture. I have heard him say, culture although composite is indivisible. It is heart and mind and lungs and muscles in one and at one. It is

speech and gait and mastery of tongues and manners and systems of thought. A strange impertinence in our instructors of youth and essayists and lecturers, that they treat of culture under two heads—of the mind and of the body also if one wishes! As though they knew no better, nor that the fairest half of their audience will approve or disapprove the speaker as the eyes report and not as the ears. One result of such unnatural division is that training comes to be a productless expenditure of energy, which at best induces a condition attainable through rotation of profitable employments and intervals of perfect repose. In brief, consequent upon this division is neglect of one or the other part, and so one-sided development—or grind of both parts, so that study becomes task-work and physical exercise, “training.” Instead of reinforcing the powers through gratification of natural impulse, each becomes a drain and your educated man is exhausted. Limbs and the muscles which clothe them with grace are at best inferior parts. Their perfection consists in their being duly and serviceably inferior. The splendor of manhood is in brain and voice and eye, gesture and mien. How clearly that appears in the case of a rustic, whose occupation fosters muscular development by immediate use; who nevertheless looks and feels the boor and clown when associated with gentlemen and whose very strength yields to their superior poise and nervous promptitude and energy, so that he is defeated in the matter of his only excellence. Let training be applied at the source of strength. Let the ear be trained and the voice cultivated—power of lungs will follow. Let the sense of beauty and proportion be trained—the person will respond. We have all seen what effort will do: how if the same means were employed gladly and instinctively! Above all a mind, not overweighted or crammed with ill-assorted facts, but aided to easy mastery and supplied with inspiring thoughts, will give tone, activity to the whole man. Without hesitation it will choose what is wholesome, refreshing and fit to make the body a worthy associate.

My brother entered upon the work without any vow of consecration. A vow is inconsistent with enlightenment, for it imposes its extraordinary obligation in anticipation of a change (practically a falling off) in desire. If the obligation was other-

wise properly assumed, then the thing would have been done without a vow; if assumed in an hour of unusual insight, it would have been sufficient to *record* one's thought, for that would keep the standard up; and it would have been better merely to record, for if there is to be any change in one's view of the subject, such change must be for the better. Therefore a vow may prove a hindrance and may further introduce rigidity where flexibility, elasticity, are most desirable. If one has seen the consummation to be really desirable, he will not relax his efforts to bring it about. The Truth once seen can never be lost.

The doubts which did assail him were in respect to the duration of his life and his power to resist the temptation to leave his proper work for excursions into other fields. As to the first, he had a mystical way of reassuring himself: In planning does one anticipate the length of his life? Does one prophecy for himself in moments of enlightenment? Is it possible that one should really desire what one is fated not to accomplish! At any rate one notices that such matters as death, sickness, untoward event, lose their terrors when anticipated in the course of a life so desired. The effect of any strong purpose is indeed to raise one more or less above weak fear; but calmly regarding our estimated due proportion of future evil, we cannot think so badly of it—think it evil. Yet if it were no more than an interruption, it would be evil.

Sometimes for days together he could not advance a single step through the tangle of innumerable suggestions springing up before him. Once he drew up as a formal schedule a plan for the employment of all his hours to extend through several years. This may have served to make his design distinct and help him to *exclude*; but it is otherwise valuable to me, as showing the complete unselfishness of the man. There is not the least provision made for anything but devoted work.

He had early acquired a contempt for work "of the shops," through observing that such did almost as much harm as good. He even learned to make the same observation upon the activities of a nation or of a civilization. He would say, It is better to do nothing than to do unwisely. Effort should occupy little time and observation much. No effort shall be made

until it may be unerringly directed. But advance in one line of steep ascent does not prohibit enjoyment of the wide landscape and easy rambling along the mountain side—refreshment, play of fancy, suggestiveness.

(*Reader.* This is not a good figure, for one can climb a mountain with eyes fixed upon the ground before him; but one cannot make a great creative advance, save in science, and be narrow.)

Whatever purpose one has fully understood one can gain all other mastery over by means of single-minded pursuit. Life is long enough for the accomplishment of anything so proposed, if all energies are made the most of. It is not right to be impatient of detail. The attempt to bring all one's forces to bear upon the important points and avoid all dissipation of energy proceeds from a false view. The hurtfulness of small things appears only when such are treated as weighty. Infinite detail may be comprehended, beautifully ordered and disposed by the sense of proportion. A good life is large enough for these. Also a good life is large enough for varied work, and original production need not be the less for altruistic excursiveness. The greater the number of genuine *mastered* interests in one's experience, the more insight, power, productiveness.

My brother's entire purpose may be condensed in a single phrase: it was, *Personal surrender to the Real Tendency*,—the real tendency to be discovered of course in history. That ideal carried him just so far as any such thing can carry one: to the point, namely, where it is so far *realized* that its full value and consequences may be felt. When one dies at such a period in the course of an enthusiasm, he dies with heaven apparently opening to receive him. Hence the rapture of martyrdom. He did not die then, but was at one time transported—a god—and a little later despairing, when he experienced the failure of his—that is of any—*sacrifice* to secure the reward claimed of lasting perfect happiness. And no less than perfect happiness, no less than the absolute, was within his quest. Then he found his *Rue de l'Enfer*. In a dusky wood-path near the little town his reading and reflection reached logical conclusion in absolute despair. He said to himself in terms: I know nothing, I shall know nothing. Nothing is good and

nothing evil to me. And he distinctly acknowledged to himself that from that moment he would live in obedience to whim; that he would not do any the least act with color of secondary motive of prejudice, authority, fear or confidence in ultimate reward—unless he should happen to prefer! Fortunately taste survived.

He was set free. The keen delight of that freedom was a new life. The whole universe then was made for his entertainment and food for mild reflection. The bitterness and drag were gone from duty and bond of blood and bond of friendship. Habits, prejudices, conventionalities, became neither imperative nor antagonistic, but things indifferent.

Following then upon absolute despair, a plunge into the heart of humanity—most real of realisms, into which he put his whole life—inevitable unless that whole life should have been put away. Here began the normal union of ideality with human affections. Along that shaded path he wandered hand in hand with love. Love began in perfect freedom and as perfect freedom. Gain it was that he could and did love, not that he was beloved. There was no possibility indeed of reward in this love, the object of which was unattainable and perhaps fortunately so, since she was an ordinary woman of fashion and the world. She could not have loved him one degree while his passion would run a hundred times up and down the length of the thermometer; she could not have loved him one second while his devotion would course the whole round of the dial a dozen times, making one thought a whole day and a whole day one thought. You may judge of his enthusiastic nature from a little incident: After reading for the first time a volume of poems which contained Rossetti's "Blessed Damosel," in his delight he brought out his choicest bottle of Rhine wine and solemnly poured it over the book as a formal thankoffering.

Reason carries the questioner to a certain point and then hands him over, baffled, to emotion. What he then needs is not a good book (argument) but a good person (presence). A little good feeling is oftentimes worth a world of labored thought, even for purposes of thought. A whole lifetime may be illuminated in such manner by deep human love once lead-

ing for one instant the whole being of a man to "the deep wells of light."

The highway leading to the heart of nature is sexual love. By that avenue alone is it commonly permitted to gain reconciliation. Hence love is spoken of as enlightenment. And—perhaps because this of all our natural endowments has survived the changes of confused, disorderly, unsymmetrical civilization most nearly in its primitive form—it, a part, has come to be identified with the integrity of natural feeling, so that more or less of it is drawn into every accord with natural influences.

He realized now that he must go on a good bit further before he could see clearly by the dim light of history, and meantime make shift to use his natural eyes,—this the more easily because he felt that he had now something better even than the study of history to make life worthy.

The Swiss Lady. Were the high hopes he had of the gain to come from a study of history justified?

The German Baron. Yes and no. Yes, that study will coördinate and give a strong central point to one's interest. No, we have no assurance that we shall ever be able to construct from an examination of history a complete system of ethics. Yet this offers the best available means to a cultivation of that fine sense of perspective which is requisite in every proper moral judgment. More than that, positive instruction as to the conduct of life will be fragmentary. For that matter, one may derive his philosophical attitude, equipoise, from mere comparison, juxtaposition, from the universal, with a *thought of the world*. This is true of the answer which history can give to all questions and all needs; but to any particular questions—? Why, for your answers go to universal history, of course. That must be studied topically to yield its meaning and teaching. So only *light* upon a given question is shed by universal considerations, while *instruction* and the means to convince are won through special inquiry and research after the spirit of history has been attained. The study of history is strictest induction. Views upon particular questions are reached through verification of deduction.

A new impulse towards culture. A cry from his heart of

hearts: if old ways, old connections are confining, irksome, unworthy, then break loose altogether. Know no guide but the sense of beauty, find no home but the land of beauty, acknowledge no kinship save with the mild-eyed.

And so came my brother's Chapter of Insight. Here he passed into the realm of poetry and poetical interpretation.

Of poetry in general the attractiveness is that it offers elegant expression of our mood. Hence we prefer different poets at different periods of our life and even change between morning and evening our preference for page and verse. Poetry of the highest order should draw the mind and heart at any time, but always rise above mere suffering: *interpret* woe, not merely record it. It were perhaps possible (for there is always a reserve of joy in woe which does not kill) to appeal only to the joyousness in man's nature and still never fail of response.

The Swiss Lady. What a heaven one's Träumerei sometimes: a glowing thought let run its course, a flash showing the whole universe lurid with rapture or tender light and warmth pervading all things. The heart throbs, the eye brightens, the frame is lax. Then is eternity and infinity *felt*. The course is swift as lightning. Forms of logic, words, orderliness cast spurned behind. Absolutely alone, because become universal, one returns to limitation conscious of its ties and bearings. That is immortality.

The German Baron. There are hours less intense, of clearness and bounding blood and receptiveness of all sweet influences, when the feet rejoice in fleetness and the arm in its strength. These might be in unbroken succession and the life Greek. So fervid at times, so living always, man would conceive no gods or demons born of vaporous sick imaginings. Or, one is worried, puts his hands into his pockets and *thinks*; gradually begins to smile. There was no occasion for distress (there can be none so long as free thought is possible). Image of the mental state becomes shadow, becomes a memory, and the shadow of it upon reality has gone. Then one is a healthy Modern.

A beautiful life is no more perishable than Keats' "Thing of Beauty"; is secure as the existence of those creatures of art on the "Grecian Urn." Life is as long as thought is wide.

Life is the thing to live for. At the beginning it is lived for unconsciously; later, within limitations experimental,—a rule of wrong converted by enthusiasm into a rule of right, as 'tis thought *finally*. This last, the religious or religious philosophical stand-point, is not final but intermediate. Truer objects, a tireless full throbbing of the heart and the multitude of vital beautiful thoughts.

As I look over my brother's past, I see development, inevitable development, slowly but surely from weakness to strength, or rather from darkness to light. The Truth once seen can never be lost. I say, one cannot stay his own progress; height nor depth can stay it—nor one's stupid fellow-man—if one has once *seen*. Everything contributes to this progress, even error.

Let us look through all history in this spirit and pick out the beautiful in thought and circumstance. In this spirit I review my brother's life to discover the circumstances and considerations which have comforted and proved an offset to pain and sorrow.

The proper effect of pain or misfortune is to induce immediate reaction, and that is to say, to create a new variety of pleasure. To desire ease when in pain is like desiring satisfaction of passions. One would not be rid of the passions but would gratify them. More acute sensations we call painful: they should be reduced to the intensity of passions and managed as such. To an exquisite sensibility the approaches of passion are painful, while extremest agonies are a joy to Hagen in the Nibelungenlied. Lesser pains are not distinguishable from delights.

There is nothing remarkable in nature. One fact is no more surprising than another. The emotions with which we receive the announcement of a fact unknown before, whether taking the form, "Stuff! Impossible!" or "How clever the Creator!" are equally translatable. "Dear me, I didn't know that!" Truth, beauty, harmony, love, insight,—these familiar words are sweetest to the enlightened, and are repeated frequently without definition. It has been written, One cannot handle pitch without being defiled. Can a man entertain the ideas which underlie these words without emulation in some sort?

As for the remarkable, suppose that we should invent a means of conveyance to Mars, so that a trip to that planet should

become as common an excursion as an American's grand tour of Europe: do we not know that after the first excitement we earth-born people would settle back into our familiar cares and familiar joys? Do we not know that these things are real and that the best possible things are those very familiar?

One of the greatest conquests which the man struggling after happiness makes is the discovery that, as to the body, all that is natural is desirable. The whole body in all its healthful activities is seen to be lovely. I rather think that women make this discovery more easily than men.

The Swiss Lady. Although, as is well known, young girls confine their admiration of strangers to eyes and ribbons! . . . Placing one's objects 'way ahead may supply enthusiasm inexhaustible and save from petty annoyances; but in the pursuit of these objects does one never flag? Where shall one rest?

The German Baron. Why, in the enjoyment of them. One really has that which is distant but desired intelligently. That is a species of *Träumerei* which you did not mention. Let me try in your own language to complete your thought of immortality with the thought of that which it implies—Rest. To be plunged in such realities, such day-dreaming, is to float at ease wondrously in an ocean of delight; to be couched in that dearest element of which one's real desire is part, supporting, soothing at every point. That is Rest.

At the end of all this experience his outward circumstances had undergone no change. He stood about where he had stood at its beginning. And yet in a deeper sense there was only an accidental resemblance between the present situation and the past. In fact and in deed he now entered upon a new life altogether. He had watched himself as a responsible man following: 1, duty under advice; 2, an ideal in freedom; 3, impulse in freedom. He had lived. He knew that the old life was at an end. He accepted it as a life completed more roundly than as though by physical death. And this had been a death unto life. He questioned whether to begin in quite a new world or to resume so far as desirable at a chosen point in the previous existence. He did in point of fact reassume the old bonds and begin with consequent duties—but rather like a

parent than a child. This was to be an unusual life, this new one, and it promised to be a notable life. Experience he had enough to conduct it to any result within limits original—needing to care first for vitality, and second, for proper reading and interpretation of the completed record. Of course what he already had were the really valuable possessions (the power, namely, to live and think in freedom); but these are to their custodian what he is to them. They cannot fail nor fade, but he must tirelessly advance in the human way if he would ever as keenly enjoy their deathlessness. A man will make his God about as good as himself.

But how to advance in the human way? The need to devote himself to this study of beauty (contemplation of the universal beauty which had been revealed to him), and the wish to gain an audience for himself could not be reconciled. There is no audience for this sort of thing, this essence and extract of beauty. What he could have said about it would have fallen flat; or at least to make the presentation of it popular, the integrity and independence of his beauty-worship must have been sacrificed. In its simplicity such beauty is not intelligible to the unprepared mind, and the very priceless good of it as a possession to him would have been lost if its perfect freedom to be what it inclined to become had been exchanged for seeming, in deference to popular prejudice. He could not work over this sacred thing to make it *sell*. Furthermore, so long as the ideal striving was dominant in his mind, the need of audience could not be felt.

(*Born.* Could not? If all of one goes into that which one is doing, what is that but being no more or better than one's work?—to be elated or depressed by its results. Above the artist is the man. First living, then writing. Not *literary man*, but *man and literatus*. If one shares his interests with the world, control and direction need not therefore pass out from his own hands. The literary artist does need an audience. Best practice in the art of expression is careful speaking, for there one has inspiration of the *presence* of his audience and can test the effect of forms of expression. Written expression should be the approved, not the tentative.)

This worship must be for oneself; and in one's heart of hearts

fire may always burn upon this altar. But it must be kept down there. That must be a separate life, while above one earnestly joins in the common life, working for pay and producing what is marketable; a thing impossible for the idealist unless all the time there were his retiring chamber below and treasure-house of thought for himself; always calm and bright, always growing brighter with the gain of new treasures—the essence of experience and the life above sent down there luminously.

Any person wishing to teach a gospel should take care to exhibit the truth with a tarnish of false doctrine. Its errors are thus the safeguard of any sect whatever.

The Swiss Lady. A company of people singing glees. All sounds very well. But midway in a song one goes to the piano and strikes a chord, which shows what the harmony should be at that instant. The result is a jarring discord. My ears ache at the very thought. The singers had gradually and unconsciously departed from the key—unconsciously and *all together*. But the singers trust the piano and set themselves right without demur.

The German Baron. Thank you. One who has been quietly observing a community, a family, a town, a nation, speaks at last the true word, which is at the time of speaking simple truth for every member of this community. The effect is discord in this case also. These men and women, generation after generation, had been unconsciously departing from the law of right-living, and had been following unreal desires—unconsciously and *all together*. But the community has no standard of living to appeal to like the piano for tone. Just so surely as the observer's word is true and not false, it will sound discordant to all who are in the fashion of unreal desires. It will not be accepted.

(*Born.* But will slowly grow into acceptance; the more quickly for having been plainly spoken.)

My brother might have paid the price of the power to write a book of good things—of permanent value. The price was a great effort and entire concentration in putting together material won through experience of infinite suffering and infinite joy, as well as through experience of all minor varieties of pain

and pleasure. But that book was never to be written, as you know.

Favorable to insight is a life full of inconsistencies. The wider the range of experience—provided the personality is not shattered thereby, but may store up results and order them—the more reliable one's inductions. All successes, all follies, as well as mere weakness, propriety, resolve and devotion, pleasure and pains infinite, success and failure, hope and despair unutterable—all these should be tasted, drained, that life shall seem revel of intoxication, shall seem bitterly worthless, shall be calmly surveyed as it indeed is; then first really begun and to be enjoyed. More exhausting, however, than this conflict of passion is the self-examination which essays to collect and state these inductions. The time had arrived for him to focus his powers in a single effort—for the effort might finally have been well chosen. It was time for him to turn his eyes outward upon a world which had become lovely. It was time for him to live frank and free. Ceasing at this point, his life was indeed complete as lives go; but having now first, the intelligence and the power to enjoy, it would have been right for him to begin anew. The new life would have borne a character very different from the old. Much as he had been contented with knowing and the perception of beauties, he might now have become eager for strength, activity and enjoyment; the appropriation of beauties. Whereas he had sought solitude, he would if he had lived, eagerly have desired association with quick, superior minds. For the first time he was ready to appreciate the luxury of achievement and recognized success.

(*Born.* The tendency of the human race is to *exclude* in its processes of self-perpetuation the ugly, the diseased, the moribund—to immortalize the vital beautiful. Such, of course, is an expression resulting from a point of view taken within the norm. Those things are ugly, diseased, which are not allowed within the real tendency—therefore moribund; those things *are* beautiful which have been, are and are to be ever more and more. In this sense the good and the beautiful are immortal. Union with such beauty is immortality; not with the beauty of my conceiving or thine, but of the world—those things which are and shall be.)

This is my brother's sad chapter, the chapter of Fate and Will. In the progress of every fine quickened spirit there are two stages. First, Nature is inexorable, Will shifting, digressive, antagonizing—result, Dualism. Second, Nature inexorable, intelligence showing that what must be should be, Will becoming conscious, active participation in the real tendency—result, Concord. In the second Fate has become what the American philosopher calls "beautiful necessity." The man is Will, Will is the man, Will is Power. The emphasis is upon Dualism until intelligence has so far advanced as to give intimation of the whole. Hence Dualism, original sin, sinister Fate, bad luck, will always be tenets of the herd, seeds of vulgarity. Will is fearless adaptation of the life to the insight.

My brother should have accepted the challenge of fate and devoted his life to the single worthy purpose. Such single-mindedness alone can make a life beautiful, heroic. Power springs from this singleness of purpose and command of one's resources. Of course I do not mean that there could have been a choice, a change of emphasis from Insight to Power when the old emphasis might with show of advantage have been retained. The call was for obedience, not proper choice. The desire to know had been dominant; the desire to live in the highest sense became dominant. Opposition to either would have been rupture, ruin, as the event proved. The glory of Will is to be a faithful servant. Will is put in charge of the life, deals with circumstance, carries into effect the real tendency. Will can only recognize a new apprehension of, growth in, the real tendency by the individual, and interpret that in conduct. If Will be a vigilant and faithful servant, it will not cease to strive when hindrance opposes itself to the real tendency. Such strife, if in the least iota unavailing, is discord. If such strife must sometimes be unavailing, then one's life is from the real tendency a thing apart, for the latter is perfect concord. Then man *is* of dual nature; then his real tendency is divine—is God. Then even enlightenment is hopeless and happiness is to dream. But the guide of Will is enlightenment as to the nature of things—the universal. *Will enlightened does not strive against, but strives with*; its fruit is not discord, but greater activity—is life. Hindrance

comprehended vanishes; it was not, but only seemed. The human tragedy, then, is really the cessation of the demand upon Will. We die and Will ceases. It is a tragedy from the point of view of clinging human nature. It does not seem a tragedy to the gods.

Born. Sleeping Beauty,—that is the substance of this story which I chance to overhear.

Is this the true starting-point in a study of the world's literature, this searching for beauty; not that which has been, but that which is being forever achieved—a search after the world's seeking for beauty? Is this the true starting point for a study of the world's *history*? It assumes the result certainly, and in history one assumes as little as possible; but if it may not be assumed that the tendency of struggles and events human is toward the discovery of sleeping beauty, that the outcome of human striving is the discovery and awakening, what is the use of studying history? What use for me, at least, who am committed to this search, whose life this search is? But if I am not permitted on such grounds to assume tendency and result, I must beg leave to shift the attack from myself. What then is beauty? If not what nature, and man's nature as part of the universal, prefers and desires, *what* is it? If man's nature does not tend towards what it desires, whither does it tend? Is beauty then an absolute thing, from all past throughout eternity the same? How then has man knowledge of it? How then has it a varying significance? How then have not the several expressions of beauty—as in idealizing art, in music, in taste relative to the proportions and coloring of the human form—all the common character?

The *Leit-motiv* in writing history is orderly succession—succession, not catastrophe and contrast. Such is music, such is poetry, copies in sound of the eternal, silent, orderly succession. The subject-matter of literature is catastrophe, contrast, save in its history. To feel the eternal progress in even vibrations, waves, awful, divine, is joy unspeakable and full of rest—ininitely above perfection because endless. Such is history: a little part of eternal progress revealed—the nearest part, which men have felt themselves into knowledge of. Such is its promise.

Is this search after beauty, a thing to make one neglect his own health, or the fit of his collar, or the amenities of society, or to prefer the musty odor of old books to the ideal fruit *Carangol*, or to disuse the handles of oars and cricket-bats!—no longer with kind looks to win cheering tribute of kind looks from cheered hearts of half-blind, *momentary* folk? Why here, round about us, is beauty also. Here is seeking and finding and living in beauty.

Reader. The usual forms of ambition—fame, wealth—could not tempt you, that is evident. Your purposes may be best accomplished by your living in mediocrity, not too far removed from any class or condition for association with all. To give yourself out as independent thinker—as leader with or without following—would be destructive of the opportunity to work unobserved. Such work as you wish to do must be done unobserved. What is the desirable thing?

Born. The desirable thing is to long for only one unattainable object; to long for that one object intensely and to advance towards it tirelessly and cheerfully. To me the one unattainable desirable object is the concord of literature: Honest thought wedded to the perfect music of expression.

Reader. One thing more: *Can* human life be complete? Could those rare qualities ascribed to Von Edelstein have ripened?

Born. I fear you will think me evasive. I cannot answer plain Yes or No. If we were omniscient, the life of the human race might seem to us a blending of distinguishable, severally complete, individual lives, each a perfect design. Everyone courses his design, if only once in thought, in a dream, in a wish, in the first moments of love or a revelation in the death agony. *He lives* who consciously, with all his powers and not in the flash of an instant, but with steady advance from birth to death walks erect, freely because willingly staining his fated path with brightness, looking kindly upon his neighbors and fellows. Does such an one complete his course? I think not, for the weakness of him which cannot follow thought with equal pace but lags behind. Yet, as the least of us sees—so briefly and dimly as not to comprehend, or comprehending only with regret his whole possible life, such an one embraces his whole life

with passionate warmth. What he cannot attain he sees and loves, and when power fails this vision brightens, calm and rest come. Every moment truly lived has made the remotely possible more attainable; and in the declining years of a true man eagerness to possess has made way for joy in knowing, and mild reflectiveness accomplishes the possible and the universal with a beaming thought and without a struggle.

But this is surely enough for the story of a most ordinary day, absolutely without event. Remember that for this date a sufficient entry in my diary was, "At — o'clock left — and traveled southward — degrees." If the complete history of twelve hours, just a very little less commonplace, should be written, I rather think the result would be a novel.

Reader. Well if it comes to that, we might refer to *our* note-book. (Turning over the leaves). You have betrayed the unreality of Baron von Edelstein, Swiss lady, Miss Ashland, by making them utter your own words, interpret in phrases of pedantry or sentimentalism the working of your own brain in some of the various moods of a rich nature—which we thus view from many sides. All is colored by this ideal which is properly peculiar to yourself. Veiled lady with suggestion of *Carangol*, veiled mountain, quest of the younger Edelstein: myths, metamorphosed Sleeping Beauty legends, nothings. Nothing left except Vernunft, of whom you took leave at the beginning of chapter one, and yourself. This Vernunft is a sturdy fellow who will not fade away as we look more closely. Indeed we all know him, with his red cheeks and easy opinions. But you, dear Sir——? Here is the passage in our note-book:

May 15th, 18—. Riding along the Blue Ridge road, joined by a grave, hard-featured man, mounted upon a small mule. Head of rider and ridden too large for their bodies; expression of their *countenances* remarkably similar. A very reserved man who yet liked company. Enjoyed a jest—that is, reservedly enjoyed it, and smiled (so weather-worn and hardened was his face) in seams. With undoubted sincerity invited me to share his Sunday dinner when our ways parted. Finally wished me "Good luck, Sir, in everything!" I could not get this man out of my head until I had resolved to write him up.

Such is the commonplace original of Bertram Born, to whom we heartily wish "Good luck in everything."

ARTICLE III.—ROSSETTI AND THE PRE-RAPHAELITES.

(THE ARTISTIC PHASE OF ENGLISH ROMANTICISM.)

WHEN the productions of the pre-Raphaelite School of Art first appeared on the continent in 1855, and later at the Paris Exposition, in 1867 and in 1878, M. Chesnau, one of the foremost of recent French critics, says that it had the effect of a revelation. Until that moment indeed the best contemporary English art was entirely unknown, even to the restricted circles of critics and connoisseurs across the channel, and the few examples of more or less indifferent excellence that had been submitted to their inspection, had only moved their astonishment and disdain. The admirable eighteenth century art of England was at least known; a few masterpieces of Reynolds, *The Blue Boy* of Gainsborough, were sufficient to win from French lovers of art a liberal recognition of the greatness and distinction of the old English portraiture; and before the first quarter of our century closed, before indeed native criticism had penetrated its worth, the landscape art of Constable had devoted followers and a brilliant future before it. Historically, also, this eighteenth century art was not unfamiliar to the French; with their deep-seated habit of generalization, it was easy to dispose of an art so clearly by its spirit and direction the lineal descendant of the great Dutch and Flemish schools, and once so classified, there was an end of it. It could not claim to be purely and absolutely national; it was only one more tendency, one more manifestation in a generally recognized mode. When English effort deviated specifically from the traditions of these schools, it only showed its inferiority. But the apparition of this later English art, this strange and eccentric growth called pre-Raphaelitism, made at once a distinct impression in France, arousing in the minds of capable judges a profound and powerful interest. That impression, however, gathered only from the works of Holman Hunt, Millais, Sir Noel Paton, Arthur Hughes and a few others—Rossetti and Ford Madox Brown being unrepresented in the

Exhibition of 1855—was at first not unmixed with doubt and perplexity. Habituated by training to the temperate and harmonious style of the old masters, the French critics found this realistic and neo-mediæval art lacking in nearly all the accredited qualities of academic art. It required a deliberate effort to adapt themselves to a method and a point of view so altogether new and individual. As to method, what at once struck French taste as something bizarre was the excessive crudity of the pre-Raphaelite color, the livid tints, the pronounced reds and blues, so like the scale of tones and transitions in mediæval glass painting, the utter disregard of the principles of softness and gradation which distinguishes the Renaissance painting.

"From the first," M. Chesnan remarks, "we had some difficulty in enduring a scale of color so pronounced." This single objection fairly represents a series of technical strictures that occasioned the dubiousness I have referred to in the attitude of foreign observers. On this head certainly, the art they were inspecting, judged by the examples set before them, was open to much criticism. But the nimble French mind was not content to rest its estimate upon technic alone. Every new school has to suffer the fate of all beginnings, and behind the shortcomings which attend every tentative, there might lie really great and fruitful ideas. And this was what French criticism soon perceived, as it advanced from special to general considerations, to be particularly true in the case of the pre-Raphaelites, a happier discovery that gained for it the disinterested attention of the Parisian world. It was seen that these pictures of unknown men and an unrecognized school represented, what the portion of eighteenth century art familiar to Frenchmen had hardly represented, a truly English, a truly national art, an art in which certain predominant traits of the English nature displayed themselves as unmistakably as in its poetry. But it was not only distinctly different from English eighteenth century art, but also, it was plain, distinctly different from their own art both in spirit and in development.

French art, M. Chesnan goes on to say, busies itself with reality; in this respect and by its genesis, it is indeed Latin. Like the Latin it generalizes, seeking abstract truth as its aim

and legitimate sphere. Precise detail does not come within its scheme; it can neither use nor tolerate it. The accidental must be suppressed absolutely in order to gain the harmonious unity, which is especially sought. Instinctively it passes from particular to general forms, from the individual to the type; but in striving after so noble an end, personal initiative is sensibly diminished; the Latin tradition is followed at the cost of independent and original effect. The principle of pre-Raphaelite art is the exact reverse of this. It has no relation whatever to the English art of the last century, the Gainsborough, the Reynolds, the Constable; nor even with Turner. Hogarth and Wilkie are perhaps on one side its remote parents, but thereafter have merely the appearance of being its progenitors. It has in reality no parentage, having sprung up in English soil like one of those extraordinary vegetations—I am using M. Chesnau's own simile,—which appeared on the earth in the first stages of life, rich, varied, the outcome of a great force, which has not measured its strength or its equilibrium.*

This brief summary of M. Chesnau's views is sufficient to place us near the point of view of an acute and flexible mind, contemplating a foreign art candidly and from the outside, as it is conceivable an American similarly endowed with perception and fervor of sympathy might be able to do. But it not only offers a disinterested estimate of the pre-Raphaelite art in its entirety, but recommends itself to Americans just because it comes from one trained critically in the traditions of French art, that French art which to-day almost entirely absorbs the attention of the younger generation of American students. We are disposed to be less reluctant to listen to a plea for English art when it comes from such a source, as it cannot possibly be warped by the bias of patriotism or the bias of a particular school. Before the exhibition of Mr. Watts' works in New York, comparatively few Americans had any acquaintance with the achievements of modern English art; the special phase known as pre-Raphaelitism is still known as its best development, and what is worse, apparently no sense of loss is felt and no inclination to amend an ignorance so much to be lamented. There is no need, I suppose, of devoting less study or diminish-

*I. *La Peinture Anglaise*; II. *Les Preraphaelites*.

ing any enjoyment that may be derived from the rich and thoroughly trained art of France, but it is difficult to understand why they should be incompatible with a wider, more intelligent, and more sympathetic interest in what is strong and inspiring in English art. It is true that, so many of our painters being nursed in Parisian *ateliers*, the kind of work which is commonly seen at our annual exhibitions, is largely French in character or by association, and it is quite natural to feel a closer intimacy and to draw a keener pleasure from the parent art for which the younger artists have in a manner prepared the mind. But after all, English art, like English poetry, only not in the same degree, has for its basis a structure of traditions, historical and emotional, which is also our own by right of descent and heritage. The Germanic element in the best English achievement must, I think, appeal to chords in every Saxon nature which the Latin is powerless to vibrate.

For the attainment of this appreciation it is not necessary to lessen the obvious differences between the French and English arts, nor to magnify one at the expense of the other. Notwithstanding a number of highly gifted individual artists, and a few great names, who are, as M. Chesneau admits, *veritables maitres*, it must be conceded that the present English school is inferior to the continental in its average of talent and effort, and notably inferior in discipline and technical excellence. Strictly speaking, there is of course no English school in the sense in which there is a Flemish, a Spanish, or a Florentine school. The official traditions, the special tendencies in design and color, which contributed in those nations and localities to form a "school," have always been lacking in the artistic development of England; on the contrary the tradition and the racial tendency have both been calculated to discourage such coöperate associations. The principle of liberty, so prominent in the political life of the people, appears to have transferred itself to the æsthetic sphere, and led to a variety of individual effort, which has its own merit, but it is not that of the unity of the continental schools. It simply checked discipleship, sometimes the bane no less than the blessing of Renaissance art, and prevented the growth of any coherent and organized school or tendency. But in one respect at least this has been produc-

tive of good : it has helped to make English art original. The absence of a common stock of academic practice created conditions, and opened fields for independent thought and experiment, which were not possible in Europe. Hence a new and potent result : English art is essentially free, and by reason of its freedom,—I am quoting M. Chesneau again, “infinitely varied, full of surprises and of unforeseen initiatives.” As a free and original growth it has good claims upon the student, and its character of individuality lend it, I think, an altogether peculiar charm that cannot fail to lead to a profounder appreciation of its many noble and vigorous qualities.

Just what it was that made the pre-Raphaelite art the reverse of the French will appear shortly when we consider the character of the epoch in which it arose, and the manner in which it was differentiated from that epoch. A brief glance at previous art is the more indispensable since it discloses the kind of atmosphere in which the Fraternity grew into stature, and assists greatly in understanding the force and degree of their reaction against it and towards the Romantic themes they were to illustrate anew ?

For at the moment the pre-Raphaelites began to be recognized as a group with singular claims of its own, English art was prosaic and uninspired to the last degree. Turner was in his old age, wasting his incomparable genius in fantastic experiments. Wilkie, the most charming and learned painter of his day, had begun in his last manner to hazard essays of a very doubtful worth. The annual exhibitions were filled with the works of Stanfield, a conscientious artist of no great distinction, and Cooke, Creswick, often agreeable, but for the most part tame and spiritless. “On all sides one saw Cooper’s cows, Eastlake’s smiling, insipid faces, Mulready’s sentimentalities, the false high art of Gaudy,”—a mass of commonplace portraits, indifferent landscapes, and mediocre incident-paintings. In the entire period what is remarkable is the lack of intellectuality, the lack of elevation in subject, the lack of invention, the lack of distinction in design. Mr. Ruskin has commented on it in terms honestly severe, but no one can return to the pictures of that day, or good prints of them, without finding himself overcome with

weariness at the endless succession of "cattle pieces, sea pieces, fruit pieces, family pieces, the eternal brown cows in ditches, and white sails in squalls, and sliced lemons in saucers, and foolish faces in simpers." It reminds us that they were not so far after all from the arid atmosphere of the last century. The exhibition of 1760, the first public one in England, for whose catalogue Dr. Johnson wrote the preface, called forth from the great critic, ignorant as he was of art, a not dissimilar censure on the worthlessness of many of the productions, a hearty growl of contempt for the intellectual value of "the loaf and cheese that could provoke hunger, the cat and canary bird, and the dead mackerel on a dead board." To the pre-Raphaelites, however, it was not only the choice of subject in previous art which offended them. They thought it tainted with generalization, which, in the matter of technic, obscured the subject painted, by an imperfect attention to detail, a certain vice of mistiness. Outside a few men like Stanfield, Creswick, and Harding, who worked with a fair degree of precision, there was in the treatment of landscape a want of exactness and decision, of the human figure an indefiniteness, which they considered a grave fault of art. But this is an objection that belongs more properly to the early pre-Raphaelite point of view, and which was afterwards less insisted on. The fact remains, however, that with few exceptions the science of color in the art immediately preceding was in a low stage. From Reynold's time until Turner's there were no great colorists in England, and with a single reservation in favor of Leslie, none from Turner's until Rossetti's and Watt's. As for design, and the qualities which produce noble and harmonious design, the single example of Stothard's sweet and gracious creations set aside, it scarcely existed in any high degree of excellence. It is no wonder that in opposing themselves to the temper of the eighteenth century art as a whole, the pre-Raphaelites should have recoiled most of all from the particular and degenerate form of it immediately present to them. To minds newly aroused by the mediæval impulses about them, and already turning their faces towards the spiritual art of the early Florentine school, it must have seemed as if the men that environed them had forgotten or masked the radiant life of

the earth, the mystery of human passion, and the bright loveliness of the body. Certainly they had forgotten that at which art aims superlatively, to cherish and embody the ideal while remaining within the sensuous.

It was to the ideal that the gifted Brotherhood, now turned with all the ardor of young men freshly inspired. Their aim was twofold, to conceive nobly of life and mind, to choose elevated and original subjects, and then to embody them with the utmost fidelity to nature. The one developed a more catholic sense of beauty in English art and the other advanced its technic. But leaving for the moment the practical results of pre-Raphaelitism, it is more interesting to see whither it was led in its quest for noble and beautiful subjects. Moreover, it is in this departure that the artistic manifestation of the romantic tendency most plainly appears. The romantic tendency is indeed dominant here.

For through two sources, an earlier type of art, and a certain atmosphere in the society about them, the pre-Raphaelites were impelled to seek their ideals in the sphere of the religious sentiment. The revival of that sentiment at Oxford and among men of culture had opened for the first time to English eyes the great neglected art of the *Quattrocentisti*. Neglected it is necessary to add, since, throughout the eighteenth century, it lay lost not only to the English people, but unrecognized or scorned by the dilettante. Now, however, to Rossetti and his associates, its resurrection in poetry, in religion, in architecture, brought an entire cycle of motives of which they discerned the shadowy counterpart already in their own hearts and in the imaginative stirrings about them. There, in those dim ages of faith, they found in profusion and in their purest forms, as yet untouched by pagan license, the noblest poetical embodiment of religious ideals, tender dreaming on divine things, aspirations, holiness. The grave beauty of Mantegna, and Giotto's simple and austere symbolism, attracted them as Raphael and Michel Angelo had attracted Reynolds and his group; in Sandro Boticelli's melancholy grace, in the delicate musings, the soft angelic form of Lippi, in the mystic passion of Fra Angelico, there was a world of new and subtle meanings for them. And what a

world it was, set beside the native art of the eighteenth century, and that which lay about them! How suffused with warmth and feeling, how fair in its spirituality, how fresh and gracious in its appeal to the emotions! They saw here indeed a great art, great first of all in those eternal qualities which spring from the mind, elevation, harmony, conception, nobleness; and secondly, as artists, they saw in the technic a principle that sprang from very reverence, absolute fidelity to nature, which to these old Florentines symbolized the divine, a loving and exact transcript of the humblest things of the earth. No flower, or herb, no scroll or bit of carving, was too insignificant for them, being part of a divine idea; and obediently like the old building saints, in the service of the church, they wrought it out with the grace and vigor of the minutest skill. It was this Gothicism of the pre-Raphaelites, this mingled nobility in aim and elaboration in detail, that their English followers loved and sought to import into their art.

And the mediæval tendencies in society assisted, and partly determined, the return to the types which the early Florentine art only suggested. The connection of the Oxford revival with pre-Raphaelitism is not merely a contiguity, but a sequence in order of ideas and feelings, an intimate alliance in aims and methods.

Precisely the same causes contributed to the genesis of both movements, and largely determined their special characteristics. Without Newman and the Tracts, without Keble and Pusey and the *Lyra Apostolica*, without that other artistic revival that took its rise with Pugin and Rickman, and the whole movement toward the recovery of Gothic design and mediæval sentiment, the pre-Raphaelite group might never have risen into any considerable degree of favor and influence. Each, as a centre, had contributed to let loose the ideas that were in the air, to reinforce them in its own way, and to stimulate minds in every department of activity. The interdependence of these various movements is exemplified in miniature in Rossetti. As a fact he seems to have felt very early the stimulus of mediæval motives. Whatever opinion is entertained of the inborn and self-supported strength of his bias in this direction,

it should be remembered that before his first precocious poem, the *Blessed Damozel*, written in 1846, the first wave of the New Romanticism had already passed over the representative poets of that period. In Tennyson's little volume of 1842, in Miss Barrett's *Romanunts*, and here and there in Browning's *Bells and Pomegranates*, the charm of romantic themes begins to be caught and mirrored, though as yet in a broken and uncertain manner. Rossetti's painting, too, betrays the operation of the same influence. A discriminating critic of high repute, Mr. W. B. Scott, thought when he saw his first picture, *The Girlhood of the Virgin Mary*, composed in the same year of his first poem, that it was directly inspired by the Tractarian movement, of which the artist seemed about to become the expositor.* However this may be, it is quite certain that the young men who afterward worked under Rossetti, and each of whom rose to distinction in the two-fold province of Romantic art, were exposed for a time directly to the atmosphere of the Oxford religious revival and the artistic phase that accompanied it. When Rossetti went to Oxford in 1856 to paint those unfortunate frescoes in the interior of the cupola of the Union, he met among the undergraduates, Mr. Swinburne, Mr. William Morris, Mr. E. Burne-Jones, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope. It was owing to his wise encouragement that the greatest artistic figure in the group, Mr. Burne-Jones, was induced to abandon orders and cast his lot in the more attractive but more precarious profession. In the locality, the associations, the moment, it is possible to find the impulses which led each of these men in their adopted art towards mediæval ideas. To the artists it was an impulse in the direction of sacred art. None of them had perhaps listened to the persuasive voice in St. Mary's pulpit; the critical hour of religious transition was past; but the echoes of the storm had not yet died away. The old questions and beliefs which the Anglo-Catholics had resuscitated at the cost of so much dissension were still being talked over, but with calmness and

* The closeness of the intellectual connection was in this case probably exaggerated. The remarks of Mr. Gosse in the *Century* for September, 1882, while disposing of this point, are, I am bound to say, opposed to the general view I have taken of Rossetti's relation to the Oxford movement.

deliberation. Apart from the heat of controversy, there was perhaps all the more reason why contemplative and artistic natures should return to mediæval topics and mode of feeling; they had the additional charm which quiet and security can give. But the university was far from being in exclusive possession of these religious ideas. They affected a restricted portion of English society, and it was by their diffusion and activity in society, also, that the pre-Raphaelites were impelled that way. They seemed to be reflecting the needs of the time, a time in which this was only one but yet a powerful and attractive current.

In its inception the pre-Raphaelite movement was first of all, I need hardly say, a reaction, and in this regard also it is allied to the immediately preceding movements in literature and religion. Like them it was a reaction from the typical temper of the eighteenth century, a distinct protest within its own sphere against the aims and methods of the eighteenth century art. Its difference from them, however, is that it began and developed at a so much later period. And this is a more striking circumstance than is at first apparent. The reaction in the form, treatment, and subject-matter of poetry was mature at the threshold of our century; the religious reaction at Oxford broke out in 1830; but the artistic recoil can scarcely claim a beginning earlier than 1850. Why was this so? In the general renunciation of the rationalistic thought of the eighteenth century, why was art the last to be affected? I think it is because art in the English race has far less vitality, far less importance in the rational mind, far less of the spirit of progression in it than either religion or poetry. It has always been behind literature, inexpressibly less rich and various, and reflecting less the direction of the British mind. Hence, when taste expanded and romantic ideals arose, art was the last to feel and embody them. The case of Blake and Turner, those early romantics, illustrates the truth of the reflection; for they stood alone, each in a domain of his own, representing no impulse of their generation, and in return leaving no immediate trace of their thought. English art went on in the same old ruts for many years as if Blake and Turner had never painted. Long

after Wordsworth and Shelley, shaking off the fetters of the last century, had reformed poetry, after Byron and Keats and Lander, nay even after Tennyson had restored the world of old romance and pagan beauty, and after the sentiment of mediæval religion had come back to stir the hearts of men, art still lingered in idea with Young and Thompson, Goldsmith and Crabbe, still trod in the prosaic paths of the last century.

We are now in a position to examine the pre-Raphaelite art quite by itself.

Two special characteristics, I have said, the demand that subjects should be poetic and beautiful in themselves, and the rendering of them with exact and minute reference to nature, were its distinctive marks. Let us see to what they led in their actual painting, what they produced of gain and what of loss. Every lover of art will readily recall Holman Hunt's *The Light of the World*, a picture once famous in English society and still sufficiently familiar to most of us. It is not necessary to see the original in color to observe how far this composition is removed from the trivial subjects with which the previous art dealt most commonly. It is the Christ, crowned with his crown of thorns, wet with the night's dew, passing by the gleam of a lantern from door to door, seeking the house of the just. It is just this and nothing more; but the conception stands before us in its simplicity, and moves us by its noble and pathetic charm. The Divine Master seeking among men for one who is like unto himself! A profound feeling of regret and melancholy overcomes us. Back of the quest we recollect the bitter travail of the Passion—does not the crown of thorns symbolize it?—and contrast that suffering undergone for men and the divine patience which even now will not receive its meed when it comes to the door of those justified by his agony and death. It touches at once the core of the religious sentiment in us, and leaves us stirred and awe-struck at a divine condescension so gracious and so long enduring.

There is another composition of this accomplished painter entitled *After Sunset in Egypt*, also in his first manner when design and intellectuality of theme were still essential to his complete expression. "Upon such an indication, what," M.

Chesneau asks, "would you imagine it to be? A vast landscape with oriental lines, bathed in the warm shadow of the twilight, a pale sky, colored with flame far off in the horizon where the earth disappears in its measureless abyss? There is nothing of that in Mr. Hunt's picture. The motive of his painting is the figure of a woman, some patrician, some daughter of Pharaoh. Amply robed in a sumptuous and serous stuff which envelopes her from head to foot in its black folds, with shades of intense blue, she stands upright, in the rigid attitude of a bronze caryatid, on the bank of a sacred river. Large rings hang from her ears; collars of gold and coral drop upon her breast. Is she a daughter of the Nile? Is she not rather the goddess of harvest-time, the Egyptian Ceres? In one hand she holds a sheaf of wheat posed upon her brown head, in the other an amphora of baked clay, whose engobe varnished with a pale green, hard and glistening, contrasts with the flat tints of her pale and serene face. From all sides flocks of familiar pigeons wing confidently about her. Eager to catch the seed which is generously accorded them, they rise clasping in the steely horn of their rosy beaks the seeds that have fallen on the ground at her feet; they peck at the sheaf, plunging their delicate heads into it, while those whose hunger is satisfied, circle and wheel about with collars of tremulous feathers, making a true aureole. Beyond a stream flows silently by: gliding peaceably, without noise or eddy, under cover of its large-leaved lotus. Afar the harvest-fields succeed each other to infinite distance, to the foot of the mountains empurpled with the last rays of sunlight. It is the image of opulence and serenity, of nature left to herself. Is it indeed that? Is it not something else? . . . It disquiets me, however, this mournful figure, and I would wish to decipher the enigma of the Sphinx. Shall I propose a new interpretation? I see no longer the daughter, or wife of a king, or goddess; I surprise the very image of modern Egypt. In those eyes without a glow, cold and black, impenetrable to light as an extinguished coal, in that immobility prophetic as that of slave or courtesan. I seek the symbol of Egypt dethroned of the grandeur of her antique civilization, stripped of her intellectual royalty, reduced to the only fecundities that the citron of the Nile, that eternal

nature imposes to its fertile climate. Why does she turn her back upon the river, if not to behold the gigantic ruins of her older puissancy, lying prone on her banks. Beneath the weight of the heavy grain, she still remains firm and sombre as granite, and like it, without life; she has only a vegetable, an animal life, and is at bottom only a spark, a glimmer, a souvenir."

In studying these pictures, it is necessary to remark at the outset, the imperfections of the romantic method, under its pre-Raphaelite form, become clearly visible. The fundamental conception is what impresses us at first, elevated, intellectual, even mythical in its purport, but the manner in which it is made impressive is instructive; the naturalism, the lavish use of symbol, the appeal to literary ideas, throw a flood of light upon the working of the romantic temper in the plastic arts.

In each of these designs, for instance, there is a certain demand made on the culture of the spectator. The painters are above all poets, cultivated men, familiar with history and literature; their ideas are literary, full of recondite suggestions, which must be made intelligible in color. But the endeavor to render them into adequate clearness in so fixed a medium, stretches their resources to the utmost, and they are forced to resort to the illustrative symbol. In so doing they in a measure exceeded the limits of painting. This is in effect the charge made against the earlier pre-Raphaelite art by M. Chénau and Mr. Hamerton alike, independently of each other. If it is an exaggeration of a healthy truth, however, it is one that belongs to a goodly part of romantic art in general, the aim of which is so largely the expression of character. Yet the objection, if not urged too far, certainly holds good of painting so freighted with historical intention as Hunt's Egyptian allegory. It would seem that an image in line and color is by the very concreteness and definiteness of its medium designed to convey its lesson or story simply and directly to the eye of the beholder. The result of a less obvious appeal to knowledge, is in most cases what it is here, a certain obscurity which may mean, as the puzzled critic finds it does, a dozen different things. But a just consideration of this disputed point in art would carry us beyond bounds; it is sufficient to note it, and the super-

abundant symbolism to which it led. *Dante's Dream* illustrates how marked was this need for symbol. It is as if it had become a necessity of their thought, without which indeed a mere thought was bare and void. Expressional purpose overrides the capability of the technic; the story is told in line and color, and exquisitely told, but only to the cultivated sense of the few, who are willing to examine and ponder its last meaning. Between the artistic and the public this employment of a too minute and intricate emblem seems to raise an insuperable barrier. Instead of appealing to popular, it appears to esoteric taste, and loses correspondingly in breadth and clearness.

The naturalism also, which marked especially the early work of the pre-Raphaelites, had its moment of exaggeration. In previous painting there was, as we shall see, a kind of excuse for a reaction in this direction, but as a principle of art it was at first carried beyond measure. It was perhaps a part of the religious cult, as Mr. Ruskin points out, that they should seek to transcribe natural forms in a spirit of such rigorous and relentless copyism. The loving care with which every bud and leaf and tendril is treated by the painter, has in it a sentiment that is referable to reverence of a divine beauty. But whatever its origin, the fault of its excesses were soon evident enough. It involved the death or subordination of the selective instinct, and thus injured the ideal itself, which is in a measure the product of selection and combination. It led ultimately to a tendency to "immortalize beetles and mushrooms," the common and uncomely as well as the choice in landscape. It is related that in Holman Hunt's *Hireling Shepherd* a naturalist recognized the very species of the butterfly at which the young girl gazes with surprised delight, and named without hesitation the flowers that blossom at her feet. But this, surely, is not the aim of a great art, which depends, not so much upon details as upon the quality of the whole impression. Applied to historical subjects, where all the resources of archeological erudition are brought to bear to perfect the realism, its erroneousness is amusingly indicated in an anecdote told respecting the minute realism of Mr. Hunt's *Christ Teaching the Doctors*. To embellish this painting, to render it complete and absolutely truthful in every detail, the

artist made a prolonged sojourn in Judea, studying the character of the country, and consecrating five years of his life to reading and research of all kinds. "Mais, hélas!" the narrator proceeds, "il est difficile de contenter tout le monde et son valet. Après avoir examiné le tableau, une dame jeune dit gravement: "Cela est fort beau; senelement, on voit que l'auteur ne connaissait pas le trait distinctif de la race de Juda il a donné à ses docteurs les pieds plats qui sont de la tribu de Ruben, tandis que les hommes de Juda avaient le cou-de-pied fortement cambré?"

But if such examples help to disclose the exaggerations of the pre-Raphaelite school, they reveal also on the other hand its really great and admirable qualities, which taught an invaluable lesson to the English art of that period. In their revolt against established methods, as happened with Byron and Shelley, with Newman and the religionists, they went by the inevitable law of all reforms too far. The principles of idealism in conception and analysis in treatment, fundamental and indispensable as they are, carried them into the extremes I have noted, on one hand an obscure symbolism, and on the other a too minute copyism. As always happens, again, these excesses bore in themselves the seed of a secondary reaction and a gradual readjustment towards a truer equilibrium. For in time, after the benefit of the two-fold principle had been exhausted, a greater nobleness of type and a wider truth of statement gained for art, the errors of the school began to correct themselves. Rossetti and his group, with a bare exception or two, it is necessary to add with emphasis, outgrew their narrow and crude beginnings, abandoned those propositions which had never at any time been fixed as canons, and measurably expanded, if they did not materially alter, the purposes and means of their art. The recoil upon their earlier selves made itself felt throughout the artist world in England; it was an ultimate expansion into a complete ideal. English art in general advanced from analysis to synthesis; what it lost in a mannered minuteness of detail, in a too rigid exactness of description, it gained in harmony of design, in amplitude and a greater breadth of effect. But the genuine worth of the pre-Raphaelite effort remains unquestionable. It was

a veritable starting point, and if transient, a necessary stage in art-growth, containing and enforcing, as Mr. Ruskin says, "the essential germs of a right aspiration." It was superseded, but not before it had restored the mental and moral qualities in which previous art had been more or less deficient, earnestness, sincerity, ardor, imagination; in this, again, showing a certain analogy with the movements in poetry and religion. So along with its excesses the romantic mind brought its own priceless contributions to English painting.

Moreover, this contribution of romanticism to art, and the decided advance it signaled, becomes the more directly apparent when it is placed again in sharp opposition to the art of the last century. How is it possible to set them side by side, these two contrasted arts springing from antagonistic influences, without observing how much English art regained by the restoration of the older force, the outburst of thought and feeling, the new crowd of motives, the more irregular but richer taste we call romanticism? And this, certainly, is the side of the general subject which is most interesting and instructive. It takes us out of the region of pure painting, of technical craft, into the region of philosophy and of every-day life. It is a phase in the larger history of taste, a record of expanding knowledge and emotion which works itself out under our very eyes.

In the individual mind there is scarcely anything more interesting than change and traceable growth. We watch it, in the most familiar instance, in our friends, in all the novelty, the apparent inconsequence, or the visible sequence of its transitions. It affects ourselves; it touches our own lives and possibly transforms them. We rejoice, or we are sad, in its manifestations; their ideals may pass beyond our own power of apprehension, lift themselves above our heads, and become to us as spectres in the air; or they may remain with us, or we ourselves advance in a glad unconsciousness to meet and embrace them. But whatever happens, the interest in our friend's intellectual and emotional progress seldom wholly ceases; the moment it subsides, we are no longer genuinely human; the bond that unites man to man, sympathy, is broken irretrievably. And in circles beyond our own, in the recorded lives of

distinguished people, the world's favorites and intimates, it is ever the interior drama which draws and attracts us by the force of its own supreme attractiveness. What is it but this that makes St. Augustine's confessions so fascinating, that draws us to Erasmus, to Montaigne, to Alfieri, to Gibbon, to John Stuart Mill, and to so many others, who with fashions of thought foreign to our own, still keep us amused and interested in so delightful a manner? That which moved them, the elements definable and indefinable from within and without, is moving us also every day, from point to point, in a growth only half discerned, in a direction whose end is hidden, until some sudden collision or awakening bring us into surprised contact with our new selves. And so, I think, in a movement like that from the classicism of the last century to the romanticism of our own day there is something of vital interest and attraction far beyond any disputable points of art theory and practice. We are only after all transferring attention from an individual to a collective evolution, studying the progress of many minds towards a deeper and wider sense of beauty, a typical body of taste and effect.

What, then, is the precise relation of this art to that of the eighteenth century? What change is it exactly that romanticism has wrought in the artistic sphere? It is nowhere so happily and briefly expressed, I think, as in Mr. Theodore Watt's observation on the exhibition at London of Rossetti's pictures in 1882. "Had the committee at Burlington house," he says, "purposely arranged galleries four and five, with the view of contrasting the artistic temper of the eighteenth century with the artistic temper which, if Rossetti's work is vital, may become the characteristic note of our own day, they could not have done so more effectually than by hanging in one gallery the Reynolds, the Gainsboroughs, and the Ronneys, and in the other those wonderful 'incarnate poems' which have of late years been silently coloring the upper atmosphere of English art, as the Opal of Arden colored the cloud temple of the spirits of the air, though imprisoned by the gnomes at the foot of the hill. To pass from one gallery to the other was to pass from the comfortable world of domestic materialism, which the eighteenth century accepted as the final cause (and a

most worthy final cause) of the entire universe, to those older worlds of wonder and mystery which, though nowadays mirrored only in the eyes of poets and children are as real, perhaps, as London is or as Ninevah was." Reflecting on this pregnant contrast Mr. Watts asks if this particular instance does not disprove the common notion, so much insisted on by students of evolution, that the mind moves from "a temper of wonder to a temper of acceptance." Literary evolution, he implies, is not always symmetrical, nor in a continuous straight line. Some great civilizations have reached the period of acceptance, and then have turned back and become haunted by a sense of mystery as great as ever. This was what happened to the poetry of Shelley and Coleridge compared with the poetry of Dryden and Pope. The absolute correctness of the theory in this special instance is, perhaps, open to doubt. But whatever may be said of the conclusions Mr. Watts draws from the main proposition, the phrase he employs hits very happily the chief distinctions between the antagonistic art. The English mind has moved "from a temper of acceptance to a temper of wonder." Is not that strikingly just and true? Is it not equally so when we make a larger synthesis, and include in the concept the temper that has given the directions to poetry as well as painting, and guided the tendencies of religious thought from Butler's day to Newman's and Frederick Robertson's. But to show how and to what degree the remark is just and true in this three-fold field, would be equivalent to considering the whole genesis and history of the New Romanticism, and I am only finding my way now into a single corner of it. Happily, with regard to this one corner, we have in Rossetti a typical representative, a true romantic, and it is in the power and secret of his art to light up the entire matter, and let us see more clearly how the temper of wonder, once more revived in more latter-days, has operated in a mind so individual and so responsive to its finest appeals.

For in Rossetti this temper of wonder is but another name for the imagination, exquisitely sensitive and prone to dwell on the subtle and more secret problems of human nature and fate. The rare class to which he belongs by affinity of spirit is sealed by this quality of imagination as with seven seals.

There are those, and an endless procession of able and solid minds they make, who appear to find adequate satisfaction and worthy themes in the definite world of fact and outward existence, but Rossetti was a true soul-born romantic in this, that this outward existence, this tangible surface of things, was to him only a symbol and suggestion of the something he conceived or felt to lie beyond it. Following nature as obediently, copying her as faithfully as the most humble and prosaic realist, his eye turned ever inwards for the supernal image it could not see, which could only be guessed at dimly in its essence, though its ultimate purport might be clear. Hence in his work the touch of mystery, the shadow of the unknown, whose borders fluctuate from moment to moment, are never lacking; they surround him like an atmosphere; they give his best achievement that distinctive mark which at once separates it from the period before him, and somewhat isolates him even in his own generation. In the beautiful prose allegory of the *Hand and Soul*, there is a description in which Rossetti forecast his own attitude as an artist, and expresses by the way his own convictions of what art should aim for. "Chraio, servant of God," says the fair woman who was his soul, "take now thine art unto thee, and paint me thus, as I am, and in the weeds of this time; only with eyes which seek out labor, and with a faith, not learned, yet zealous of prayer. Do this; so shall thy soul stand before thee always, and perplex thee no more." This seems to contain the key to Rossetti's creed, that art must be both sensuous, 'in the weeds of this time,' and spiritual, with eyes of faith, 'zealous of prayer.' Like that great and visionary romantic before him, the English seër of Heaven and Hell, he saw and keenly enjoyed the beauty of Hellenic art; many of his sonnets, and some of his drawings of heads and figures, are wrought in the spirit of Greek clearness and harmonious proportions. But that is not his characteristic mood, any more than it is Blake's; his characteristic mood is profoundly romantic. It is the temper of wonder, the element of mystery, which pervades *Dante's Dream*, his largest and in most respects his greatest work. In the *Vita Nuova* Dante recounts him in a dream he suddenly became aware of one, hoarse and tired out, coming to him and asking:

'Hast thou not heard it said
My lady, she that is so fair, is dead.'

* * * * *

Then Love said, 'Now shall all things be made clear,
Come and behold our Lady where she lies.'

These 'wilderer phantasies

Then carried me to see my Lady dead,
Even as I there was led,

Her ladies with a veil were covering her :
And with her was such very humbleness
That she appeared to say, 'I am at peace.'

This is the moment the painter has chosen to picture Dante, led by Love, approaching the couch of the dead Beatrice. The room in which she lies, with its winding stairs, its lamp in which the flame expires, its sad Latin inscription from Jeremiah, its allegoric accessories, is conceived in a spirit as imaginative as is shown in the treatment of the chief figure on the canvas. The roses and violets in the frieze typify the purity of her who lies at peace, and the sleep of death that comes in the spring-time and is watched over by Love is suggested in the poppies that lie strewn about, the may-blossoms, and the crimson doves hovering near. The soul of the dead mounts upward, borne by flame-colored angels that are dimly discerned through an opening in the roof. This intense personification extends to the central figures as well. Dante has paused in awed reverent grief as the solemn significance of the scene enters his soul, but Love, a figure in a garb of flame color, bearing a scallop-shell, leads him forward that he may kiss the dead. The hand that is not clasped by Love holds an arrow and some apple-blossom sprays. In the centre of the picture lies Beatrice clothed in white, pale, beautiful, immobile, her cloud of golden hair falling downwards, where the thin fair hands are crossed upon the breast.

And with her was such very humbleness
That she appeared to say, 'I am at peace.'

In this lofty and harmonious composition, so charged with the very pathos of sorrow, we have an extreme example of Rossetti's love of symbol. The figures of Dante and Beatrice alone would not convey to him the whole of Dante's conception ; the flowers and birds and inscriptions grew up about his interpretation as integral and necessary portions of it.

Another picture, *How they met themselves*, shows better than any other I know, how profound was his sense of mystery, how subtle his penetration of the supernatural. I quote Mr. Sharp's description of this very remarkable design. "The time is towards twilight, in a thick and presumably lonely wood, where two lovers have met by secret appointment. They have stopped to embrace, hidden from the world by the dark forest, from heaven by the roof of closely interwoven branches and dense foliage, when suddenly they behold themselves walk towards and past them. The two supernatural figures have nothing to denote their immortality save a gleaming light along the line of their bodies, not, however, visible to the lovers; with clasped hands they approach and slowly pass on, the lady looking right into the eyes of her mortal double, and the man with a fixed and terrible expression staring back the startled gaze of the lover. The lady of life, if she may be so called in contradistinction, falls fainting against a tree, with her face deathly pale with sudden fear and horror, and her lover, with his left arm supporting her, with his right draws his sword in order to make trial of this strange double of himself—but for some reason his arm seems paralyzed, and he cannot raise the weapon. This is the moment chosen for illustration: in another the lovers will be alone again, shuddering with fear at the occult significance of this strange and unnatural meeting with, to all intents, themselves."*

But it is quite impossible to convey by any word painting the glamour that hangs over this extraordinary work. It reveals such an intimate perception of the weird and eerie, and such a power to give them out anew in concrete form with intensified meaning that it can be paralleled only in some of Blake's artistic or Coleridge's poetic fantasies.

* Dante Gabriel Rossetti: *A Record and a Study*, p. 138.

ARTICLE IV.—PSYCHO-BIOGRAPHY; CROSS'S LIFE OF
GEORGE ELIOT.

George Eliot's Life, as related in her letters and journals.

Arranged and edited by her husband, J. W. CROSS, in three volumes.

IN his life the artist is lonely. He is a voice crying in the wilderness,—a root out of dry ground,—a green spot in a dry and thirsty land. He is in the world but not of the world. With Auerbach he may find that on the heights may lie repose but it is the restless repose of the outwardly wearied and inwardly forceful organism. The human mind craves the intermingling of experience which we call sympathy. But for sympathetic communion there must be substantial equality of attainment, and the artist, by so much as he be an artist, is beyond his fellows, and the note of his social life is apt to be seriousness. "She took things too seriously," says Mr. Cross almost pathetically of George Eliot. "I was obliged to admit," says he of her writings, "that, with all my admiration of her books, I found them on the whole profoundly sad."

And these three volumes of the life history of the woman Mary Ann Evans and the artist George Eliot, invaluable contributions as they are to psychological, literary, and social data, will be found sad enough, we suspect, to most thoughtful readers.

In respect to the form of presentation of these letters we can ask little more than is here given us. The one notable characteristic of the work of Mr. Cross is the perfect honesty of the treatment. Mr. Cross is a rare accompanist. We could have predicted as much from the knowledge of the fact that he had been dear to George Eliot. For the study of these volumes compels us to realize that her intimates were always accompanists and dear to her, we sometimes think, in proportion to their abilities in that capacity rather than for their possibilities in their own fields of performance. Perhaps it is true that it is at once the privilege and the regretted limitation

of all artists to attract. "Habit," says George Eliot herself, "is the penalty we pay for our past sins." Perhaps the habit of recasting all values into the one personality is the artist's penalty for his own force. In this instance, however, we cannot regret the fact. Says George Eliot in one of these letters, "Is it not odious that, as soon as a man is dead, his desk is raked, and every insignificant memorandum which he never meant for the public is printed for the gossiping amusement of people too idle to reread his books," and because "there is a certain set, not a small one, who are titillated by the worst and indifferent to the best." Now we are distinctly conscious of sympathy with an author as she says this and glad for the sake of her memory as well as for our own enjoyment that she had such an editor as Mr. Cross. The work is a mosaic of letters,—letters carefully "pruned," as Mr. Cross frankly tells us, "of everything that seemed to me irrelevant to my purpose; of everything that I thought my wife would have omitted." It is a mosaic confessedly composed to "show the development of mind and character." And yet it is studiously, conscientiously, honest. There is no false light thrown here and there. The weak and the strong in the life portrayed are both given us with frankness and with fullness. For this we heartily thank Mr. Cross. We could indeed have asked for a fuller index, but we reflect on Swift's observation that of "little weight are the greatest services to princes when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions," and, having much, we refrain from asking for more.

In respect to the contents we might perhaps indulge in criticism. Possibly we could have wished that Miss Evans had not so much enjoyed her own sufferings and been so willing that her friends should suffer with her, but we are sensible of the truth of the sentence from La Bruyère quoted in one of these very letters: "Le plaisir de la critique nous ôte celui d'être virement touchés de très belles choses," and for ourselves we will prefer to enjoy.

It is not uninteresting in these volumes to note the indifference of George Eliot to the "General Reader." She positively arrays herself in opposition to this poor creature who, as she says, would fain "devour" her books. "Far worse,"

says she, "than any verdict as to the proportion of good and evil in our work is the painful impression that we write for a public which has no discernment of good and evil." Being ourselves, however, on cordial terms with this General Reader we can assure him that even he will be able not only to understand but to enjoy these volumes.

The work will, however, appeal with special force to three classes of students: the gossiping student of social conditions; the student of psychological experiences, and the student of literary growths. The gossiping student will be disappointed. If he be what we may be allowed to call a retail student,—one who works out problems of life from the study of individual lives,—he will find less of material than one would expect. Here is indeed the full life of a woman of genius, whose sympathies touched all the grades of human existence and whose nerves thrilled at every throb of human suffering. Our friend the Gossiper,—and we ourselves admit we have great sympathy with him,—will straightway begin to search for the reasons why such a woman should have preferred a social condition which outpassed all conventions and thus chosen a social desert for her immediate environment. We suspect our friend the Gossiper will give it up. He will find it hard from these volumes to weave a romance of high motive and great purpose around the connection with Mr. Lewes. We think he will join the General Reader in voting the work not up to his desires.

But to the psychologist these volumes are invaluable. The successive phases of religious experience are a fascinating study. Here is a woman whose culture,—for we have the catalogue of the mental meat on which she fed,—was as wide as literature, and whose literary persistence was simply marvelous. We have a woman who had what Mr. Cross calls a "religious mind" by which we may infer that she was like her own Maggie Tulliver filled "with a blind, unconscious yearning for something that would link together the wonderful impressions of this mysterious life, and give her soul a sense of home in it." We have, moreover, a woman who has studied the religious life with seriousness, with intensity, with honesty. We have one who at the age of twenty-seven trans-

lated the Strauss' *Life of Christ* and "only endured" the "dissecting," by Strauss, "of the beautiful story of the crucifixion" because above her head as she wrote she had an ivory image of the Crucified Christ. We have one who at nineteen could "only sigh for those who are multiplying earthly ties which, though powerful enough to detach their hearts and thoughts from Heaven, are so brittle as to be liable to be snapped asunder at every breeze," and who could say with perfect sincerity, "O that we could live only for Eternity! that we could realize its nearness;" one who at twenty-one writes to Miss Lewis a long letter warning her earnestly against all fiction, though she admits that "when a person has exhausted the wonders of truth, there is no other resource than fiction: till then I cannot imagine how the adventures of some phantom conjured up by fancy can be more entertaining than the transactions of real specimens of human nature, from which we may safely draw inferences;" and finally one who at twenty-five could jestingly allude to her childhood as a period of "colic and whooping-cough and dread of ghosts, to say nothing of Hell and Satan and an offended Deity in the Sky who was angry when I wanted too much plum cake." We will not trace the progress nor will we question the statement of Mr. Cross that at the last it was exceedingly difficult to ascertain, either from her books or from the closest personal intimacy, what her exact relation was to any religious creed or to any political party. The impression of Mr. Cross is that "she could not conceive that there was as yet any religious formula sufficient nor any known political system likely to be final. Perhaps Mr. Cross was wrong,—we will not here discuss the question,—but the study of this religious development will well reward the attention of the student.

The emotional phases of such a complex nature as was George Eliot's are, in their turn a study of great interest. Mr. Cross, in his excellent preface, says: "On the intellectual side there remains little to be learned by those who already know George Eliot's books. In the twenty volumes which she wrote and published in her lifetime will be found her best and ripest thoughts. The letters now published throw light on another side of her nature,—not less important, but hitherto unknown

to the public,—the side of the affections.” And at the close of the volume Mr. Cross tells us, as if in his view it needed to be told, that “she was, and as a woman she wished to be above all things feminine,—that she had the distinctive feminine qualities that lend a rhythm to the movements of life.” Now the very insistence of Mr. Cross makes us question, and the more we study the more profound is the mystery of the character before us. The feminine, in the sense of housewifely, domestic, sympathetic, unselfish, affectional, was one phase of George Eliot’s expression ; but that in any fair use of language this could be called the note of her living seems untrue. We are baffled by the inconsistencies at every turn and driven even to wonder, sometimes, if the thrill of universal sympathy in the *Mill on the Floss* and *Adam Bede* was more than a wonderfully successful study of the affectional and the sexual phases of individual experience. At all events it is as a study rather than as an inspiration that the presentation of the emotional in these volumes appeals to us. We sometimes gasp and long for a bit of that highest affection,—that love that seeketh not her own. Indeed the barbarian masculine reviewer even sometimes bursts out into rank heresy and doubts if George Eliot really would have “longed to join the choir invisible” unless, like the choir visible in which she had for so long time lived, it had been trained to sing her praise. But the very many-sidedness of this nature is its own explanation and justification, and if it seemed to absorb remorselessly from all about it in private life we remember how it shone forth in *Amos Barton* and in *Silas Marner*, and we bundle our officious criticism into obscurity without scruple.

Finally, to the literary student these three volumes are of inestimable value. There are two methods much in vogue just now for getting at the secret of an author’s power. The first and the most popular one at the moment is the analytical,—what the late Mr. Richard Grant White has called the anatomical—method. It is quite possible in this case, for example, to set forth as a broad principle that in the development of women of genius there will always be four periods, at least, of advance, and that the usual order will be first the Literary, then the Sensuous, then the Material, then the Creative.

The works before us lend themselves with great ease to such a classification of the states of development if we drop out the Sensuous which seems, with Miss Evans, to have found its outlet mainly in religious enthusiasm in early life. For the rest the early letters in this series were clearly written in the literary stage. Indeed the first volume of the three is almost pure literature. The letters flash with bright thoughts. George Eliot has too a wonderful mastery of language. She says herself, "Nathless, I love words; they are the quoits, the bows, the stanes that furnish the gymnasium of the mind." And she uses these "quoits" with a skill that leaves us lost in admiration. She tells us, for example, of "a lady who has been guanoing her mind with French novels. Of one of her friends she says, "I once said of you that yours was a sort of alkali nature which would detect the slightest acid of falsehood. You begin to phiz-z-z directly it approaches you. I want you as a test." And with this mastery of the tools she showers upon us in this first volume thought, anecdote, wit in almost bewildering profusion. Some of her letters on music,—which she says, "arches over this existence with another and diviner,"—on art, on religion, "that ever flowing river fresh from the windows of heaven and the fountains of the great deep," we wish we could quote here in full. They fairly glow with that "wit" which, as George Eliot says, "gives us that exquisite kind of laughter which comes from the gratification of the reasoning faculties." Perhaps, indeed, no better description of her earlier method of expression, as shown in these letters can be given than is summed up in her own phrase for the "inward light of poetry,"—"emotion blended with thought." If this be the note of poetry these earlier letters are certainly poetic utterances.

But the first phase passed,—the literary phase,—the poetry of intellectual life. "It is so," says she, "in all stages of life: the poetry of girlhood goes, the poetry of love and marriage, the poetry of maternity, and at last the very poetry of duty forsakes us for a season, and we see ourselves and all about us, as nothing more than miserable agglomerations of atoms—poor tentative efforts of the *Natur Princep* to mould a personality." The stage passed, and to it succeeded the phase which

we have styled the material—the halting stage in a great life when all vision seems bounded by the actual, and all aspiration drops to a consuming desire to grasp and possess the comforts and riches of the moment. The student will find these details of the pounds, and the pennies, and the lodgings, and the wicked people who borrow volumes, instead of buying them as well conducted people should, in quite sufficient fullness. The student will enjoy them also, though they will only indirectly help him in his quest.

Then came the latest and fullest developmental era, the creative period. "September, 1856," says she, "made a new era in my life for it was then I began to write fiction." Mr. Cross credits Miss Evans with a belief in "presentiments." She had an "Ahnung" in her earlier life that sometime she would write fiction, as she had "presentiments" of other future happenings. The assertion seems to us to go beyond the record, yet the student can judge for himself, for we venture to say that there is not in the whole realm of biography so complete a history of the birth and growth of a great intellectual life as we have here. George Eliot was thirty-seven when she began to write fiction, and the results of the next twenty years the world has read. The life is lived before us in these volumes and the literary anatomist can work his will. So pretty a study is it that we will not intrude upon him with suggestions.

Yet, however valuable the details given in all these letters are as a commentary to the life and to the works of the artist it is doubtful if a microscopic study of them will reveal the secret of George Eliot's power. Dissect and analyze as you will, there is still something that eludes. Perhaps the other method may help us, the method that works not from the little to the great, but from the Ideal to the immediate,—the method which grasps the vital germ of an author's genius and relates it, more or less fully, as the circumstance may justify, to a possible completeness. And to us this vital germ in George Eliot's work, the note of the records of human strugglings which her novels give us, is the thrilling sense infusing them of the significance of human life. "That witch-hazel instinct of hers," says another, "for the significance in even the most

hopeless deserts of personality, is a wonderful gift." We believe it to be more than an accidental quality and more than a cultivated habit. It is, to us, the secret of her power. Humanity's life-blood coursed through her veins, and her soul-pulse timed the heart throbs of the world. To her in the meanest and weakest soul was an infinite possibility and for it an infinite responsibility. Had she with this wonderful sense of the significant been willing also to see the Christ beyond the veil she might have stood among the world's great teachers. And because of all that she was we cannot help wishing for what she might have been.

ARTICLE V.—REASONS FOR REJECTING THE CREED
REPORTED BY THE CREED COMMISSION AUTHORIZED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.*

THE Creed Commission authorized by the National Council of Congregational Churches in November, 1880, by a large majority in December, 1883, reported a "Creed," and a shorter "Confession of Faith." The statements of doctrine are chiefly embraced in the "Creed."

The creeds of Christendom in general have been highly influential. They have been designed to give a condensed statement of the supposed teachings of Scripture. So far as they have been a success for that purpose they have been potent for great good. Where on important questions they have contained error, or by omission have allowed it, they have caused much evil. Christian creeds at first naturally arose to distinguish Christians from Jews and Pagans. Afterwards they became necessary, and were made, to distinguish between real, and nominal yet false, believers. An unanswerable evidence of the reality and value of Christianity is in the life of its disciples. Another evidence lies in a discriminating, profound, and comprehensive statement of its doctrines. Such statements, or creeds could never have existed without the background of reality. A religious society is known by its fruits, and also by its real creed. A church of true life will endeavor to make its professed creed and its real creed agree.

Congregationalists are infused more than many with the spirit of freedom and independent thought. Therefore they need more than most a distinct and strong creed as a centralizing power. Without it some will lack in adhesion to sound doctrine, and thereby lessen the force of the main body, besides proving themselves to be wandering stars. Congrega-

* A place in the NEW ENGLANDER is accorded without hesitation to this Article, though it ought in fairness, perhaps, to be stated that the editors take a different and more favorable view of the Creed, and are by no means able to bring themselves to share in the apprehensions of the respected author.—EDS. OF THE NEW ENGLANDER.

tionalists have no iron-bound church polity to hold them together. They should rely the more upon unity of sentiment and purpose. It is no time now for them to introduce divisive elements by changing their basis of doctrine. They should seek growth by conversion rather than by changing creed lines. In this age of laxness in the interpretation of Scripture, and in the acceptance of Christian evidences, the Master's cause forbids that his servants should invite this laxness into their own dwellings. The fact that Congregationalists have made special provision for a new statement of doctrine, is their assumption that church creeds are of importance. Whatever is important demands scrutiny.

Some are disposed to say, that since the commission's creed has been presented to the churches by a considerable body of able Christian men, in the discharge of an office unsought by them, it ought to be universally accepted and adopted. No doubt this plea makes a forcible appeal to all. It is painful to break away from it. But we are not at liberty to take our faith by proxy. Each one has a conscientious duty to God, even though it does lead him to differ from some of his brethren. If the creed were of slight importance, its paternity might be a valid reason for accepting it. But, even wise good men may err, and therefore on important questions their views need the support of the strongest reasons, and should not be adopted without them. If the commission's creed is not the best, the fault may be in the system under which they consented to serve, rather than in themselves. Whether or not there are reasons sufficient for accepting the creed, there are reasons sufficient for examining it.

I. One thing apparent is, the creed is not what was contemplated in the original movement for a new statement of doctrine. The organic inception of that movement was with the Ohio Conference. The memorial of that body to the National Council, called for a creed which should "state in precise terms in our living tongue the doctrines which we hold to-day;" which should "be a full and adequate doctrinal symbol of the denomination;" and which should "give us the advantage of definiteness and positiveness in our doctrinal position." As to "precise terms," and "a full and adequate doctrinal symbol,"

and "definiteness and positiveness," does not the creed fail by purposely being so indefinite, and so lacking in precise terms, and in positiveness, as to provide for a compromise in opinions, and to cover a variety of views by generic and indefinite language? Is not this the case in respect to the doctrines of inspiration and atonement? The Ohio Conference called for a "Comprehensive" confession. But does not the new creed fail to comprehend some of the most vital attributes of God? That body called for a declaration which "would let the world know just where we stand." But does not the creed definitely fail to let any body know where Congregationalists stand on several of the doctrines scrupulously held by evangelical denominations? The conference desired an elaborate "doctrinal statement," "adapted to meet the current errors of to-day," something like the "Savoy declaration," which "grew out of the circumstances of its own time," yet bereft of its "rigidly old-school" views, such as its statements on "imputation," "divine decrees," "effectual calling," "elect infants," and "limited atonement." But the new creed is bereft of far more than the conference contemplated, and is justly regarded by many in that body as a hindrance rather than a help in meeting various "current errors of to-day."

The action of the Ohio Conference was soon followed by similar memorials from the Central South Conference in session at Memphis, and the Minnesota Conference. The sentiment of these bodies was in harmony with that of their Ohio brethren.

The essay by Rev. Hiram Mead, D.D., on "A New Declaration of Faith," had a marked influence in the council of 1880. But he too argued for an "elaborately prepared symbol" of faith, one that should "state more accurately than does the Savoy Confession the views now held," a declaration that might "be honestly referred to as in all essential points the true doctrinal basis of American Congregationalism," "an authorized statement of the common faith that shall present distinctly the various doctrines of the evangelical system which Congregationalists find in the word of God."

Does not the Commission's creed sadly fail in some respects to "present distinctly the various doctrines of the evangelical

system?" Are not its defects such that it cannot be "referred to as in all essential points the true doctrinal basis of American Congregationalism?" It was to take the place of the Savoy Confession. But, does it not fail to state even as "accurately" as that symbol does "the views now held?" How can the new creed be termed throughout an "elaborately prepared symbol" of doctrine? In respect to the "doctrine of inspiration," Professor Mead asked for the "best definition which in the present advanced stage of Biblical criticism it is possible to make." And yet the Commission's creed hardly undertakes a definition of that doctrine, and does not even admit the word "inspiration" into its statement. Prof. Mead sought a "restatement" of the "doctrine of the Atonement;" but he did not contemplate such an omission of Scripture in that statement as is made by the new creed. Plainly, the Commission's creed is not what was contemplated in the original movement for a new statement of doctrine.

II. The new creed does not fully meet the instructions given to the Commission by the Council: although there may be in one respect a misleading implication in those instructions. Notice here three distinct points in the second resolution of direction given by the Council.

1. The Commission were to prepare an "exposition of the truths of the glorious gospel of the blessed God." An "exposition" is an interpretation or explanation. In respect to various cardinal doctrines the creed fails to give an "exposition" of Scripture "truths." It is in some respects an imperfect syllabus of doctrine, rather than an "exposition" of it. The Council doubtless coincided with Professor Mead's essay, which leads us to expect an elaborate statement of doctrinal belief, such as might be "used somewhat as a text-book is used," and "be made an instrument of prime value in both intellectual and religious training;" as "teachers like President Mark Hopkins have used the Westminster Catechism with the best results." But this new creed as a whole can not serve any such purpose. Its first article concerning God, fails to give any list of his attributes; does not even tell us that he is infinite in all perfections; does not assure us that he is perfectly holy, or even holy at all, except as the word "Holy" appears

as a part of the name of the Spirit of God. It does not tell us that the Holy Spirit is of one substance with the Father, though it says that the Son is such. It tells us that God is worshiped and glorified, but not that he is *to be* worshiped and glorified; and in no other way does it explicitly lay upon men their absolute *obligation* to worship and glorify God forever. This first article can not justly be regarded as an elaborate and adequate "exposition" of truth concerning the Godhead.

The third article treats of man's duty, and of his sins. But it does not shut out all denial of the total depravity of men, or, of their entire destitution of holiness while in the impenitent state. It says that all men are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from guilt except through grace; but that is not saying that after becoming accountable until born of the Spirit they are in a constant state of sinfulness, and without the least holiness. This third article does not teach, nor does any in the creed teach, that man was holy at the first. It only teaches that man was a moral agent and could be holy. It does not teach that Adam fell from holiness, but only that by his disobedience he fell under God's displeasure. Apparently the article is not designed to teach the fall of man as an event different from the fall of children now, who by their first sin fall under God's displeasure. Here is a professed Christian man who believes that we are descended from monkeys, and that the first moral act of the monkeys was a sinful one, and that thus they fell under God's displeasure. Therefore he can sign this creed; partly because it eludes the doctrine of the fall of man in our first parents, and partly because it does not imply that we descended from Adam and Eve. Here is a Darwinian who believes that we have inherited an evil nature from the first monkeys that had a conscience: but this creed does not even admit that poor inheritance. It recognizes the fall of our first parents, but not of man in them. It omits the prominent and forcible Scripture truth, that the universal reign of sin and death among men is in some sense a consequence of that fall. The instructions to the Council call for the "exposition," not of isolated texts, but of "truths." And therefore each article should comprise the substance of all prominent texts bearing on its subject. A few thoughts on a theme are not

enough for its real "exposition," if there are important thoughts unnamed. In this view the third article is much below the demand of the instructions.

2. This "exposition" of truths was to be "for the instruction and edification of our churches." Does not this require that each article of faith should be more than fragmentary, should be as full as the uninspired mind of man can make it, by bringing together in each case all the teachings of Divine inspiration? Taking as an example the two articles we have considered: can they meet the requirements? With such omissions can they duly instruct and edify? Can "our churches" go to them to learn what as a denomination we believe on the subject treated and what the Scriptures teach? We shall see that other articles are equally defective.

3. The Committee of seven, who were to appoint the Commission of twenty-five, were to select for that body, men "representing different shades of thought among us." If all the "different shades of thought" were to be represented in the statement of *doctrine*, as well as in the Commission, what could it be but a *compromise* creed? And what can a compromise creed be other than a fragmentary and weak one? What if Christianity were to adopt the compromise principle, and cut down all of its creeds and its preaching to the views and conceptions of the weakest and least informed members of the churches? It would sacrifice truth, it would abrogate power, it would soon be unable to produce even the weakest Christians. The Holy Spirit would not have enough sword of the truth to convict and convert souls to any large extent. The kingdom of God could not come.

It was the *Council* that here committed an error. That body should have made no provision for "different shades of thought," but for a full and strong Biblical creed on the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. For, such doctrines are held, and long have been held, by the chief portion of Congregationalists, who for centuries have given character and a name to the denomination. If the Council meant merely the two "shades" of Old School and New School, which is nearly certain, then the Commission should have chosen Biblical or other language, which would have excluded the views of

neither class, and not have sacrificed Scripture doctrine on any topic.

If the Council meant that the "different shades" should all have a hearing, but that the majority should issue a strong and full creed on all evangelical doctrines, then the majority of the Commission apparently misunderstood the directions in which the Council were not sufficiently explicit. Must a shade of doctrine entertained only by a few and having no clear scriptural warrant, have a place in the creed of a great denomination? Or must some truth, or some scripture statement be suppressed on account of that different shade of thought entertained by a few? Such a course would enervate any creed. Evidently, Professor Mead wisely had this point in view when he emphatically remarked: "Here let it be said, once for all, that by the 'consensus' or 'the common faith' is meant not such a statement as would be agreed to in all points by every one who professes to be a Congregationalist. A confession that should exclude every thing that any one would doubt or deny, would be exceedingly meagre, more remarkable for its lack of doctrinal truths than for its declaration of them. The consensus, rather, is comprehensive of those great truths which the best and profoundest Biblical scholars among us—those who are generally acknowledged to be such—find in God's word."

When we look over the list of names of the twenty-two men who subscribed to the new creed, and presented it for adoption by the Congregational churches of the United States, how can we suppose that they were all satisfied with it? Did not some of them adopt it, not because they deemed it the best creed, but the best they could get with so large a majority? Yet, our minds ought to revolt from adopting a creed for our churches which is not in our judgment superlatively good. It is time to make creeds on the great essential doctrines for national, or world-wide denominations, as complete as the Scriptures warrant. That will constitute a mighty power against infidelity and all unbelief. It would have been better for the committee to issue several creeds expressing what each part of them thought to be the Biblical view, or else to issue an orthodox creed which a majority of them would sign.

We shall still further see that the Commission's creed discards some prominent biblical truths, probably because they were doubted or denied by a few. This course being contrary to the original conception of a new creed and contrary to a part of the Council's instructions to the Commission, we are warranted in discarding the creed. Churches, Conferences, and Associations, that will, should make or take a better creed, or else keep what they have.

III. The Commission's creed, on several vital doctrines, rejects specific and emphatic Scripture language and thought, apparently in order to suit those who make some objections to some Scripture statements. To reject mere *human* language or thought, whether Calvinistic or Arminian, is optional with all, and may sometimes well be done for the sake of union. But to reject Scripture on any vital doctrine in question, seems like laying unholy hands upon the word of God.

Yet, in respect to the Scriptures, the Commission's creed purposely discards the important Bible word "inspiration." That word is *sui generis*. As Dr. Parker, of London, says, there is no word like it, or that can take the place of it. With that sacred word discarded, and with the creed's article on the Bible accepted, as the *Andover Review* says: "Professor Ladd finds no difficulty in accepting this statement. It perfectly agrees with the theories of his recent books" (Apl. No. 1884). And yet Professor Ladd teaches that Bible writers commit human errors and self-contradictions in the sacred writings, and on points, too, where they aim at making a revelation from God, and where Christendom claims that they are inspired. Some hold the view of inspiration which admits that the Bible leads men into *religious* error. The new creed does not deny this view or exclude it, and thus it omits an essential part of the true doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures.

Much as we may wish to accommodate our fellow-men, if we would hold to Christ as supreme and be faithful to Him, we must not reject Scripture language to please any in their laxness of view, or peculiarity of doctrine. Jesus unqualifiedly accepted the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and we had better accept both the Old and New Testaments, if we would aid his cause and not hinder it. No evidence yet

appears which justifies us in suppressing the word "inspiration," as applied to the Scriptures, either in creed or in teaching. Those who dislike and discard the word should be left to get along as best they can. Is it not great temerity in us to reject a word of God's choosing to please any? The Commission's creed also is consistent with itself in failing to say that the Scriptures are the *infallible* record of God's revelation of himself and the *only* authoritative standard of teaching and of conduct.

On the subject of the atonement, the Commission's creed discards the Scripture word "propitiation" or its adjective "propitiatory" or "expiatory," which is the equivalent of "propitiatory." This rejection is no doubt to accommodate the view, that the sufferings and death of Christ have *no* design and *no* effect to honor the law and justice of God in order that the sinner may be forgiven. Such satisfaction or effect is the teaching of the word "propitiation." That word the Revised Version retains. God has given it. He means something by it. And what he means we should not exclude to suit any one. An inspired apostle uses that word in the very culmination of the greatest argument the world has ever known on the way of salvation for sinners. To say that the word "propitiation" is a mere altar-form expression, with no substantial reality under it, the thing symbolized being itself only a symbol, were preposterous. The thought that for two thousand or four thousand years God authorized the sacrifice of animals as a symbol of Christ's final great "propitiation," and yet, that after all, that propitiation is nothing but a mere figure or illustration, will never long satisfy a Bible-loving, spiritual Christian. Let some make such round-about explanations of the word "propitiation" as they choose and get on with that Scripture as they can. But, does God want one of his designed, expressive, and emphatic words on so cardinal a question turned out of human statements of belief? The new creed retains the word "sacrifice," which in Scripture often means the same as "propitiation." But by modern usage "sacrifice" has such a generic sense, that under its signification those who wish may mean simply that Christ died a martyr, by the moral influence of his act to persuade men, with no meaning of "propitiation," by which

God "might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus" (R. V.). It will prove to be very pernicious to let the *moral* view of the atonement discard Scripture for its accommodation. The creed rejects the word "vicarious" as descriptive of Christ's sufferings and death, and probably intends to reject the historical or orthodox meaning of that word in its relation to the doctrine of the atonement. Some now use the word "vicarious" in a merely vague sense, but not with the technical meaning that Christ as a sufferer stood in any sense in the place of sinners to redeem them from the penalty of the law. The creed seems to be intended to accommodate this new departure.

The creed is defective, because, on the highly important subject of the resurrection of the dead it fails to commit itself concerning the resurrection of the "unjust," and thus omits direct Scripture language on that doctrine (Acts xxiv. 15). Can the creed make no mention of that part of the resurrection, and yet be a faithful "exposition" of Scripture truth on that subject, for the profitable "instruction and edification of our churches?"

The creed in a marked manner is defective in omitting, and, according to the best evidence, *purposely* omitting, all Scripture and other language which make the issues of the final judgment dependent on the things done in this life. The whole Bible is pervaded by the doctrine that all men will appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and that the issues of the judgment will be according to their works in this world. The passage in 2 Cor. v. 10, distinctly expresses that doctrine. If any claim that it is limited to the righteous, the claim must go without proof. Besides, in the Apocalyptic vision (Rev. xx. 12-15) when the dead, both righteous and wicked, "were judged," it was "according to their works." Their works were those "written in the books," not in the "book of life" simply. And by Scripture usage both the "book" of men's accounts, and their "deeds" or "works," pertain to this life. Knowing as we do that in the time of Christ and the Apostles the doctrine of a probation for man in the spirit world was not held, the teaching now that there is such a probation, or leaving the way open for it to be taught, is a marked change and a serious

defect. Even the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, or metempsychosis, held in common by both Brahmans and Buddhists, and by many other heathen, and taught of old by some Grecian philosophers, though not to the Grecian people, and once held also by a few heretical Jews and Christians,—this doctrine did not dare to suppose that there is a probation in the *spirit* world, but only in some existence in the flesh, or in vegetable life. It is left for modern universalists and *post mortem* probationists to both champion and disciple this new idea that the opportunities of repentance, conversion, and salvation, may be transferred from this life to the next. The original Universalists of modern times held no such view. And now are we to leave a place for this new doctrine of after-death probation not merely in Church Confessions, but in ministerial ones also? Even if we refrain from teaching the doctrine, shall we at least keep out of our creeds whatever Scripture militates against it? That bald and daring thing we shall do, if we take the Commission's creed, and throw overboard the Westminster and Savoy Confessions or other similar but shorter creeds.

In former days, when the idea of probation after death was not entertained, silence in regard to it did not favor it. But now when that doctrine is advocated by some, if we leave a *place* for it in our creed, we are not simply non-committal in regard to it, we positively encourage and foster it. Will the great majority of Congregationalists assent to such a measure? Will they not protest against it? When the Commission was appointed an after-death probation was not heard of in our ranks. It has come in since from another denomination. Therefore the Commission were in no wise bound to provide for it. And the Committee that appointed the Commission were not allowed to note it as one of the "different shades of thought among us."

In the same line as that of these last two named omissions, is a third. The Commission's creed fails to teach that *all* men will be brought into judgment after death. This is significant, because the creed also fails to teach that the "unjust" will be raised from the dead.

Under the second head of this discussion, three points were

noticed of the Council's instructions to the Commission. In respect to two of them the creed does not answer to the instructions. In respect to the third point the instructions were misleading and defective. Now notice a *fourth* point in the instructions. The Council, and also the Ohio Conference, called for a creed that should be a "*comprehensive* exposition." We are now prepared to say that the creed fails to comprehend some important elements in some cardinal doctrines, and entirely omits some other important doctrines. Whether judged by former confessions of faith held by Congregationalists, or judged by the Scriptures, the creed can not properly be termed "comprehensive." And in that respect it is revolutionary. If adopted it changes the basis of doctrine of the whole denomination. Even in the creedless Unitarian denomination, some have endeavored to enlarge their boundaries by a liberalism deemed excessive by the greater portion of the body. Does not the new creed contain too much of one kind of liberalism to be accepted by the majority of Congregationalists? Providing against all threatening errors does not necessitate a *lengthy* creed. It can all be done by inserting some words in place of others, losing no thought, and adding no sentence.

IV. The extensive adoption of the Commission's creed by Congregationalists would tend to their disunion and demoralization. It would be a terrible jolt for the whole body of the denomination to be thrown down at once from the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, even for "substance of doctrine," to the low plane of the new creed. There would be much reaction and rebounding. The violence would resemble what the denomination suffered by the Unitarian defection of sixty years ago. History shows that where churches degenerate in spiritual life their creeds degenerate from the Orthodox standard. This has been the case with Unitarians and "Hicksite" Friends. History also shows that if the creed standard is lowered, and the entering door is widened, the spiritual character of the membership is lowered accordingly. Men do not easily go higher than the requirements, while they do easily go lower. If spiritually dead churches are revived, they revive their creed. According to sound definitions and good usage, the Commission's creed is below the Orthodox standard. Not all

Congregationalists will be carried thus low. Therefore, extensive adoption of the creed will create disunion. In some cases it would excite parishioners against their pastor. If he preaches the truth in regard to inspiration, the apostacy, the atonement, the dependence of the future state upon this life, the general resurrection and judgment, his parishioners may say, "You have gone beyond the creed; you are preaching what is unnecessary; you are preaching more than the Bible teaches. The creed excludes your speculations." There are many parishes where the church would defend their pastor for preaching the truth, and the society would condemn him. Division of parishes and churches again would be the order of the day.

Some favor the new creed, and no doubt joined to give it, under a plea of union by a broader platform. But the planks of a platform may be put so far apart as to create the danger of falling through. That danger people will find out, and then shun those who expose them to it. Some men, who by influence and sentiment were more or less responsible for the new creed, previous to its issue advocated a fraternal fellowship between the Congregational and Universalist denominations. The creed in some aspects looks in that direction. But as the two bodies now are, as well undertake to unite two wholly incongruous material substances. They have too many diverse elements to fuse together. Such an act on the part of Congregationalists would be suicide. They can not, except ruinously, so much abandon their appeal to the "powers of the world to come." Evangelical Christendom has much of the source of its success in its peculiar doctrines, and so has the gospel. The life in Christ feeds on truth, on doctrine. Every evangelical denomination ruins itself if it does not retain in their fullness the Biblical doctrines of Inspiration, Depravity, Atonement, and the Future State. Loss in one of these endangers souls. Their strength not retained, a less number of our fellow-men will be saved. The Congregational denomination has hitherto done no unimportant work for Christ's Church, and has been a part of it. It has a mission still if it will be equal to it. But it can not afford to pare off, or cut down, any part of the essential doctrines of the gospel. It

must have its Bible full and strong, and the blood of Christ uncompromised, and judgment and eternity in full view, without any apology to unbelief. It were wrong to accept the new creed blindfolded. It is not offered to us to be measured by the Savoy or any other confession. It is designed to take the place of other creeds, and deliver the denomination from hereafter saying, "for substance of doctrine." But the choice is not between the Savoy or Westminster confession on the one hand, and the Commission's creed on the other. During the last two hundred years many Congregational churches, which had the Westminster Assembly and Savoy confessions, nevertheless wrote out lengthened creeds of their own. They can retain them, or write others.

The Commission's creed comes to us with the apparent weight and sanction of the Congregational Council; and yet it is not entitled to so much consideration. To be suited to the place it is designed to fill and where it is very much needed, it should first have been reported to the Council and there have been thoroughly discussed. Then it should have been sent to all the churches, Associations, and Conferences; and those bodies should have considered all objections made against it. Then another Council, with all the light thus obtained before them and with the chief wish of the great majority of the denomination in full view, should have issued a creed, which in such circumstances would not have been the voice of a mere minority, but of the churches in general. A consensus of faith thus obtained might not have been agreed to, as Professor Mead says, "In all points by everyone who professes to be a Congregationalist." But it would have been obtained according to what Dr. Leonard Bacon terms "a law of elective affinity, which determines the confederation of churches for ecclesiastical purposes." The creed thus secured by Congregationalists would have been binding upon none, but worth the respect of all. In some such manner a single State or the United States, would have proceeded to obtain a change of constitution. If the Presbyterian body were to attempt a change of Confession of Faith, first the General Assembly would discuss the subject and then send down the proposed changes to be thoroughly considered by Presbyteries and local

churches. The very language proposed for adoption would be weighed by all who wished. The reports all brought in from the lower bodies, the Assembly would again take up the subject and vote the wishes of the great majority.

But in the case of the Commission's creed, Congregationalists have not proceeded on their own avowed principles of government by the membership. They have been derelict in that because the creed was not to carry weight by authority, but only by so much reason as it had in itself. Yet, proceeding from the Council in a sense, it ought to have had the Council's approving voice.

First, the Council took measures to have a new creed, and they were probably justified in that act. But they neither provide to consider and fashion the creed themselves, or to have another Council do it, nor do they make any arrangement for the churches to have any power in its formation. They do not even choose the twenty-five men who should make it, but they give that power of appointment to so few as seven men, with no chance for the Council to review and sanction or amend the appointment. Some other company of twenty-five men, equally able and pious, might have been selected, who might have produced a quite different creed. Yet, neither of the two companies should have had the sole responsibility, nor the two together. The confession of faith now obtained and offered to the great Congregational denomination, is a kind of *accidental* creed. Even the Commission in whose name it was presented were not unanimous in it. The authority of the Commission in making it was too much like that of an autocracy, or even oligarchy; yet, not by their fault, but by that of their appointment. True, the creed is not binding upon any body. But what we want and what was sought for, is a creed of such character, and constructed in such circumstances, as to carry with it the weight of the denomination. If any say the liberalism of the creed is only what the denomination is coming to, it is not what it now is. And no prophetic anticipation of that kind is now in order, or as many believe, ever will be. Some may adopt the creed because it is in a manner provided for by the Council. But others will steadily refuse to adopt it, because they will not consent to

ignore so important parts of Divine truth, nor allow themselves so wide divergence from the faith of their wise and revered fathers. Besides if the creed be widely adopted, an educational element would eventually operate to increase division and demoralization. The standard of religious doctrine and practice in Congregational academies, seminaries, and colleges, would naturally fall to the lowest allowed degree. Then many evangelical people would decline to commit the education of their sons and daughters to unorthodox institutions. This would be similar to the process which was some time since effected at Harvard University.

V. The creed's method of laxness in doctrine for the sake of enlargement in membership, has been tried and found wanting. It leaves the door wide open for the entrance of errorists since it requires less than a *maximum* of Scripture teaching respecting the fundamental doctrines of inspiration, depravity, atonement, and the future state. These four features of error generally go together; and where they are united they always cause difficulty in our churches. Ministers, tinctured with error on these points, prove themselves to be not in harmony with our evangelical means for saving men. Laymen unsound on these points, either fall out of our ranks, or draw disciples after them, and produce disagreements and trials for both ministers and people. There have been cases where large and prosperous churches have chosen pastors who, though attractive, were defective in respect to these doctrines. At first they drew to their congregations many of non-evangelical views, and for a season affairs were so promising as to deceive some of the very elect with the hope that their new pastors were going to capture great masses of unbelievers and convert them. But at length in all such instances Spiritual Christians have found themselves unfed, and in dissonance with much of the preaching, and sadly disappointed in respect to conversions from the world, and then many of them have silently dropped off into evangelical churches of other denominations, and there often have become office-bearers in building up the cause of Christ. By and by these heretical ministers have found themselves barricaded with unevangelical supporters, and the real church has either been lost, or with the greatest difficulty and

after suffering much depletion, has extricated itself from its false and ruinous condition. Some such ministers, under cover of the mere moral views of the Atonement have spoken very disparagingly of the blood of Christ as that which cleanses from sin. Others, and the same, have spoken even contemptuously of some portions of the Bible. Others have insidiously or openly inculcated the doctrine of restorationism. All of these have produced more or less of evil in the churches and communities, and have given a helping hand to the destroyers of souls. Seldom or never have such ministers long succeeded in holding together their congregations thus fraudulently obtained. Their own followers have finally deserted them, smitten in conscience or common sense on account of the dishonesty of their leaders. Church properties have thus been wasted, and congregations have been driven asunder by the winds of scepticism. The honored president of a western college has recently said that wherever these lax views of doctrine have been tried at the West, they have proved to be disastrous to religion. Another noted minister of long residence at the West has reiterated the same. Many more would. Yet these errorists are well suited with the new creed. True Congregationalists can not well work with them and still subserve the supreme end of life.

Other ministers of defective views have been more cautious in their utterances. Still their errors of faith, if not overcome, will at some time show evil fruit. A Congregational pastor at the East, in nominally good standing, has recently written thus: "I have no anxiety about infants, idiots, or heathen. What I want to know is whether Robert Ingersoll and Thomas Paine, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Longfellow, George Eliot and Thomas Carlyle, Goethe and Gambetta, Tyndall and Renan, and hosts of others living and dead, are to have no opportunity to find peace and joy hereafter, if they pass into the other world denying Christ and rejecting him as the atoning sacrifice for sin?" Comments on this minister's classification are here reserved. Some whom he names probably did not die rejecting Christ. Other ministers now in our ranks are advocating an after-death probation, even for some in gospel lands. The creed allows them to preach that doctrine

to their heart's content. In that and other respects it gives liberties before unknown in our Zion. But ministers who have the heart to take such liberties, and the preachers who present the Bible's great impressions, will not long labor harmoniously together. Sufficient experiments already demonstrate the evil of endeavoring to unite such diverse elements under one creed, or in one communion. If this creed is not discarded, we shall soon have still more candidates of lax views for both our ministry and our membership, attracted to us from evangelical and unevangelical denominations. Under that growing evil some of our better ministers and members will seek fields of labor and relations of fellowship within other denominational lines. And that process will ere long reduce both our spiritual and our intellectual denominational power, and will prostitute to Satan's schemes many of our opportunities for revivals of religion and the salvation of men.

Is it said that we need not receive men to our ministry on the basis of this creed; that each council or association can prescribe their own terms of membership? But *picked* councils and associations will evade all such stringency. Is it thought that associations in licensing candidates for the ministry, and councils in ordaining and installing ministers, will not think of accepting assent to this creed as evidence of orthodoxy, and of fitness to preach the gospel? See what the *Andover Review* says of this creed: "It will be of service to councils in the settlement of ministers. When there seems to be vagueness or peculiarity of opinion, hearty assent to this creed will be considered sufficient" (April, 1884). Is it said that any of the denomination who wish to fall back upon the Westminster and Savoy confessions as a standard can do so still? But what is this creed for except to relieve us from those confessions, and give us what would be more expressive of our real views, and in language more suited to our day? And if some take the new creed for their standard, and some take the old creeds, how long will our denomination remain undivided? The Commission's creed admits elements in membership that the old creeds do not admit; elements which also the Burial Hill creed does not admit. Will any say that we must discuss these theological questions, and keep out errors

in other ways than by creed committals and covenants? Pray, what is a creed for, if not in part to help repudiate and dis-fellowship error and errorists? Is it said that Congregationalists in general, and even the Commission themselves in general, have higher theological views than the new creed expresses? True. Why then sacrifice or discard Scripture by adopting the new creed? And why consent to be let down to a grade where, as a denomination, we do not belong, and where disunion will be the result?

VI. The new creed, without some amendments, is not the best adapted to forming and building up churches in new communities. A weak creed will make weak churches. That creed will do best which is put on the highest plane of the evangelical basis. It should be so constructed that all evangelical people can unite in it. But if Scripture be excluded for the sake of getting more members, that process will soon get less and less members. What is exclusively Calvinistic, or exclusively Arminian should not be inserted. But such a creed should embrace a strong statement in respect to God's attributes a distinct and emphatic view of the Bible as the word of God, and of entire sinfulness of moral character after that character is begun until conversion, of the blood of Christ as a propitiation for the sins of men, of the final resurrection of the dead both of the just and unjust, and of eternity as conditioned on time. Any church that makes concessions to modern notions on these points will soon be the loser for it. Other churches of stronger creeds will draw off their members, and, other things being equal, they will be more blessed of God in winning souls. Minor points, like the mode of baptism, and the mode of church government, need not be embraced. On points like the purposes of God, and the perseverance of saints, Congregationalists should be content to use the stronger scriptural expressions for their views, and then people of Methodist proclivities will not dissent. The parental covenant, and baptism to the child as the seal of the covenant, may have full recognition in a creed without compelling one of Baptist preferences to say that he believes in infant baptism. Strange it is that the Commission's creed has no place for a list of God's attributes, and yet has room to require every church-

member to say that he believes baptism is to be administered to the children of believers. This is the more objectionable, because while the creed makes baptism "a sign of cleansing from sin," it does not make it "a seal of the covenant." Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, many years ago, said in substance that a creed, on the subject of baptism, can be made satisfactory to Congregationalists in general without being repulsive to Baptists. Dr. Porter, of Farmington, said the same, and both practiced substantially on that principle. A creed fashioned by the foregoing liberal spirit and rules in respect to all evangelical people, gives great advantages to a church for enlargement and usefulness in a new and growing community, and indeed in any community. These principles have been tested by experiment. And on their basis churches have been built up by gathering people from seven or more different denominations, besides the many received as converts from the world. Some entertain the idea that a church should have no more creed than a child can understand. But that will make weak churches. A church creed should be so constructed and compacted as to command the study and respect of the strongest men. The bugbear of making children and the uninformed assent to a creed a part of which they do not understand, is easily disposed of by simply requiring an affirmative to this: "So far as you understand this statement of belief, do you give it your hearty assent: and do you intend to conform your heart and life to its requirements?" The Commission's "Confession of Faith" has a similar sensible condition for assent. Either form is a sliding scale for committal to doctrinal belief adapted to the understanding of each candidate for church-membership.

A summary of what has now been shown is the following: The Commission's creed is not what was contemplated in the original movement for a new statement of doctrine; it does not fully meet the instructions given to the Commission by the Council; it rejects important Scripture language and thought on some vital doctrines; its extensive adoption would tend to disunion and demoralization; its method of laxness for the sake of enlargement has been tried and found wanting; it is not the best adapted to forming and building up permanent churches.

When Professor Mead's essay in behalf of a new creed was read to the Council of 1880, there were certain valid reasons for securing the object for which he plead. The Commission's creed has greatly increased the reasons for still another creed. For the new creed already given, if widely adopted, is certain to make confusion and division among us unless amended. The Commission's creed may be regarded as one stage towards obtaining, if we will, another creed which would far better express the religious views, and satisfy the better desires of the great mass of Congregationalists. There still remains a grand opportunity for some denomination, or other body of men, to make an elaborate Evangelical creed well adapted to the present time. The Westminster confession was the fruit in part of the great Puritan awakening of the seventeenth century. The Assembly to make it was designed to be composed of one hundred and fifty-one men, chiefly clergymen. But only a portion ever engaged in that great work. Those who did, labored upon the confession upwards of five and a half years, and met eleven hundred and sixty-three times. The Congregational denomination, then, should not at this time despair of having a creed fully suited to their need and their want. Any one of various methods could be adopted which would secure the desired object.

ARTICLE VI.—GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

I HAVE hitherto spoken of the State in our polity as the association of all the people, partly for the transaction of business in which all are alike concerned, but principally for protection from dangers to which all are alike exposed ; a definition which affirms the solidarity of government and people, the perfect obedience of the representatives to the will of a unanimous constituency. This is the theory, and if the facts conformed to it there could, of course, be no such thing as dualism and discord in the action of the State. The whole power of an association of that kind would necessarily be furnished at the cost and expended for the benefit of all, without distinction of person or class ; for a constituency unanimous in conferring exceptional privileges, or imposing exceptional burdens on a part of the constituents, is nearly a contradiction in terms.

It is now necessary to recall the fact that the State, if theoretically one and indivisible, is still practically two, and that the government, while existing only to give expression and effect to the will of another, is itself an individual with a will of its own, and accessible to all the motives which determine individual action ; perfectly capable of entertaining purposes which are not those of the people, or of the whole people, and of carrying them out with the power which the people has put in its hands. The State—said one of the last of the real monarchs, I am the State ; meaning that the sovereign power was his by absolute right, and used according to his notions and purpose. We are the State, say the people, meaning the same thing. Both are correct according to theory, but as a matter of fact the transfer of power had already gone far under the monarchy and is not yet complete under the republic. A new dogma has been substituted outright for the old one, an achievement always easy upon any sufficient display of force ; but as the will of the people counted for a good deal before the substitution, so the will of the government counts for a good deal to-day ; and nearly all the political per-

plexities and disorder of our time are related as parts of the era of transition, in which the political facts are slowly struggling into conformity with the political formula. We suffer and are often at our wits' end, simply because having appropriated the sovereign right we have not wholly appropriated the control of the sovereign power, because the government, which is nothing if not our representative and agent, has not been thoroughly moulded into the expression and instrument of our will. We have certainly caught and harnessed the steed but have not quite yet broken him in.

But now, when we talk of the transfer and appropriation of power, it is always to be remembered that, under whatever theory or form of government disposed of, or by whom, or for what purposes, no power exists, or has ever existed, other than the power of the people itself. Cæsar or the Senate, the constitutional king or the king according to the grace of God, Napoleon with or without the plebiscite, the usurper or the delegate, all have fought their battles with the same weapon, and carried their ends with the same means; and if the will of the people has not counted with them or has been counted out, the reason is not the lack of power but the lack of will: the ignorance, the illusion, the unconcern, or the divided counsels, of the body itself which furnishes the force another interest and intelligence control. From the first, the people, whether reigning or not, has always *ruled* whenever it has been able to make up its mind. Nor has it ever failed, in some sort or other, to make up its mind. For as the animal differs from the mere organism by the faculty of will, so does man from the mere animal by the faculty of willing in concert. By what long evolution, what conflict of hostile forces, what costly survivals of the fittest, the organs of intercommunication and the aptitude for combined action may have been developed, we can only guess, but in any case society emerges from the aboriginal chaos as a multitude of men with a common purpose, founded on the consciousness, or the instinct, of common dangers and common wants. This is the primitive, the fundamental, and the determining fact of all political history, and no political force has ever got beyond it, or the better of it. In effect that assemblage of forces which

we call government, is the first authentic expression of these great unanimities of men, and could not exist in the absence or in advance of them. In the very act of giving it being they lay an inviolable veto and an irresistible constraint on its action, hand over to it the power of what is already a people, for the interests of what is already a commonwealth. He reads history from the outside and to little purpose, who does not discover among the wildest excesses of public power the inextinguishable energy of popular will, an element of consent in the most abject servitude and of concession in the most arrogant usurpation. Whatever the political dogma or the political situation may be, the controlling factor is always and everywhere, not the special purposes of the sovereign, but the universal purpose of the people. It follows that the continuing course of political evolution is nothing other than the slow, successive steps by which the people comes to the consciousness of its power, and into accord upon the ends for which power is to be used ; with the sovereignty of the people as its logical and necessary conclusion.

Yet none the less the special purposes exist, and take effect, from the beginning, because as much as the other they are an inevitable and immediate product of the nature of man. The appetites of the individual are always at the root of the social instincts common to everybody, and they come to the front at once with the individual who is promoted to power. It does not matter much how he comes by promotion ; he may have conquered it as the strongest animal of the primitive herd, or been admitted to it as the most experienced patriarch, or the most competent leader, of the primitive tribe. In any case the power he holds, although a borrowed power, originating elsewhere and inexorably held to the conditions of its origin, is necessarily a source and occasion of personal profit to him and to those belonging to him. He takes along with his higher dignities a larger share of the goods of the commonalty than anybody else, a wider range of pasture for his cattle, the richest of the spoils won from the enemy of the tribe. With these things, too, comes the appetite for more, and with the appetite the talent to get more. For a material force of any kind discloses its quality and suggests its uses first of all to the man

who has the handling of it. Were he not already the most capable man of the tribe, capacity would come to him with the practical management of his trust, so that the longer he holds it the more he will be able to do with it and to get out of it, and the more certainly he will use it to strengthen his hold upon it. In the rudest of these early chieftainships, and in its accessories, are all the essential conditions and distinctive features of government in its latest and most complex forms; a compact body of men, instigated by the same personal motives, capable of swift consultations and unanimous resolves, and disposing of a vast power imperfectly defined and waiting to be employed. We need not wonder that the evolution of government, surrounded by these large opportunities and hastened by these intense motors, has everywhere outrun and overborne the evolution of the people. For six thousand years it has filled history with the glare and uproar of its doings, and hidden everything beneath the picturesque perversions of a power that seems to have forgotten its origin and the ends for which it exists. It has been reserved for the skeptical and prosaic intelligence of our own time to see through the pageantry to the central fact, the most conspicuous of facts when anybody points it out, that the real drama, which prepares all the final and decisive catastrophes, goes on behind the scenes and out of doors, for the most part the work of those noiseless, diffuse, and leisurely forces, which assimilate the multiplying experiences, and determine the agreements of men in the multitude and the mass. The true kingdom of man is like the kingdom of heaven in this, if in nothing else, that it cometh not with observation. And when it comes at last, like the meek who inherit the earth, it comes enriched with all the spoils, trained into all the talents, of the transitory dominions which have usurped its power and figured in its place.

For, first, if there is anything obvious and certain in the make up of human nature, it is this, that a possession which satisfies all the most urgent requirements of the holder, cannot remain the permanent monopoly of any man or of any set of men. The laws of political economy alone, which break down or wear away the artificial barriers, and ensure the distribution of wealth, are enough to decentralize a power which more

than any other brings wealth and the best that wealth can buy. It is all in vain that it isolates itself in the hands of the reigning dynasty or order from the universal competitions which are the life of society, by pretending to a superhuman origin and an exclusive right, or by surrounding itself with the menacing ramparts of military armament. The sanctions and the defences are themselves a capitulation, the admission into the stronghold of auxiliaries who will in time bring in the whole people after them. All that are best and worst in the community around it, the men bent on bettering their own condition or the condition of others, detach themselves from the inert and acquiescent masses to dispute its prizes and divide its sway ; bringing with them the alternative of an indispensable service or an implacable hostility. It is precisely by such sacrifices that all government grows. Its progressive organization is nothing but the surrender of parts of its prerogative for the preservation of the rest, the admission of body after body to help on an enterprise in whose returns it is granted a share. The priest sits down in the throne with the king, a host of employees and retainers fasten on the administration, the industries of the country gather around the treasury, an aristocracy adds itself to the court, literature and science and art to both ; and the capital of the empire becomes at once a center and an outpost of the civilization of the time.

In the second place, and in particular, if the emoluments and dignities of government cannot be put under lock and key as the exclusive property of a part of the community, neither can the special training and talents by which these things are acquired and held. Not only does the faculty go along with the prizes, it goes faster and farther. The art of government propagates itself incessantly to the non-governing classes ; were it not so they could never find or force their way to a share in the enterprise. As I have said, the men who have the handling of power are the first to learn what can be done with it and gotten out of it, but in their most selfish and secret doings they are always operating with the power of the people, in presence of the people, and at the expense of the people ; so that every act of the government, or every refusal to act, takes

effect beyond it, and taking effect, raises at once the question of its motives and its consequences. The thing carefully calculated and settled upon in the innermost mystery of the council chamber, is reopened the next morning out of doors, under all the incalculable conditions of debate between the men who profit by it and the multitude who do not, or who are its victims. The latter are no doubt worsted, for the time being; but meanwhile they have been united by a common interest or a common grievance, and in the union have found out something of their own strength, and something of the art of organization. In a word they have improvised a government of their own, quite competent to try conclusions over again with the titular government another time. When the issue is so made up, one of two conclusions is inevitable. Either the opposition will carry its points and be admitted to a share in the sovereignty, when the same process will begin anew with another opposition founded on another grievance; or it will be worsted, when it will seek to interest other men in its griefs or associate other causes with its own; as we say, it will appeal to the country. In either event the result is the same, a development of the political consciousness and political capacity of the people, its progress in that very art of government which is the special aptitude and strength of the governing class.

It is these incessant collisions with an opposition, ever tending to wider popularity and larger resources, that fix the rôle of government in the political evolution of society. The sole depositary of an undeveloped and uncontrollable power, the initiative belongs to it always, the event never. Its specific function is to take the first step, by a formal decree, or positive act, to raise the question point-blank whether a given application of public power is for anybody's benefit, and if so, for whose. The most arbitrary and licentious despotism with its utmost precautions cannot avoid doing this: the most thoroughly representative administration cannot possibly do more. The decree of the despot is the expression of his own will; the law enacted by the representative an interpretation of the will of the constituency. It would seem, therefore, that the latter is secured in advance from the discomfitures that await the caprice of the other. But in most cases the will of the people, pro-

claimed in the law, has not previously been put on record anywhere, or made known by any unmistakable signs. It exists as the diffuse feeling, or predominant thought, of a multitude of individuals, no one of whom, perhaps, has fully made up his mind, or if he has, has made it up in full accord with all the others; a state of mind not formed, but forming, and until formed, far too complex and indcisive to furnish a clear mandate to the representative. Its first authentic and authoritative expression is almost always the law itself, so that constitutional government is caught at the start in a vicious circle from which the arbitrary ruler, acting on his own motion, escapes. Called upon to consult the constituency in every law it makes, it has only one means of doing so, namely, by making a law. How can the will of the people be expressed until it is known, or how known until it has been expressed? The practical consequence is, that the most considerate, like the most capricious law, is, in its first enactment, a conjecture and an experiment, an interrogation, more or less sagacious, put to the people whom it concerns; and the vast volume of legislation turned out annually at hap-hazard by our law-making bodies, is no more than the crude material out of which there may come in time an expression of the ultimate and abiding purpose of the people. From first to last the function of the government is to raise the political issue, to submit the political alternatives, and to do no more; to propound problems which of necessity summon the constituencies affected into the arena of debate, and whose exhaustive solution is to be found only in their unanimous accord.

In every way, therefore, it appears that the selfish purposes of the ruler have to reckon with those of everybody else, and that the evolution of government, however it may be facilitated and hastened by the possession of power, depends upon and must at last be overtaken by the larger and dilatory evolution of society. The power diverted to the special uses of the men who are made its depositaries, tends continually to decentralize and redistribute itself, until it ends by reverting to the use of the body which furnishes it. The process, clearly, is one not to be held in and kept from going farther by any self-restraint on the part of the government, since all the conditions under which

it acts help to complicate the manner and widen the sphere of its action. The only force in existence, or conceivable, sufficient to stay its incontinence, is an insuperable obstacle outside. When it has taken in and satisfied the last of its claimants and competitors, and is brought face to face with a stolid and submissive population, insensible to its prizes, incapable of a farther aspiration, then all transaction and exchange between the two cease, and the double evolution ends in a permanent equilibrium between sovereign and subject in a dual State.

Now this, although in some sort or other the instinctive aspiration of every governing body, even our own, is no solution. It is arrested development, a dead-lock between the opposing forces contributing to the evolution, and like every unnatural equilibrium, holds within itself the conditions of rapid and universal dissolution. The process all along has been one of give and take, the cession of parts of the prerogative on one hand, the admission of new constituencies on the other; continuous acquisitions of power purchased by continuous distributions of sovereign right. But the moment the surrenders cease, the acquisitions purchased by them cease too, and that torpor of the people which leaves to the governing class the exclusive possession of power, cuts off its supplies. There is now nobody left to dispute its sway, but also there is nobody left to recruit its ranks and replenish its store. Henceforward it must depend on its own resources alone and reproduce itself from within. It is an organism like any other, and must be fed to be kept alive. The higher its organization the more complete and energetic its functions, the greater is its need of aliment, that is of new men to fill its vacant places, transact its business, and care for its concerns. As outside itself there is only the people whom it has both excluded and disqualified, it must feed upon its own tissue, which is what we call in the vernacular, starvation. The figure, like most figures, does not go far enough. There are, besides, the reaction which follows all prolonged effort when it is ended, and the laxity which goes with the seductions of power set free from all accountability. Moreover, the men who went together as one man, so long as they had a common interest against the people, fall out among themselves when the interest is secured. To the slow wasting

of starvation are added the fierce decompositions of profligacy and intestine feud. The government drops to pieces, letting loose in its collapse the corrupting passions of the multitude, and society, unless some sounder race steps in to conquer and save it, returns to the chaos out of which it came.

We are always taught to look to the Syro-Greek and Greco-Roman civilizations as the sources of our own. Why are they dead, and ours, apparently, undying? I have given the answer; they died from over-effort and inanition. Each of them in its turn was founded on and centered in the political institutions of its place and time, and in its freest range was never more than the precocious development of an isolated race or exclusive order, whose exhaustion came before the development of surrounding races or society could overtake and sustain it. The isolation, it is true, had the happy effect of extricating an original genius from contaminating influences, of assuring to it an untroubled growth, and a pure and perfect expression. It was the instinct of self-preservation, as well as the sense of superiority, which kept the Hebrew aloof from the Gentile, the Greek from the Barbarian, and even the perfectly tolerant and companionable Roman from the horde of inferior peoples who came under his sway. But at the same time, the devout, or aristocratic, reserve which perfected the product, shut off at last the indispensable sources of continuous production. So, humanly speaking, the canon of the Old Testament was closed because the race was worn out. Whatever its inspiration, its institutions and scriptures were the work of individual men, and men of that stamp are to be had in unending succession only from a vast and ever progressing population, whose experience and creative power go on widening and deepening from generation to generation. The sterility into which it sank after its centuries of production was broken, or if it be preferred, the inspiration returned to it, with what its own writers called the abomination of desolation, the irruption of foreign races and foreign thought. Torn from its seclusion and set adrift on the surges of Macedonian and Roman conquest, not knowing what it did, it gave birth to a new creation disowned alike by itself and by its violators, and whose inmost meaning will be fathomed only by the latest and highest intel-

ligence of man. But the race itself died in the delivery, and has been heard of no more save as the barren memorial of what it was. The fate of the Greek was the same, and the fate of the Roman; but with the Roman the disaster was entire, because he had absorbed into his system and bound to his fortunes every civilized people from the Euphrates to the Atlantic. He had fastened his imperial forms upon the culture of the Greek in a hundred capitals, and upon the conquests of Christianity in all his provinces—a process usually described as the conversion of the Empire; and when he gave out exhausted in his turn, he took everything with him. The fall of Rome was the fall of civilization in this sense, that she left nothing standing ready to take her place and carry on her work.

It is all in vain for historians of the “comparative” school to spin the cobwebs of their theory over this collapse and to talk of the continuity of European history across the tremendous abyss which separates the ancient society from the modern. Everything, says Mr. Freeman in his *Essay on the Unity of History*, emptied into the Roman Empire, and everything takes its rise there. I answer that everything that went into it was lost with it, and when it disappeared nothing was left afloat but the wreckage of the foundered wreck; the dead, material relics of what it had been and what it had done; the scattered manuscripts of its literatures, the mutilated and crumbling monuments of its arts, the wasting forms of its legislation and order. So far as any conserving force then extant was concerned, the wreckage would have followed the wreck, was in fact fast following it in the furious tempests of barbarian invasion. To find in a calamity like this, which ended everything that went before, the starting point of everything which came after, and the living centre of all European history, is to falsify words and the real meaning and relation of events.

Nevertheless society is erect and vigorous as ever, and, what is more, wears the garments of the extinct civilization. In large measure our piety is Hebraic, our intelligence Greek, our social order Roman. Why? Because there happened to be in the same family one untried and capable race outside the fatal circle of the Empire, not identified with its action and not caught in the vortex where it was engulfed. Of course the

German was conquered here and there, after a sort, as everybody else was west of the inaccessible Parthian, and parts of his territory were annexed to the Empire. But this was a mere geographical detail without significance. The capital fact was that the genius of the German was still in all the unconsciousness of infancy and barbarism, and therefore, unlike that of the Hebrew or the Greek, was not worked out before its time and absorbed by the devouring energies of the Roman. To return to the figure, he escaped the wreck safe and sound, and was ready when the storm went down, to draw the wreckage ashore and make use of it. This contact of the living German character in its unsophisticated infancy, with the dead memorials of an exhausted civilization, is the supreme fact of modern history, I may say of all history. And there would seem to be no historical fact which has been more perfectly mistaken by the historian. It figures in a vast repertory of labored reconstruction as the "revival" of learning and letters, of philosophy and art, of religion and social order; as if these things were separate entities of themselves, and not the mere modes in which men feel and think and act; and as if in their independent being they had fallen asleep and waked up again, or had died and risen from the dead. The revival has gotten a name to itself and is known to everybody as the Renaissance, or new-birth, one of those mischievously expressive terms which misrepresent a whole phase of civilization by fastening a rank abstraction in men's minds as a concrete reality. What art was revived in the Renaissance, or what literature, or what form of culture? There is a style of architecture, known distinctively as the Renaissance, which lends itself to the fallacy by wearing on the outside the classic "orders" like a layman in the habit of a monk. Is it classic architecture? Certainly not; nor are the Italian paintings and sculptures classic art, or the early Provencal poetry classic literature, although the Latin blood must have told here if anywhere. In all this prolific era of the Renaissance, to which, in any exact use of the word, we ourselves belong, the only thing born again was no state of mind, or way of life, or mode of expression, but a race. And if the voice that called it from the dead—the *tuba sonans per sepulchrum*, was the voice of antiquity, it does not follow that

the summons was to the old life, for the extremely simple reason that the risen race was neither of the old races, but another and a fresh one. As a matter of fact it was not brought by a miracle out of any tomb, but out of what I have called its barbarian slumber, by natural means. That since its awakening for a thousand years, it has been sitting at the feet of the dead past, has caught its inspirations and copied its models, is a matter of course and nothing to the purpose. Let the utmost be granted anyone can claim, that in all our intercourse with one another, we are bound by the formulas of Roman law and sheltered by the fabric of the Roman order, that our religion is the dogma of Palestine clothed with the hierarchy and ritual of the Empire, that our thought and imagination revolve in the circles and put on the forms fixed for us by the Greek; still the question remains whether all this is mere reminiscence and imitation; or whether it is not the characteristic reaction upon alien influences of an original genius, derived from other sources, obeying other laws, and tending to another destiny. There can be no question of greater gravity than this; for if, as the writers on the Renaissance suggest, all our creations are but revivals of what existed before, or if, as Mr. Freeman says, history is continuous and everything in modern society takes its rise in the Empire, then our civilization is but the *process*, or repetition, of the old one, and must find its way to the old catastrophe. What we are actually participating in, is the same premature development of the more capable or more favored classes, cut loose from the slow-moving or motionless body of the people, and hastening toward the appropriation of all prerogative and power; what we have to look forward to is the same fatal schism in the state, which must end, as before, in entire collapse. The only difference in the situation is that this time there is no hope for salvation from without, since the German, so far as we can see now, is the last of the available races, and carries with him the destinies of the world. I need scarcely add that this is the creed of a great many very wise men, reflected in that wide dejection and unrest which are among the distinctive notes of our time; as if we too, like the Roman in his prime, were entering the shadow of all-involving night. Who are we that we should not in our turn go the way of all the earth? Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die.

Yet with all their confusing identities and resemblances, due in part to affinities of race, in part to the influence of the elder races on the younger, nobody is blind to the peculiarities which distinguish all modern, from all ancient, work. Not a book has been written, not a building put up, not a law enacted, not a government made or overturned, nothing has been thought or said or done, by men or by states, within a thousand years, which could possibly be confounded with anything of the classic era. And nobody doubts that these peculiarities are real race differences, due to something underrived and new in the character of the German. The originality is so great that it removes him as far from the Greek and Roman, who were of his own blood, as from the Hebrew, who was of another. These elder races were brought into one civilization, not by their accidental assemblage under the Empire, but by a certain mental quality common to them all beneath wide diversities of descent and performance. The German, who lay beyond and came after the Empire, belongs to another civilization by a wholly different quality. I venture to go farther and to affirm that the difference admits of exact definition, and that anyhow, whether definable or not, it has given another starting-point, and will ensure another ending to the development of modern society.

The ancient civilization came to an end when it had exhausted the assimilable material around it, when the subject populations ceased to furnish men capable of maintaining its traditions and carrying on its work. Ours will do the same in the same event. But the authentic manifestation of the new quality I have indicated, whatever it may be, is in the active presence everywhere of the entire population, at once as an irritable power that must be reckoned with, and as an abundant supply for all the functions of organic society. We may admit that it was the aristocratic voice of antiquity which broke the slumber and set free the forces of modern Europe, but the difference is here, that the entire body of the people has answered the summons which fell unheeded upon its predecessors, and with ever-increasing mastery has interfered to determine the course of events and the character of civilization. The very forms of our culture most evidently dependent upon the ex-

ample and inspirations of the past, have had their birth in some one of those upheavals and displacements of vast populations which are the capital mark of the whole era; the anonymous movement which precipitated the German tribes on the Empire, the Crusades, the Reformation of the 16th century, the Revolution of the 18th, the ceaseless overflow of emigration into other continents. The suggestion, it may be, comes to us from without, but the motive power is from within and is our own. This is so true that the manifest dangers of society are no longer where they were of old, in the over-development of government; they are in the impatience and excesses of the people, the chance that it may come into the control, before it has been trained to the use, of its own power. If its self-restraint prove equal to its energy, then we need not doubt that it furnishes what was wanting to the ancient world, the inexhaustible material for a civilization, not less original, and far more complex and durable, than any ever seen before.

Now, partly in virtue of our ancestry, partly as the effect of our geographical and political surroundings, we happen to be ourselves the clearest, as we are the latest, manifestation of this new factor in human affairs. It is understood, I believe, that we are lacking in "culture," and have our laurels yet to win in the various arts of expression. We are deplorably Philistine rather than Hebrew, Barbarian rather than Greek; and are even that in no American fashion of our own, but at second hand, with provincial fidelity to British models. Even Mr. Matthew Arnold, who loves us, sees this, and by and bye, when he has gotten up De Tocqueville on Democracy in America, is going to see what he can do about it. The meaning of it all is that we have hardly contributed our share to the Renaissance, have yet to achieve those happy "revivals" which attest the blended Hebraism and Hellenism of a first-class race. The only answer that can be made is, that after a while, and with the benevolent help of Mr. Matthew Arnold, perhaps we will; and that anyhow, in the meantime, we have made very clear our Germanism; that is to say, the capacity of an entire people to divide upon any issue submitted to it, and through all the bewilderment of conflicting opinions and interests, to work its way to the exhaustive solution of universal accord. Tried by

the test of individual achievement, the ideas of great thinkers in advance of their fellows—and these are the content of what is known as the culture of any place or time—we are behind more than one of contemporary societies. But in the multitude and importance of ideas which are omnipotent with us because the whole community has fallen out over them, and into agreement upon them, we lead them all.

As I have said, society appears at the start as the embodiment of a common purpose founded upon the feeling of common dangers and want; and the continuing course of political evolution thereafter is only the process by which the people comes to the fuller consciousness of its power and into new agreements upon the ends for which power is to be used. It was this process which the fall of Rome interrupted, which modern Europe has resumed, and whose latest and largest results are found in the American Republic. We began two hundred years ago at the point which European society is painfully approaching to-day. Our original capital, the fundamental ideas of our polity, were brought here by handfuls of fugitives who found themselves in hopeless minorities at home, an opposition called into being by provocations of the government, and crowded out of place by the inert or hostile masses who divided on the government side. As the scattered colonies expanded and coalesced, and the continent filled, new provocations came from the pursuing sovereignty abroad or its representatives here, new alternatives were submitted, new divisions arose; and out of every division there came in time another agreement of the body politic, another principle carried through the vicissitudes of popular controversy into the untroubled region of demonstrated certainty and universal consent. The government we gave ourselves has continued the functions of the one it displaced, which, I repeat, are those of all government, to take the initiative and to submit the issues over which the constituents divide. Our political life and our political superiority are in the promptness with which we have accepted them, divided upon them, and determined them. Whatever else it lacks, the people of the United States has not yet shown itself lacking in the supreme faculty of making up its mind, and of making it up according to the thorough

dialectics of practical reason ; not inconsiderately, by instinct or in the gusts and rush of contagious passion, but after the manner of men who start from the opposite poles, to end their conflicts in the common term, of a truth.

But a people comes into the sovereignty in the act of making up its mind. The power has belonged to it from the beginning. It resumes the control of the power, which has gotten into other hands only so far as another will has been substituted for its own, when it has fully resolved upon the ends for which power is to be used. To the extent that the American people has thrown off its unconcern, enlightened its ignorance, and ended its controversies in a common accord, it reigns and rules within its domain. The laws have become the pure expression, the government the perfect instrument, of its will. No matter what the selfish purposes of the governing body may be, or the unscrupulous talents by which they are supported, they find no shelter or foothold, no means of resistance or evasion, under the calm, perpetual, omnipresent pressure of the will of the nation. One may even say that for a sovereignty of this sort, the form of its government and the modes of its legislation are an unimportant detail, since for a power so steadfast, so overwhelming, so sure of its ends, one instrument will do its work as well as another. Were we but able perfectly to make up our minds about the whole use of our power, we could give ourselves any form of government we chose, or reduce all government to its lowest possible expression. Mr. Arnold, in the paper I have alluded to,* has expressed a kind of envious admiration for the perfect adaptation he found on visiting the United States of the institutions to the people. "I had never seen, he says, a people with institutions which seemed expressly and thoroughly suited to it. . . . As one watches the play of their institutions, the image suggests itself to one's mind of a man in a suit of clothes which fits him to perfection, leaving all his movements unimpeded and easy. It is loose where it ought to be loose, and it sits close where its sitting close is an advantage." The fitness is there, certainly, although hardly in the perfection Mr. Arnold supposes. At least it seems to me that we waste as

* *Nineteenth Century* for February.

much political energy in cumbrous and obstructive machinery, and transact as much business with the bare fiction of machinery, as any civilized community going. A people which keeps forty legislatures turning out forty contradictory or variant laws upon precisely the same subject, whose chief magistrate is solemnly chosen by a deliberative body which humbly records a verdict it is fully empowered to reverse, and can then find, according to the President of the Senate, nobody authorized by the law to proclaim its record, is hardly a people which can be said to cut its coat according to its cloth or its figure. We wear these things, and a good many others of the kind, easily enough in spite of the misfit, as a man wears an old shoe, because we are used to them. That freedom and ease of political action which Mr. Arnold finds here, are not in any mere adjustment of machinery to power, but in the anterior fact that the power is in the hands of a people which has, upon so many important points, fully made up its mind. We escape so many of the distressing complications and futilities of British politics by aid of our institutions but not in virtue of them; because upon points where the British community is hopelessly divided we have compounded our differences and are at one. This is that very fact which De Tocqueville, whom Mr. Arnold is going to get up anew, deploras as the monotony of democracy, and which Mr. Arnold sighs for at home as the homogeneity of the American people; namely, the universal agreements into which we have come as to the use we will make of our political power. I will only add to complete the statement, that while we have arrived at them disconnectedly, one by one, with all the confusion and inconsequence which belong to popular controversy, nevertheless a kind of superior reason has determined the order of their coming, if not that intelligence of the American which, says Mr. Arnold, sees so straight and sees so clear, then the infallible logic of events. They are all related to one another as parts of a whole, the interdependent results of the same evolution, and may all be summed up in a single generalization. We have, in a word, resolved that upon this continent, within our dominion, there shall be no more heterogeneity in the composition of the State, no hereditary supremacies, no irrevocable rights, no priv-

illeged classes, in the eye of the law and the action of the executive no distinction known beyond that fundamental one for which States exist between the law-abiding and the lawless; that to make good this distinction the entire power of the State shall be furnished at the cost and employed for the benefit of all its constituents alike. This is a reduction of things to a dead-level, no doubt, the last term of homogeneousness and monotony, the exclusion of all those political inequalities which have so stimulated and fed the culture of aristocratic communities. But what is the result? It leaves the individual man alone in his individuality, sheltered so far as the collective wisdom of society can from the hostilities of nature and the interference of his enemies, to make what best use he will of the faculties God has given him. If with this protection perfected, and these opportunities enlarged to their widest, the individual man fails, if he does not go farther in the future than he could have done before, does not bring to the service of mankind a better tribute than men have brought before, then our German civilization fails. And as to that we must wait with what faith we can for the future to tell.

These, then, are the regulative ideas of our State, the great unanimities in virtue of which the people rules with uncontested and incontestable sway. It is sovereign to the extent of them and powerless beyond. Where they apply the government works its will; where they cease it works its own. In spite of the fitness of our institutions we are no better off than the English of Mr. Arnold's comparison where we have not made up our minds. We too act like a people without lucidity, which does not see straight and see clear; we too fumble and flounder and beat the air "because we cannot make up our minds." But there is this saving difference in our case, enough it need not be said to take us out of the dead-lock of foreign politics, that the things we are halting about are things whose principle is settled already, outlying details not yet brought under the law and included in the generalization of our political doctrine. The details themselves have a generalization of their own. We have but to agree that the property of the subject shall be put under the sanctions which already cover his person and his franchise, and the work is done. The

inequalities of taxation, and the inequalities of expenditure, in in a word, the abuses by the government of the money-power of the State, are what still await reduction to the common law, submission to the universal principle. They will have their turn when we cease to "fumble" and make up our minds; and not before. We may give ourselves fit institutions or unfit, Democratic administration or Republican, civil-service reform or the license of patronage; none of these will avail unless the people makes up its mind, or hinder when it does. There is but one remedy for any wrongs with us,—the instructed and conscientious sovereignty of the people.

EDUCATIONAL TOPICS.

ARTICLE I.—PHILLIPS ACADEMY, ANDOVER.*

It has been said that even during the darkest days of the Civil War, and when the final issue of that great conflict was oppressively uncertain, President Lincoln was extremely urgent that the work of completing the Capitol at Washington should go uninterruptedly forward. He seemed to feel sure that the struggle—mighty, prolonged, and often discouraging as it was—would ultimately establish the doctrine and the fact that the American people are a Nation; and he allowed neither overt nor constructive unfaith in the triumph of the federal arms to suggest the idea of delaying the preparation of a permanent abode for the vindicated and restored national authority. And it seems as if this sublime faith in the promise and strength of our society and institutions, has always inspired our people; it has certainly been nowhere more strikingly exhibited than as it appeared among the soberest convictions of the founders of the Republic. Thus while the air was still heavy with the noise and smoke of revolution, Judge Phillips had the courage to turn from his mill,—from which he was supplying Washington's shabbily equipped soldiers with powder—to his study, where he drafted the constitution of a school for the youth of the State which he and his fellow citizens were hoping,—were determined, to found.

LOCATION.

No sooner was the constitution of the school drafted, than the question of a site was discussed. And it seems that the actual location was not Judge Phillips's original choice. He would have preferred North Andover, his native place, but he

* The chief sources of information for the preparation of this Article have been :

Memoir of Judge Phillips. By Rev. John L. Taylor, D.D. Boston, 1856.

History of the Centennial Celebration of Phillips Academy in 1878, as yet unpublished, but made available by the courtesy of Rev. C. F. P. Bancroft, Ph.D., the present Principal.

had decided from the first that the school should have ample grounds; and as these could not be procured in North Andover, he was compelled to look elsewhere.

In January, 1777—but a year after the first movements toward the erection of the powder mill—the initial purchase of land was made, in the South Parish, and by successive purchases a domain of 187 acres was at once secured; later, what is familiarly known as “Andover Hill” came wholly into the control of the Trustees of the Academy.

And thus it remains,—a place consecrated to the interests of Christian education, an almost hallowed spot; a place unprofaned by the encroachments of traffic or by the obtrusion of vice; a retreat of scholars, whose very name, like *Academia* itself, has become associated with the idea of deepest, broadest, highest culture. But since, as Ruskin says, “those who wish to see things crooked, will see things crooked,” so indeed a boy who craves perversity in thought or morals can sooner or later find a way to satisfy his craving, no matter how carefully he may be for a time guarded from it. Nevertheless, though the vicious may thus find temporary sojourn among us, and in an insidious, subtle way contaminate somewhat our academic life, they are forever debarred, by the wise forethought of Judge Phillips, from unfurling their standards under our very eyes or establishing their headquarters within the limits of our academic groves.

SCHOOL AND SCHOLARS.

An old carpenter shop which had been included in the original purchase of land, became the first school-house. It has been described as “a rude building, of one story, about thirty by twenty-five feet, done off temporarily in the plainest manner for the purpose, and not intended for more than thirty or forty scholars.” It stood on the lot now occupied by the residence of Prof. Churchill; and there, on the morning of Tuesday, April 30, 1778, the Phillips School (for this was the first name) was formally opened. The thirty places to which the “school” was at first limited were at once taken; and within two years there were sixty scholars.* Within the second decade of the school its

* This rapid growth of the “school” is a little remarkable when we recall the times. Two items may be cited in evidence: The ever-memorable hard winter of 1780 ushered in the year in the autumn of which Phillips Academy—as the “school” was thenceforth to be called—was chartered; and on the day following the passage of the act of incorporation, the newspapers contained the startling intelligence of Benedict Arnold’s treason.

celebrity drew pupils not only from the several New England States, but from the whole country and from foreign countries; and among the scholars of this time were two relatives of the President of the nation, who came on the advice of Washington himself. The prosperity thus commencing seems to have never been impeded; but the school has gone steadily forward, from strength to strength, from honor to honor, from one degree of usefulness to another, for more than a century.

In 1807 the "Class in Theology" became a distinct institution, the first of the kind in the world; whose invested endowment now reaches nearly a million dollars and which has graduated nearly 2,000 students. The Theological Seminary has passed her 75th anniversary; yet as a representative and defender of whatever is most vigorous, active, and progressive in Christian orthodoxy she holds an aegis that is ageless and a scepter imperishable. And it is said that no one man now living can read even the alphabets of all the languages through which her sons have sought to interpret the Word of God to the world. Previous to 1807, the Academy itself did a most important work in educating young men for the Christian ministry; and has contributed to the education of more clergymen than any similar school. The Academy has also been a large feeder of the Seminary and other theological schools; and for long periods has graduated every year from five to fifteen young men who have become ministers. Indeed the Academy has been called, not without reason, itself a Seminary.

In 1830 a seminary was opened for the special education and training of teachers for the common schools. Though this seminary "was a marked success and did a noble work, anticipating the normal schools of the present day," yet for lack of funds it was, in 1842, made a complement of the classical school; and has since continued as the English department of Phillips Academy. This department has been successively under the charge of such eminent teachers as Rev. S. R. Hall, D.D., Prof. Lyman Coleman, D.D., Supt. W. H. Wells, Rev. Dr. Alonzo Gray, and James S. Eaton, M.A.

The "school" which started with accommodations for but thirty pupils, thus became an academy, with extended courses of both classical and scientific studies; which numbers on its roll of students more than 3,000 graduates. Instead of its single one-storied school-house, there now stands the spacious and imposing

Academic Hall; while its eleven "dormitories"—which have themselves "weathered half a century of storm and ridicule"—and its five large dwelling houses, do not accommodate half of the boys* who yearly seek instruction within its walls.

ENDOWMENT.

The productive funds of the Academy have never been large; the early contributions of the Phillips family amounted altogether to about \$50,000. This sum has since been increased by various donations till it amounts to about \$225,000. The whole amount of the productive funds, however, not including scholarship, prize, and charity funds of about \$60,000, is at present but \$165,000. Of this sum, about \$105,000 has been received since 1866. There is thus brought out the somewhat surprising and notable fact, that the great success and fame of Phillips Academy have been won with the remarkably small endowment of about \$60,000! The extraordinary impressiveness of the record thus exhibited can be best appreciated by the following comparisons:

The Boston Latin School is one of the oldest and best of our classical schools. It has for its constituency one of the largest, most benevolent, and most intelligent of American cities. It has had the best of teachers: who also have been furnished with the best appliances for instruction, and allowed the most favorable conditions for discipline. For the forty-six years previous to 1861, comprising the masterships of Gould, Leverett, Dillaway, Dixwell, and Gardiner for ten years, the average number of young men fitted for college was 12.56 per annum.†

Another equally excellent school, the Roxbury Latin School, whose *productive* funds alone were given in 1877 as \$250,000, has fitted for college since 1846—when her available records begin—an average of but ten pupils per annum.

But during twenty-eight years of Dr. Taylor's principalship, 1838–66, there were fitted for college at Phillips Academy about thirty-three students per annum; between 1856–66, the number averaged about fifty per annum. In forty-six years, therefore, under five famous masters, nearly 600 young men were fitted for college at the Boston Latin School; while more than 1,000 were sent from Andover to the different colleges by Dr. Taylor alone,

* There are about 250 boys in annual attendance, 50 per cent. of this attendance is usually from outside of the New England States.

† See *Report of Mass. Bd. of Ed.*, 1875, p. 199.

in the first twenty-eight years of his mastership. The importance of the place of academies in our system of education needs no surer vindication than is thus presented.

The Centennial Anniversary in 1878, however, marked a crisis in the affairs and work of Phillips Academy. The requirements of the colleges had been gradually increasing, till the preparatory schools had been forced to extend their courses of study and enlarge their facilities for instruction. Meanwhile, with the very decided increase of liabilities there had come to the school no corresponding increase of resources: first, doubtless, because the work had been going on so long, so unimpeded, so quietly, and with such marked prosperity from a purely educational point of view, that the needs of the school were never suspected; secondly because the Academy is often thought to be so identified with the Theological Seminary that the financial prosperity of the one is supposed to be equally the good fortune of the other—an impression most emphatically erroneous; thirdly, it is feared, because many benevolent persons misconceive or undervalue the importance of well endowed secondary schools, as compared with colleges or theological seminaries, in their relation to the interests of the higher Christian education. It was, therefore, found necessary and thought best to seize upon the opportunity of the centennial festival for acquainting the public with the pressing needs of the Academy. The result fully sustained the confidence with which the school had appealed to her friends; and \$100,000—all that her guardians felt justified at that time in asking—was secured within a year. Yet she is still in want—nay, she wants nothing. The generous patronage which she has always enjoyed—never larger than to-day—warrants the assertion that the public want the school; and, of course, they want her at her best. But the standards of attainment and achievement in education are constantly advancing; and if Phillips Academy is to retain her prestige and fulfill the high expectations which this prestige naturally awakens, she must be still further provided with means as the indispensable condition of the best doing of her work. The history of the school is a sufficient guarantee that her work will not be impeded from lack of funds.

AIMS AND METHODS.

There is not space in this article for even a brief sketch* of the

* The story has been beautifully told by Prof. John L. Taylor, D.D., in his *Memoir of Judge Phillips*, Cong. Pub. Soc., Boston.

life of Samuel Phillips, Jr., the projector and founder* of Phillips Academy. Hon. Josiah Quincy, in his address at the semi-centennial anniversary of the Theological Seminary, in 1858, thus referred to Judge Phillips: "His zeal, talents, and consentaneous piety enkindled and excited into activity the inherent charitable and public spirit of the entire family." He has been called "a builder by instinct," "a model of almost every virtue, a miracle of activity." His favorite work, however, was the founding of the Academy which bears his name, the plan of which was laid when he was hardly twenty years old.

There is no mistaking the aim of Judge Phillips in projecting the school. In that remarkable document, the Constitution of Phillips Academy, we read as follows:

"Above all it is expected that the master's attention to the disposition of the *minds* and *morals* of the youth under his charge will exceed every other care; well considering that though goodness without knowledge (as it respects others) is weak and feeble, yet knowledge without goodness is dangerous, and that both united form the noblest character and lay the surest foundation of usefulness to mankind."

"It is therefore required that he most attentively and vigorously guard against the earliest irregularities."

These sentiments are iterated and reiterated in no less than seven separate paragraphs, from which it will be well worth while to make further quotations: "It shall ever be considered as the first and principal duty of the master, to regulate the tempers, enlarge the minds, and form the morals of the youth committed to his care."

"And whereas the most wholesome precepts, without frequent repetition, may prove ineffectual, it is further required of the master, that he not only urge and re-urge, but continue from day to day to impress these instructions." Then only nine lines after the above come these words: "And in order to prevent the smallest perversion of the true intent of this Foundation, it is again declared that the FIRST and PRINCIPAL object of this institution is the promotion of true PIETY and VIRTUE; the SECOND, instruction in the English, Latin, and Greek languages. And these regulations shall be read by the President at the annual meetings of the Trustees."

* Strictly speaking, the Academy was founded by the munificence of Hon. Samuel Phillips and John Phillips, LL.D., inspired and directed, however, by the enthusiasm of Judge Samuel Phillips, son of the first named.

Such were the motives and such the hopes with which this ancient school was projected; and in the same spirit, certainly, though, of course, with varying degrees of skill and success, has it always been conducted. A school founded on these principles and administered for these sublime ends, might reasonably expect the recognition, confidence, and generous support of the Christian church. Although the formation of such a school was without precedent in this country, and no similar constitution had ever been seen, the Constitution of Phillips Academy has served as the sufficient guide of each successive board of government and instruction from 1778 till now, amply providing also for expansion and enlargement.

The broad, comprehensive views and remarkable foresight of the founder of the Academy, seem less surprising when we learn that he was no sentimental recluse, accustomed to contemplate the condition and needs of society from his study windows alone, and going only to the shelves of his library for remedies or suggestions of treatment. Judge Phillips was indeed a scholar; yet he was also eminently a man of affairs. Few men of the time were more actively and efficiently devoted to the prosecution of the War for Independence: at the age of twenty-three he was sent to the Provincial Congress, which included Samuel Adams and John Hancock among its members; he was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1779, with John and Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Robert Treat Paine; he was subsequently a member of the State Senate, of which he was also the president for twenty years; he was appointed Judge of Common Pleas for Essex County by Gov. Hancock; was Lieut.-Governor of the State. As the fruit of his industry, tact, and enterprise he also added largely to his patrimony and left a property at his death which inventoried at \$150,000.

I have said that there is no mistaking the design of Judge Phillips in founding the Academy. He appreciated fully the extent of the demand which the new nation would make on the abilities and virtue of her citizens. But, though himself a graduate and overseer of Harvard College, which had been dedicated by its pious founders *Christo et Ecclesiæ*, and though foreseeing already the "Theological Institution," he nevertheless chose to put his energy and benevolence into the Academy; as if he not only realized that the young student must encounter his greatest obstacles during the preparatory stage of his education, but also

understood that this period is the most favorable time for the instruction in ethics, morals, and religion which President Eliot regards as so indispensable.

What, then, were the details of organization and administration, through which the aims so distinctly set forth by Judge Phillips were to be reached? We have incidentally referred to some already; to which we now add the following specific provisions of the Constitution of the Academy:

1. "No person shall be chosen as a principal instructor unless a professor of the Christian Religion."

2. "As the welfare of the Seminary [i. e. Academy] will be greatly promoted by its members being conversant with persons of good character only, no scholar may enjoy the privileges of this institution who shall board in any family which is not licensed by the Trustees." At this point it is appropriate to add, that the Academy has never been conducted on the so-called "dormitory plan." It has, indeed, eleven small cottages, each containing six suites of rooms—accommodations for twelve boys, which are divided into two groups and placed on opposite sides of the extensive campus; each group of cottages is under the general supervision of one of the teachers, who himself rooms in one of the buildings. These so-called dormitories, however, rarely lodge more than six boys each,—for the most part earnest fellows, who take the chance to economize which these provisions afford; and of the 300 names on the last catalogue, but 100 are registered as rooming in the "dormitories,"—as many as fifteen of whom were from neighboring towns and returned to their homes every night. The remaining 200, therefore, lived in private families, in houses either owned or licensed by the Trustees. No private family is allowed to "room" more than twelve boys at one time; and in the catalogue before me but three private families registered more than ten boys each for the entire year,—two of these families occupying houses belonging to the school. The great advantage of such a distribution is not only shown by experience here, but seems to be at present generally acknowledged.

3. Another provision of Judge Phillips for promoting the objects for which the school was founded, was systematic biblical instruction. ". . . . it shall be the duty of the Master, as the age and capacities of the scholars will admit, to instruct and establish them in the truth of Christianity." "And let him ever remember

that the design of this Institution can never be answered, without his persevering, incessant attention to this duty." In the opinion of Judge Phillips, evidently, all true culture must include and culminate in religious culture. An opinion of President Eliot, expressed in a speech of his at the centennial anniversary of the Academy may well be inserted here: "I have no belief in what is called secular education for young persons of fourteen to nineteen years of age, who are separated from their homes. . . . There must be positive instruction in ethics, morals, and religion. Will it be said by some one who dreads the narrowing influence of denominationalism, that this means denominational schools? It does. Where the population is divided, as with us, into many differing sects, denominational boarding-schools for boys and girls have a very important function to fulfill."

The solemn injunctions of Judge Phillips have never been forgotten or ignored. It was Sabbath morning, when Dr. Taylor was hurrying to the class-room, through the rapidly falling snow, in response to the last call of duty to the school. He bore in his hand his Greek Testament, from which he was to teach the lesson of the day. As he had felt some slight indisposition the Saturday previous and had complained, since rising, of a stricture across his chest, he was advised to omit the usual biblical exercise and remain at home. "My duty lies with the school," was his answer to the expressions of solicitude from his family; but he had scarcely entered the building when he fell, and soon after he passed to his everlasting rest. The lesson of the Word on that day was not given, but the lesson of the act,—of that sublime example of loyalty to conscience, to God, and to duty,—who did not feel it! A pupil of Dr. Taylor, Rev. Dr. McKenzie of Cambridge, has said of his school life at Andover, "Far more than when we left the school do we recognize the worth of the training given us here, of the controlling influence it was to have upon our life. . . . We were taught, and in good measure we learned 'the great end and real business of living.' Strongly as an accurate scholarship has always been demanded on this hill, there has been no time when virtue did not rank higher; when obedience to rightful authority was not deemed an essential part of virtue."

Closely connected with school life at Andover have been certain influences of environment also. First among these incidental influences has been the presence of the Theological Seminary. Its admirable library of 43,000 volumes is accessible to members

of the Academy. Both institutions attend the same Sabbath services, conducted by the professors of the Seminary. The warmest friendships and closest intimacies have often existed between students and teachers of the two schools; while the presence of the maturer students of the Seminary, many of whom were once "Academy boys," has served in countless ways to sober and deepen the character of student life in the Academy. During Dr. Taylor's principalship, students of the Seminary assisted the teachers of the Academy in the biblical instruction of Sabbath morning. On the roll of one of those Bible classes—Rev. George N. Anthony's—I find the following names: (Hon.) Robert R. Bishop (of Boston), (Pres.) Franklin Carter (Williams College), (Rev.) Edward P. Hammond (the revivalist), (Prof.) Othniel C. Marsh (Yale College), (Rev. Dr.) Alexander McKenzie (of Cambridge), (Prof.) Albert C. Perkins, (Ph.D.), lately principal of the Exeter, now of the Adelphi, Academy.

Not to be omitted in this summary is the Abbot Academy for young ladies, which through more than fifty years "has given her graceful presence in strength and beauty to the school whose fame she has both shared and enhanced."

The prosperity of Phillips Academy has also been largely promoted by the good will, and words, and deeds of the citizens of Andover; who have always been conspicuously loyal to the best traditions and zealous for the highest welfare of their schools. Indeed, from those families where the school-boy has found a temporary home, the school has received intelligent and faithful coöperation to a degree, it is believed, rarely experienced elsewhere.

Out of the academic life, too, have been organized most potent means of culture and training: besides the "man-ennobling agora," the *School-meeting*, there is the *Philomathean Society* for literary improvement, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1875; and the *Society of Inquiry* for directing and promoting the religious life of the school, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1883. The work done by both these organizations has been of the highest excellence; and they are deservedly proud of the distinction which their graduate-members have won, both at college and in after life. There is also *The Mirror*, the literary magazine of "The Philo.," founded in 1855, issued weekly and published at the end of each term; and *The Phillipian*, the weekly paper of the school, founded in 1879: the management of

these periodicals, entirely in the hands of the boys themselves, is, of course, a most valuable experience and excellent discipline. Then the annual spring and autumn athletic contests with our namesake at Exeter give an impulse and importance to out-of-door life which is incomparable; and constitute a notable part of the training, scarcely less than that of the class-room, which is inherent in, and inseparable from, the school life itself. In this connection I am prompted to refer to the social constituents and characteristics of a school like the Academy, as they are related to the culture which it gives. To such a school, boys come from many remote* localities, with social creeds and customs the most unlike. Thus indeed has Phillips Academy always been a "free public school,"—as the founders intended; its privileges have been available for every sect and class, not only for the sons of the rich who could pay for their tuition the assessed fee, but equally also for the poor who could pay for their instruction only with their priceless fidelity and industry. And nothing is more common than to see the rich and the poor associating together on grounds of absolute equality in rights and privileges and social fellowships, in spite of antecedents most diverse. I may properly add here, also, a word about the expenses of school life. The average annual expenditure is about \$600; yet some boys spend \$1200, without being extravagant. Several boys in each class earn enough by tutoring or otherwise to meet all their expenses; others meet every demand and supply every need with \$300 a year. However, had every boy who has studied at the Academy within the past ten years, paid the regular assessment for tuition, the receipts of the Treasurer during the time would have been \$25,000 larger than they were. During this same time, also, needy young men have been aided from the funds of the institution to the amount of \$7,000. So that within the past decade alone, the Academy has furnished pecuniary aid to needy students to the amount of \$32,000,—or a sum sufficient to endow a professorship.

Concerning the details of school government, little need be or can be said. There have been eight principals, and, naturally, as many varieties of administration; yet there has prevailed but one type among them all. The school would allow the student the largest liberty consistent with sobriety and industry. It does not

* During the past year there were in the school representatives of twenty-five States, besides three foreign countries.

expect, therefore, to address itself to the needs of the coarser and also of the nobler spirits among the boys with impartial skill. Of course, it does not profess to be a reform school, nor wish to become a penal settlement. It would address itself rather, and chiefly, to the docile and tractable, aiming to provide for such students the elements of a truly liberal culture,—a culture not only thorough but also symmetrical.

The first principal of Phillips Academy was Rev. Eliphalet Pearson, certainly the most remarkable man ever connected with the school. He was the life-long and thoroughly trusted friend and adviser of Judge Phillips; and it was unquestionably he who gave the new institution its breadth and scope, and essential character. There seems to have been no limit to this man's attainments, no end of his accomplishments; and nothing could withstand his restless energy and ceaseless activity. Among his pupils were two subsequent presidents of Harvard College,—Kirkland and Quincy—and also the second principal of the Exeter academy, Dr. Benjamin Abbott. Dr. Pearson himself left the Academy after eight years of service, to become the professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages at Cambridge.

The second principal was Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton, in service seven years. Then follows Mark Newman, fourteen years in service; who numbered among his pupils Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, and Worcester, the lexicographer; and during whose administration there came for the first time pupils from the South—Bushrod and John A. Washington heading the list. An instructor in Latin of about this time was Adoniram Judson, afterwards the celebrated missionary, of whom the late Dr. Withington, of Newburyport, once wrote: "the most searching teacher I ever knew."

Following Mr. Newman came Dr. John Adams; who, more than any of his predecessors, impressed the regular work of the school with a profoundly religious character. No other teacher seems to have had so vivid and solemn an appreciation of his duties, as set forth in the constitution of the Academy. Yet the work of none other seems to have been at times more completely misunderstood and depreciated. The following is from Hon. Josiah Quincy, in his "Figures of the Past:" "One summer's day, after a session of four hours, the master dismissed the school in the usual form. No sooner had he done so than he added, 'there will now be a prayer-meeting: those who wish to lie down

in everlasting burning may go; the rest will stay.' It is probable that a good many boys wanted to get out of doors. Two only had the audacity to rise and leave the room. One of those youngsters has since been known as an eminent Doctor of Divinity; the other was he who now relates the incident. But no sooner was the prayer-meeting over than Mr. Adams sought me out, asked pardon for the dreadful alternative he had presented, and burst into a flood of tears. He said with deep emotion, that he feared that I had committed the unpardonable sin and that he had been the cause. His sincerity and faith were most touching, and his manliness in confessing his error and asking pardon from his pupil makes the record of the occurrence an honor to his memory."

This incident shows how deeply and painfully in earnest Dr. Adams was to lay sure foundations of character as well as scholarship for every boy who came under his care. And, I am certain, no one has ever thought that Dr. O. W. Holmes might have given us more "sweetness and light" in song, story, and noble deed, had he escaped in boyhood the religious austerity of Dr. Adams's influence. On the other hand, there were begun at Andover in those days, born, too, of the very methods which have often been so unsparingly denounced, new lives in men who, through diligence in business as well as through fervor of spirit, have been worthy to "stand before kings;" men who have been known and honored no less for their intellectual powers and splendid achievements than for their force of character. That in Dr. Adams's method which may have been a stumbling block to some or foolishness to others, was to many unmistakably the power of God.*

Among Dr. Adams's pupils were Prof. Charles D. Cleveland, Ezra Stiles Gannett, D.D., Wm. Goodell, D.D., Gen. H. K. Oliver, Josiah Quincy, Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Daniel Temple, D.D., Pres. Alvah Woods, D.D., Wm. Adams, D.D., Horatio Greenough, sculptor, Wm. Wheelwright, Samuel Williston, Pres. Leonard Woods, Jr., D.D., Pres. Henry Durant, Pres. Wm. A.

* Rev. Dr. Wm. Goodell, for forty years missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople, writes of his old teacher as follows: "Everything he said and did, his example, his casual remarks, his prayers, all were to me exceedingly impressive. Andover was at that time blessed with such mighty men as Professors Porter, Stuart, and Woods. I have often heard them preach, but their words did not fall upon my ear and heart with such weight as those of Mr. Adams.—*Memoirs*, p. 27.

Stearns (these three college presidents having been classmates at the Academy), Hon. George P. Marsh, Luther Wright, first principal of Williston Seminary, Edmund Quincy, Bishop Mark A. DeW. Howe, Robert Rantoul, Theodore D. Weld, N. P. Willis, Prof. Horatio B. Hackett, D.D., Ray Palmer, D.D., Oliver Wendell Holmes, Bishop Thomas Clark, Gov. W. W. Hoppin; in fact, one is fairly overwhelmed by the number of boys connected with the Academy during Dr. Adams's principalship, who have become well known for their exalted personal worth and professional attainments as well.

Following Dr. Adams as principal, came his pupil, Dr. Osgood Johnson, a man of exceedingly exact and finished scholarship, and of exceptional loveliness of character. Indeed, Dr. Johnson seems to have governed the school chiefly through the reverential love which he inspired in his pupils; while there was, also, no higher incentive to excellence in studies than his appreciative, generous recognition. During this administration, probably, was introduced the classification of the scholars as seniors, middlers, and juniors; a fourth class not having been formed till 1874. But the brilliant promise of usefulness was early blighted by ill health, and Dr. Johnson died after but five years of service.

On the death of Dr. Johnson, Samuel H. Taylor, an assistant teacher, was chosen principal. Dr. Taylor's term of service exceeded that of any of his predecessors, extending from 1837 till 1871.

It has lately become common to disparage the work of classical teachers like Dr. Taylor; to stigmatize it as excessively linguistic, as inconsistent with that due appreciation of the classics as literature which is so desirable an element of liberal culture. Any one familiar with "*Taylor's Method of Classical Study*," (Boston, 1861), knows on what a plausible basis such disparagement may rest. Yet I have been recently much surprised to discover not only that Dr. Taylor sent, while principal of the Academy, six boys to Yale College who took the Valedictory; but also that of the twenty-one DeForest* medals awarded during that time, seven were obtained by students who had enjoyed his training. Of the 115 "Townsend men" who competed for these

* *The DeForest Prize Medal*, of the value of \$100, is awarded "to that scholar of the Senior Class who shall write and pronounce an English Oration in the best manner." The competitors must previously have taken the *Townsend Premiums*, five in number, awarded in the Senior Class for the best specimens of English composition.—*Catalogue of Yale College*, p. 67.

medals, nineteen had been pupils of Dr. Taylor; of the thirty-four boards of editors of *The Yale Literary Magazine*, twenty had one or more of his pupils as editors; six of the class-orators and two of the class-poets of this time were graduates of the Academy during his principalship.

Dr. Taylor "was not wild in his classical enthusiasm; for he had too much of scholarly accuracy to be wild. He was not coldly correct in his interpretations; for he had too much enthusiasm to be critically dull."* Learned, self-reliant, faithful; for more than thirty-three years he stood here, in influence, as in office, supreme. Three thousand young men came under his instructions; and he died in his work, with his armor on.

Mr. Quincy, in his "Figures of the Past" already quoted from, says that he was sent to Andover "to get religion." This phrase, "to get religion," doubtless indicates the habit of thought and expression of the last generation. But, as I believe, no words could suggest more grotesque perversion of the spirit and design of Judge Phillips in projecting the Academy; and surely nothing could tend more positively against the development of the religious sentiment in the hearts of young men, than a perfunctory use of the ordinary mechanism of school life and work for such an avowed purpose. One cannot escape the conviction, therefore, that Dr. Adams was an extremist in his interpretation of Judge Phillips' aims; although it is embarrassing to undertake a criticism of one whose methods have been so grandly vindicated by their results. Certain it is, however, that neither Dr. Taylor nor his successors have thought it wise to continue the methods of Dr. Adams: believing that the ends aimed at by the founders, —to the attainment of which the administration of the Academy is most solemnly pledged—can be best reached by the unobtrusive presence of a profound moral thoughtfulness pervading the whole life of the school; believing, too, that the best basis for the development and growth of the religious life is an intelligent moral sense.

Frederic W. Tilton, M.A., came as Dr. Taylor's successor; but after two years of service, to the surprise and regret of the Trustees, he resigned and returned to Newport, R. I., as head master of the Rogers High School.

The steady enlargement and improvement of the courses of study and facilities for instruction during the last decade, the

* Prof. E. A. Park.

growth of the school in the esteem and patronage of the public, the enthusiastic loyalty of the boys themselves, offer far plainer witness than the tribute of mere words, of the success and promise of the administration of the present principal, Rev. C. F. P. Bancroft, Ph.D.

In the foregoing sketch of Phillips Academy, I have attempted a brief summary of those features only which are organic and permanent, and which have given the school its individuality; features which have remained through more than a century of growth, vicissitude, and change undisturbed because ineradicable.

Men may pass away, but ideas and institutions abide.

ARTICLE II.—ART IN EDUCATION.

MISTAKES may be honestly made in the problem of education but we may be sure that there is false philosophy at the bottom of a wrong theory of education. The philosophy whose tendency is to view the human mind by separate sections, as it were, or as a congeries of faculties, each distinct from each, and which assigns its own value to mental powers, giving to some undue value, is apt to make the so-called intellectual faculties an exclusive object of care, losing sight of the primary truth that the mind is one and indivisible; that it acts as a whole and in every act all its energies enter some more and some less; that there is a vital interplay of functions in mental acts, intellect in feeling and feeling in intellect—the rational nature resting on the moral and the moral moved to activity and choice by the sensibilities and imagination—so that however convenient this metaphysical classification of the mind's faculties may be for the analysis and study of philosophical concepts, you cannot erect such distinctions in the inner spiritual substance of the mind, and to do this leads to grave mistakes; for you cannot really say that one part of the mind is of more value than another and that any part of the mind can be ignored, or affirm that it does not belong to mind as mind and therefore deserves no special attention—this view, which gives supreme consideration to what are conceived to be the purely intellectual powers, has been, as a general rule, the educational theory

of our schools and colleges, to the great detriment of the moral and æsthetic nature, and also to the intellectual itself, for the intellectual powers suffer loss by being rudely separated from their organic relations to those other parts of the rich spiritual being of man no less important and in one sense no less intellectual, and which, indeed, come nearer to the mind's divine image, and its essential life and excellence. Shall we go on training the mind upon this narrow theory? Shall we forget that the soul is one and divine in every part? Shall we continue to educate the surface, leaving the depths untilled? If education is to have breadth and completeness, that side of the mind representing both the intellectual and moral where lie the springs of feeling for the true, the beautiful, and the good, where are the actually productive powers for the attainment of highest truth as well as for achievement in art, and in which so much of the power and glory the soul dwell—is not to be neglected. A truly philosophical as well as practical education cannot be measured by the knowledge of books—that is a small part of it. The mind is to be developed—its perceptive as well as reflective powers are to be educated, the creative faculty which especially lies in the imagination, as well as the critical, to be cultivated; and one of the chief works of that inspiring thinker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was, in my judgment, to develop the place and power of the imagination, and its intuitions in literature, art, and philosophy. The æsthetic nature should be so generously nurtured that life shall not be, even for those not blessed with wealth, a mere hand-to-hand fight for existence, but the beauty of the world shall be opened to view, and the powerful secrets and riches of nature in and about us revealed. Man should learn his place in nature and how to use its forces with skill. "One main portion of education," says J. H. Newman, "of the labors both of school and university, is to remove the original dimness of the mind's eye; to strengthen and perfect its vision; to enable it to look out into the world right forward steadily and truly; to give the mind clearness, accuracy, precision, to enable it to use words aright, to understand what it says, to conceive justly what it thinks about, to abstract, compare, and reason correctly." Now there are few things better fitted to produce this mental clearness and skill than the study of Art accompanied with practice, especially of Greek art, with its clear appeal to the reason of things, and its foundation of principles laid deep in nature; and I would enter a plea for the serious study of art

in education. Art should be taught in our schools and colleges in as thorough-going a way as mathematics. At present I would however only look, very briefly, at but one of the familiar practical aspects of the theme, making as a suggestion which none, I presume, will deny, that the study of Art educates taste.

The relation of art to taste, is the simplest view we can take of the subject, and is all that some know or think of the uses of art in education, but which, though on the lowest plane, is not without importance. Taste is an object if not the end of education. Aristotle said that "youth should be taught to acquire a correct knowledge and judgment in matters of artistic taste." Man, if not evil, is by nature barbarian; and one who claims to be an educated man with a college diploma in his pocket and who is still a barbarian in his tastes, has failed in one legitimate object of education, which is to drive the brute out of him and humanize him. Merely to give a man knowledge is but to tattoo him and sharpen his war-axe. He may be a good mathematician, logician, a critical scholar and keen scientist, if he remain a boor, unpenetrated by the spirit of truth, without mental ennoblement or sense of the laws of honorable conduct, and of the refinements and glories of the mind in literature and art—a Philistine in the camp of the children of light—he is below, in point of real culture, many a backwoodsman who has come in contact with nature's greatness, and learned something of its largeness and gentleness. He is intellectually veneered and not subdued through and through, gentled, permeated by the refining spirit of true soul-culture that makes over the whole being, taking out of it the crudeness of a lumpish barbarism, and restoring to it the properties of a broad, genial, and genuine humanity.

The difficulty in the matter of taste in education is, that it is not regarded as an essential element of education, and is left vague and undetermined. There are usually in every community some who are reputed to be persons of taste, having arrived at this reputation by occult and mysterious ways no one knows exactly how, and who are commonly referred to as critics in matters of art, manners and education; they are men of taste, it is said—an indefinite term; whereas Taste is a science; it has its own exact laws and principles, which must be learned by study and practice, by observation and comparison. What is taste? Whatever it is or is not it is a mental act. It may be defined to be, subjectively, the susceptibility of the mind to the fit and beautiful,

and, objectively, the mind's intuitive recognition, or determining choice of the fit and beautiful in preference of its opposite. Taste refers to the innate sense of beauty. Beauty of object whether in the idea or in the concrete appeals to this mental susceptibility to the beautiful, as right appeals to the moral sense. The æsthetic sense does not stand alone. It is affected by other qualities. Into this internal power of the mind to recognize beauty and its delight in it, seen in every man from artist to savage—though the purely artistic capacity is seen more rarely—the keenest perceptive and reasoning powers, the imagination, the will and the moral sense, enter as related powers, modifying and regulating æsthetic perceptions and bringing them, as thus trained and regulated, nearer the true standards of taste. Taste is the constitutional susceptibility of the mind from which the imagination forms its particular conceptions of beauty, of which the reason, or the intellectual power, determines the truth and just limitations.

Hence the need of educating the mind in the principles of taste, that are as clearly defined as those of science or virtue. Art leads to this study of the principles of beauty, in nature and the mind, and erects the right measures of the science of taste, that are ever progressing and reaching toward the ideal and perfect. The recognition of the need of specifically training the æsthetic judgment to give to mind what Matthew Arnold calls its "symmetry," is beginning to be felt more and more in higher education, in fact in all education. Broader views are happily prevailing. The establishment of schools of art in connection with our colleges, in which Yale has taken the lead in point of time in our country, and even of the universities of England, shows the advance of ideas, the value of which is perceived by the more thoughtful among the people. It is not a solitary instance where a business man recently sent his son to Yale in preference to some other college, simply because there was a school of art at this college, where he hoped that the son's mind would be opened to the higher worth and glory of the things he studied, and be purified of the grossness of a mere materialistic civilization, of the worship of money. He wished him to come out of college on a higher moral plane, a gentleman and a scholar with refined tastes, for "honor nourishes all the virtues and all the arts." He had been disappointed with college results, thinking, good simple man, that manners and manliness were compatible qualities, springing from the same root of real nobility of char-

acter. He had perhaps noticed with wonder how little good taste there is sometimes among educated men and what unpolished and ridiculous people they are. Their knowledge has not been turned into life nor their thought into expression. They are grubs with no wings moulted to fly into the sky and sunshine. The painter Masaccio's name meant "lout," but he at least knew something about painting, as the wonderful frescoed walls of the church *del Carmine* at Florence, testify. But you enter a house and among evidences of scholarly intelligence showing that its owner is a university-bred man, you see hanging on the walls paintings on a par with the most wretched chromos—catch-penny spawnings of fourth-rate city auction sales. How incongruous this! Pictures, I know, depend a good deal upon a man's pecuniary means—he would have good pictures and beautiful things if he could afford them—but vastly more upon his taste. I grant also that taste for art has to be cultivated, that it is not at once perfected, but passes through different stages of development—this has always been the history of the individual and the nation—but still a man may be taught to know what a good picture is. A cultivated person should be able to judge with some correctness of the qualities of a picture, a building, or a statue. Michael Angelo, it is said, carried the compasses in his eyes: and, in an inferior degree, the educated mind should possess these instinctive measures of accurate æsthetic judgment and knowledge. The principles which govern taste in art are arbitrary, colored though they be by individual genius and temperament, and they must be studied like anything else to be known. A picture, if it be a true work of art, even if it awake the poetic sense, has a foundation for such effect, and is a subject of criticism, and comes under the immutable laws of beauty and good taste. Many things enter into a picture some as subtle and delicate as light, but in no department of art is there such exact scientific knowledge demanded as in painting. To understand a picture, much more to criticise it, one should know about forms and properties of matter, sky and air, color and light. He should study the laws which govern the distribution of light and shade; the principles and harmonies of color; distance and perspective; anatomy; the great art of composition by which alone the effectiveness and beauty of grouping are preserved; and, above all, the laws of expression, in which the soul's emotions are portrayed and to which they make their appeal. He should understand drawing, which is the basis of paint-

ing. The academic student who has studied drawing as a practical science and mastered the numberless varieties of expression in the human figure by copying antique casts and the living form (the object of all drawing) in the art school, is he not better able to judge at a glance of the correctness or incorrectness of the drawing of a picture? Drawing has been called the surest means of cultivating taste, for it brings the severe exercise of eye and hand to aid the mind, and fixes the mind upon right standards of taste in the antique and in all art and nature.

But we would not view this matter of taste in an extravagant light, or out of its just relations and limitations. Other qualities are of more importance—manhood generally. Honesty is better than taste, for a swindler may have exquisite taste in some things, though, in a truer sense, righteousness is always good taste. An act of charity, of self-sacrifice, is infinitely more beautiful than a carving of Praxiteles, which was worth a city's ransom; but good and scholarly men commit an error when they rate taste as having no value either moral or otherwise, for taste has its revenges. One of these despisers of Art, perhaps, builds a house, and spends a good deal of his hard-earned money on it, and the house is hideous. It is a barn. It has neither dignity nor convenience. He writes a book, and crowded as it is with ideas and erudition, it is devoid of artistic form, a lumber-house of material confused and ill-arranged, in which the laborious processes of thought are awkwardly displayed, and the choice results of thinking entirely lost. The gold of taste eliminated, it is lead. He mounts the lecturer's platform, or the pulpit itself, and a total lack of artistic sense is painfully apparent in the dry mechanical treatment of living truth, in uncouth word and phrase, in cramped inverted style, in occasional coarseness and a rank luxuriance of imagery, for nothing, Goethe says, is so terrible in style as an undisciplined imagination—in inapposite thought falling dead on the audience, and, above all, in the want of clear method and point, so that the most profound thought and the most spiritual wisdom bear no lesson or fruitage for the famished mind. I do not mean by this that homely force of thought or word should be a whit weakened, but that it should be made stronger, more polished and fit. A little taste, like a little faith, would save it. And taste is not always a little thing, but has a moral reach and significance, even as it is said that a blunder is worse than a crime, though I do not like the saying. But all of us, in infelicitous

moments, have discovered to our cost that taste is not quite a trivial matter. It may make or mar a man's fortune; cause or prevent a charitable gift; make or spoil a good speech; clinch or lose a friend; build up or destroy a literary or oratorical reputation; secure a bargain or a wife; when joined to rare intellectual gifts as in the case of our late minister to England, Mr. Lowell, bring a proud nation to one's feet; bind a Swinburne and Walt Whitman to earth or raise a Longfellow to heaven; and even be needed in making a true translation of Holy Writ.

Among the old Greeks there was a real love of art, and even the common people, on some festal day, as they walked up the wide steps that led to the Propylæa at Athens, doubtless thoroughly appreciated those graceful bas-reliefs cut on the frieze of the little temple of Nike Apteros, as well as the architectural perfections of the great temple above—they could make just criticisms upon Phidias himself even as they could hiss a mispronunciation in a play of Sophocles—and, in like manner, the people of Florence undoubtedly understood and heartily enjoyed the lovely gates of the Baptistery of San Giovanni—these things appealed to the sense and love of beauty in their own hearts—and so it is that it is necessary for the taste of the people to be somewhat cultivated and raised into sympathy with the beautiful, if we may look for true works of art, for good taste to be shown in public buildings and monuments, in houses, parks, and gardens, in social manners and observances, since the supply is equal to the demand. But a volume could be written on the special art-education of the Greek people. Loving beauty as they instinctively did as a race, they were trained in the principles of Art in the gymnasia under the class of "muses," including music, architecture, sculpture, painting, rhythmical dancing, rhetoric, and poetry. Their great artists sprang from the class of the active-minded laboring people.

Artistic tastes and sentiments must, therefore, have some cultivation, or have made some progress in the community, through the accurate artistic instruction of the people in the schools, if we are to expect the prevalence of good taste in its outward expressions, since taste is a subtle, quick, pervasive thing bewraying itself like the ointment of the right hand, and showing itself inevitably in all popular character, speech, opinion, and work. The style of conversation that prevails among vulgar people—seasoned with bad grammar and slang terms—sometimes aped

by educated persons who ought to know better—is a reflection of the inner man of the heart. The style of amusements, of music and drama that the people like, they will be sure to have. A low sensationalism, irreverence, and indecency, misnamed wit, and a loose style of writing, will characterize public journalism where the people crave this sort of matutinal stimulation. Personalities will be preferred to substantial ideas and solid facts. The pictures and works, falsely so-called of art, which have a decidedly immoral tendency, are the direct result of the corrupt popular taste. The market is supplied with what is called for. Where there is no estimation of true Art as yet, and where there is no proper soil for it to grow in, we may expect monstrous and grotesque growths, mushrooms and toadstools. We may expect it in our houses and church architecture. We may expect it in our speech, looks and clothes. We may expect it in our music and religious worship. We may expect it in our public monuments.

The old Greeks made public buildings, and monuments, not from a motive of display or of gain, but they were incited by the unselfish love of beauty which they delighted in, and therefore they built nobly and for eternity. The beauty itself with them was the highest utility. The works they wrought even the least things—every fragile vase and cup—remain after so many ages models of pure taste. The goblets of gold have been lost or melted, but the little fretted Greek urn we keep among our immortal treasures.

“ O Attic shape ! fair attitude ! with brede
 Of marble men and maidens overwrought,
 With forest branches and the trodden weed ;
 Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought
 As doth eternity : Cold Pastoral !
 When old age shall this generation waste,
 Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
 Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say’st,
 ‘ Beauty is truth, truth beauty,’—that is all
 Ye know on earth and all ye need to know.”

Art, then, in a word, cannot be expected to make much real advance in a community where it is not as yet intelligently and genially nourished, where it is not made a specific element in the education of the people, where no just standards are formed. But we should not be discouraged and we should wait and strive for a better state of things, and it will in time with other good things in education and life, be brought about.

I have only touched upon one of the advantages of Art in education—the most patent, that of taste—there are many much more vital relations entering into the more profound philosophy of education. There are also more practical relations entering into everyday life and the professions. The question of what actually constitute even the laws of taste, and that are to be made the subject of scientific education in our schools and colleges under the department, specifically, of Art, I cannot now treat of, though it would open a wide field of discussion. They are, in a word, those principles of Beauty—of order, time, form, proportion, truth, love, harmony and moral correspondence—upon which the world of nature is created and whose perfect types are in the mind.

ARTICLE III.—A REMINISCENCE OF TUTOR WILLIAM A. HUTCHISON.

A BRIEF notice in a newspaper is the only record I have seen of Mr. William A. Hutchison, the principal of the Norwich Academy, who died in March last. His life and work were worthy, I am sure, of a portraiture such as I hope may be made by some competent hand. I have only a personal reminiscence to give of him, as one of the best teachers I ever knew. He was a tutor in Yale when I was a student there, and gave instruction to the Class of 1864, as Sophomores, for two terms in the orations of Demosthenes and for another term in Mathematics.

He was a man of energetic personality, vital to his finger tips. He so threw his vitality into his teaching that he kept all his pupils, at least during the recitation hour, up to a fair level of mental activity. And what a task that was! I have tried it since—and the effort necessary to overcome the inertia of thirty or forty college students, good scholars and poor ones lumped together as was then the fashion, most of them regarding study only as a matter of compulsion,—the effort to keep them wide awake and attentive for an hour together was as heavy a draft on one's powers as I ever encountered.

There seem to be two ways of successful teaching; the one being to lead, the other to drive. The teacher may awaken inter-

est and enthusiasm in the subject, or he may by a sort of interior compulsion, by the impact of his own energetic mind and will, rouse his pupils into temporary activity. However preferable the former method may be as an ideal, it was extremely difficult, under such conditions as I have referred to, and in a classical and mathematical curriculum. Most of the instructors in my day hardly attempted it. In truth most of them did little in the way either of leading or of driving,—of interesting or of energizing. What they did was principally to conduct an examination as to what the pupils had learned from the book. That was their appointed task, and that was about as much as could be expected from an average instructor. Given an hour's time in which to question fifteen or twenty students, estimate their knowledge of the lesson, and make a record of it,—and how much opportunity or strength can the ordinary teacher find for anything more?

But Mr. Hutchison did a great deal more. He united both elements of positive power,—he led and he drove. He roused an enthusiasm for what we were studying, and at the same time gave us the sense that we must do our best or woe betide! He made Demosthenes and Philip, and the brilliant, self-indulgent Athenians, real and living to us. Those orations under his handling were something besides an intricate combination of aorists and subjunctives, genitives subjective and genitives objective, which we were to untangle,—they were eloquence and patriotism, they were outbursts of a flaming heart, tempered by consummate judgment and self-control. But he led us to that perception through no easy road,—it was *per angusta ad angusta*,—we must march through that terrible Jordan of subjunctives and optatives before we reached the fields of living green. And any young gentleman who might remain supremely indifferent to Athens and Macedon, and seek his literary entertainment solely in Fantine and Jean Valjean,—for *Les Misérables* was about that time the rage among us,—any individual so disposed might not hope to slip unnoticed and shirking through “Old Hutch’s” recitation hour. In his tongue and eye there was a whip and spur which there was no escaping. He never scolded, but there was a rousing energy in his manner that fired the sensitive, and forced the dullard to mend his stumbling pace.

How well I remember him as he sat at his desk; a swarthy, middle-aged man—or so he seemed to me—with a full black beard; an intent face; speech deep-toned, rapid, forceful. On

the benches before him there was no lolling or dawdling. As he called up a student to recite, he pronounced his name with a sort of explosive energy, preceded often by a slight vigorous clearing of the throat; "*Ahem—JONES!*" Jones would rise to his feet as if a pin was thrust into him. "You may translate:"—then a rapid catechising;—if the blunders were bad, "*That'll do, Sir—SMITH!*" and Smith in turn faced the ordeal as best he might. Interspersed with these questionings was a rapid stream of information and comment on the subject-matter in hand. "See how he puts it!" was his frequent exclamation at the address with which the orator wings his shafts. The specific facts of history he gave us might soon escape our memories, but the broad impression of a living Athens and Macedon remained.

In Mathematics he had less opportunity. I think the subject was not so congenial to him; while as for inspiring a very lively interest in that science, it would have required for most of his pupils more than the tongues of men and angels. But his thoroughness and energy made him still an exceptionally fine teacher. I remember a certain set of corollaries, in which a process parallel to the preceding demonstration was briefly indicated,—somewhat in this fashion: "And, as it has been proved that Humpty Dumpty is equal to Abracadabra, so it may be proved that Triptolemus is equal to Azimuth." With the literal repetition of this statement most of us were fain to be content. But the inexorable question never failed: "*How may it be proved that Triptolemus is equal to Azimuth?*" An ellipsis in demonstration found no tolerance in his eyes. He made us grip fast whatever we touched at all.

I scarcely met him except in the recitation-room, but, knowing him there for an altogether exceptional teacher, I felt also the suggestions of a fine and strong personality in other respects. It is said that he was highly successful in the Norwich Academy. It seems to me that he might have ably filled a more conspicuous place, and that at the head of one of our great preparatory schools he might have done a work such as few men achieve. I have heard it said, too, that there was in him a strong vein of tenderness, and that such boys as he occasionally took into his family became warmly attached to him. It is a regret to me that we who studied under him at Yale knew him only as a class-room instructor. The barrier forbidding frequent and familiar intercourse between instructors and pupils was then, and I suspect is

still, and at other colleges equally with Yale, as strong as it is subtle. I have known it to prove practically impossible, to instructors who had apparently every personal qualification, including the strong desire, for easy and intimate intercourse with their pupils. Occasional and partial exceptions there are of course, but as to the general rule I think there will be little disagreement among college men. The causes which create the barrier I shall not attempt to analyze, but its existence seems to me a flaw in our educational system, greater than most of the real or alleged faults as to which change is agitated. The best means of education is the contact of one personality with another. Its secret is in the saying of Ruskin: "The true strength of every human soul is to be dependent on as many nobler as it can discern, and to be depended on by as many inferior as it can reach." What is so desirable for the young and plastic nature as free, habitual contact with a larger intelligence, a more disciplined character? Is it not a very meager education which practically limits the contact of teacher and pupil to a brief conference in some branch of book-learning? An improvement here is not to be brought about by a vote of faculty or alumni; it must be reached slowly; but surely it is a great desideratum. Our schools give far too little room for personal influence, but they give more of it than our colleges. Such thoughts come to me along with the wish that I with my classmates might have felt the impact of Mr. Hutchison's mind and character at other points than those afforded by Greek and Mathematics. That very imperfect knowledge is the only basis for this slight tribute. I trust that some one may give an adequate account of what he was and what he did. His life must needs have borne rich and various fruit.

ERRATUM: Page 594. In title, for Tutor WILLIAM A. HUTCHISON read Tutor WILLIAM HUTCHISON.

ARTICLE IV.—THE CORPORATION OF YALE COLLEGE.

THE publication of Professor Dexter's very accurate and interesting volume on the early history of Yale College furnishes an occasion for a few remarks on the end which its founders had in view, and the means adopted by them for securing it. At the beginning of that venerable document, the original charter of

1701, the motive in founding the institution is declared to be "a sincere regard to, and zeal for, upholding and propagating the Christian Protestant Religion by a succession of learned and orthodox men." For this end the ten Congregational ministers were empowered to establish a "Collegiate School for the instruction of youth in the arts and sciences" an order to fit them "for public employment both in church and civil state." The grand, comprehensive end was a religious one. A guaranty that this end would be kept in view was contained in the sacred profession of the Trustees and of their legal successors. They were to be ministers of the Gospel. The religious and Christian spirit that was to preside in the college and prevail in the conduct of its affairs, has again and again, in one form or another, been declared by the Trustees to be an inviolable feature in its constitution. On account of grants by the State Legislature, the board of trustees was enlarged in 1792 by admitting eight *ex officio* civilians, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and the six senior Senators. In taking this step a preponderance of the clerical trustees in number, to say nothing of the advantage derived from the fixed tenure of their office, was preserved. Moreover, vacancies in their own number they were themselves to fill by their separate action. Thus the great end of upholding the religious design of the college was recognized and maintained. In 1871, by an amendment of the charter, there were substituted for the six State Senators the same number of persons to be chosen for short terms by the graduates. The numerical strength, and the powers and privileges, of the clerical body, the successors of the original trustees, were not in the least diminished by this change.

Various legal theories have been occasionally broached concerning the constitution of the college. Sometimes it has been said that the colonial legislature had no right to create corporations. Inasmuch as they actually exercised that right, and, in virtue of that exercise, the college was created, and lived for the greater part of a century, it is rather late in the day to raise the question whether our fathers were guilty of a usurpation. Sometimes it has been said that the new or amended charter of 1745 wholly abrogated the old charter and swept away the safeguard provided in the establishment of the clerical body. No one who knows much of Thomas Clap, Thomas Fitch, and their associates, will venture to say that they so understood their own proceeding at that time. They would have cut off their right hands before they

would have flung away—and that without anybody asking it—the legal provision which placed the guardianship of the college in the hands of the clerical body. To any person familiar with the state of religious opinion and feeling in Connecticut at that moment, the supposition that they would have made such a surrender, is absurd and preposterous. Now those men who framed the new or amended Charter of 1745 were skilled in law. Their opinion on the *legal* point—the opinion which they must be assumed to have held—it would require a great weight of authority to set aside. On this view of the charter of 1745, the practice of the College for one hundred and forty years has been based. This view is implied in the Act of 1792, which provided that the permanent trustees should always fill their own vacancies. This long usage and implied understanding of the charter, settles the legal meaning of it, if usage can settle anything in such a matter.* It is certain that on this understanding of the fundamental law, the College has been built up. The funds that have made it what it now is, have been given on the assumption that its constitution was irrevocably established, and established in a way peculiarly adapted to secure the control of a religious and Christian influence in its management. Apart from all points of law, the *intention* of the framers of the charters, of the founders and builders of Yale College, is beyond all reasonable question.

Of the way in which the Trustees have fulfilled the duties of their office, Yale College, in the past and present, is an eloquent witness. Every dollar that was ever put into the treasury is there now. The Trustees have never been a meddlesome or dictatorial body. They have aimed to make wise appointments, and then to leave a large amount of freedom and, with it, responsibility, in the hands of the Professors. The men of the last generation, Day, Kingsley, Silliman, and the others who are younger, put their lives into their work. They felt that they were not mere hired laborers, subject to the perpetual interference of overseers. The College was theirs; its advancement, its honor and fame, were to them a subject of anxious concern. To promote its interests, no exertion and no self-sacrifice were thought to be too great. It may be said with truth that much of the same spirit has continued in later times. The Trustees have been equally wise, certainly in modern days, in reference to religion and religious questions.

* On this whole subject, see the able and instructive articles of Mr. William Bliss, in the *New Englander* for May, 1882, and May and July, 1884.

Worship is conducted on the Lord's Day according to the usages of the Congregational body, but students of other denominations, if they choose, attend the churches which they or their parents may prefer. There is no inquisitorial scrutiny into the opinions of Professors and other teachers, at the same time that the obligation is felt to guard the students from irreverent or infidel teaching. It is Christianity, not the dogmas characteristic of any single sect, which the Trustees of the College are anxious to maintain. It is their steady aim to blend an evangelical with a catholic temper. The last charge that can be laid at their door is that of being actuated by sectarian zeal. In short, the Trustees act as the representatives of the common faith of the Christian Church.

In the change by which six of the trustees are chosen by the graduates, it was as far as possible from the design of President Woolsey, who favored that change, to lessen the power or influence of the permanent members of the body. The civilians had not been regular in their attendance, and were not usually very valuable members of the board. The elected members, the same in number, simply took their place. The motive of the change was not any imagined incompetence of the clerical members, but simply the unsatisfactory service done by the civilians. Whether the change in the charter here referred to was wise or not, is a question that we here leave unanswered. The results of it must furnish the answer. But there are several things on which we do desire to express an opinion. In the first place, it is a perfectly groundless assumption that because a man graduates at a college he has a moral right to take part in governing it. A graduate receives the benefit of the endowments made by founders and a long line of benefactors. His tuition is about two-thirds of the cost of his instruction. Even if he paid the full cost, it would not give him the shadow of a right to control the college or to elect its responsible guardians. In saying this, we do not mean to imply that the good-will of graduates is not to be prized, or that the value of their loyal friendship is to be lost sight of, or that their opinions are not deserving of consideration. Secondly, there is something strange and anomalous in having trustees elected by graduates, a portion of whom are at the same time trustees, professors or presidents of other colleges, or, if not standing in this official relation, still zealously devoted to their interests. If not thus wedded to other and, possibly, rival institutions, they may

be wholly indifferent to the welfare of the college over which they are to exercise a degree of control. Thirdly, it is impossible for graduates, scattered over the country as they are, to know the candidates for the vacant places in the board of trustees, and hence impossible to judge of their fitness. The best men for the office will, not unlikely, be persons whose names are not widely known. The situation of affairs in the college at any particular time cannot be well appreciated by the graduates as a body, especially by those living at a distance. Fourthly, one evil of this method of appointment is the electioneering, the struggle of factions, etc., to which it gives rise. To carry the machinery of politics, with the strife of aspirants, and the intrigues of partisans, into the academic sphere, furnishes an unedifying spectacle. Where is the guaranty that the suitable man will be chosen? How shall the graduates who have, perhaps, no light beyond the circulars of the candidates, or of the fuglemen who undertake their cause, decide who is fit, and who is not fit, to be chosen? It may be added here that mischiefs arise from the natural, but not always wise, disposition to copy what is done by Harvard College. The system of electing the *Overseers* by the graduates was introduced there. But Harvard College is governed mainly by the *Corporation*, another and a small, self-perpetuating body. The Board of Overseers at Harvard have no power to *originate* measures of any importance. We doubt if one out of ten of those who have been clamorous for changes at Yale were even aware of these facts. Moreover, a great number of the Harvard graduates live in the immediate vicinity of that college, and have the means of keeping up an intimate acquaintance with its condition.

We do not think that the system of electing trustees by popular vote of graduates is likely to be carried any further at Yale. The *stability* of the Corporation is of itself too indispensable to be thrown away by the adoption of a method so loose, and so uncertain in its results. But there are other obstacles in the way. The preponderance of the permanent portion of the board, as provided in the constitution, besides being most *useful* to the Institution, cannot be subverted without a revolution which would involve an unrighteous overthrow of a trust. As we have said, no change of this sort was in the mind of President Woolsey, without whose sanction the scheme of electing trustees by the graduates would not have had the faintest chance of being adopted. We are not authorized to speak for him ; but we deem

it safe to say, as we have said above of President Clap, that he would cut off his right hand sooner than give aid or countenance to any measure abridging the relative power and influence of the clerical portion of the trustees. It is tolerably safe to predict that the constitution of the College in this particular will not be disturbed. It cannot be disturbed without the consent of at least a part of the clerical members themselves. To approach them with such a proposal to commit *harri-karri* would be a piece of effrontery which has few precedents in the history of Colleges. For them weakly to fall in with such a proposal would be to bring on themselves, with no prospect of advantage, the guilt and infamy that flow from a scandalous breach of trust. It is therefore, to be expected, that such an overture, if it were ever made, would be instantaneously rejected. It is to be expected that out of the nearly four hundred Congregational Ministers of Connecticut, who are men of education and character, competent successors will continue to be found to the persons who, for nearly two hundred years, have discharged this great trust with exemplary fidelity and with a degree of success of which all connected with Yale College have reason to be proud.

What is wanted at Yale is the preservation of the old policy, according to which the management is practically left in a large measure to the Faculties, who have mainly procured its funds, know its condition and wants, give their lives to its service, and whose efficiency depends on that self-respect and devotion to the College which they cannot be expected to continue to feel in the same degree as heretofore, unless the Corporation confines itself to that reserved and prudent supervision with which in past times it has been content. The Corporation is well enough as it is. Nothing is worse for a government or a community than constitution-tinkering.

A College is not helped by revolutionary schemes. Its benefactors have not been near who have been anxious for radical changes in the governing body. As long as Yale College is faithful to its Constitution and to the purpose of its founders, it will continue to prosper, as it has prospered during the last two centuries.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

SCHAFF'S HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.*—Dr. Schaff, now a veteran author in his favorite department of study opens his fourth volume with a pleasant letter of dedication, addressed to his colleague and old friend Dr. Prentiss. In this letter he avows that he has not been "disappointed in America." We may add that America has no reason to feel disappointment or regret that he decided to pitch his tent among us. His labors have been as useful as they have been diligent and he has carried into them all a very kindly and catholic spirit. The present volume covers a period of nearly five hundred years. It deals with the phenomena of the early Mediæval Church, from Gregory I. to Gregory VII., the conversion of the northern nations, Mohammedanism, the Papal Hierarchy and the Holy Roman Empire, the relations of the Eastern and Western Churches, Monasticism and the condition of learning are among the special topics. The sections are preceded by a very useful bibliography. The style of the narrative is clear and pleasant. The volume as a whole is quite worthy to fill its place in the interesting series.

The contents of the MAGAZINE OF ART for July are: "George Frederick Handel" (the "Chandos Portrait"), painted by Sir James Thornhill, Frontispiece.—Handel and his Portraits, by R. A. M. Stevenson, with four illustrations.—Poems and Pictures: "The Buried Mother," by Alice Meynell and W. J. Hennessy.—The Romance of Art: The Cupola of Florence, by F. Mabel Robinson.—The Dart: Galmpton to Totnes, by J. Arthur Blaikie, with five illustrations.—"The burial of Atala," from the picture by Gustave Courtois.—Drawing in Elementary Schools, by Harry V. Barnett.—A Painter of Children, by Helen Zimmern, with five illustrations.—Female Head Gear: Mediæval. By Richard Heath, with sixteen illustrations.—"A Concert in Old Egypt," from the picture by A. Calbet.—Cinque-Cento Picture Windows. by Lewis F. Day, with three illustrations.—Current Art. I. With three illustrations.—The Chronicle of Art.—An American Country House.—II. American Art Notes.—Price \$3.50 per annum;

* *History of the Christian Church.* By PHILIP SCHAFF. Volume IV., *Mediæval Christianity.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

single numbers 35 cents. Cassell & Co., limited, 739 and 741 Broadway, New York.

THE ART AMATEUR for June contains designs for a mirror frame (tulips), a dessert plate (myrtle), wood carving (swamp rose), four doilies, and a fireplace facing of seventeen tiles (nasturtiums), besides two groups of jolly little girls for the decoration of a hanging letter rack. The frontispiece is a drawing of a remarkable Italian Renaissance cabinet, brought to this country by General Meade, Minister to Spain. A striking feature is the admirable charcoal drawing of "La Belle Poulard," the famous hostess of the inn at Mont St. Michel, a celebrated haunt of artists in France. The Prize Fund Exhibition is reviewed at length, with illustrations of the principal pictures. There are valuable practical articles on amateur photography, scene painting, charcoal drawing, wall decoration and frame embroidery, and the usual editorial, dramatic, literary and correspondence departments are ably sustained. Price 35 cents. Montague Marks, Publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

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By KARL KRON,

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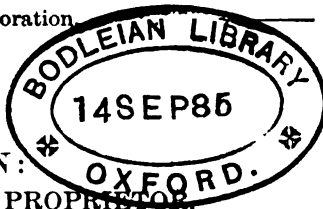
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NEW ENGLANDER.

No. CLXXXVIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

ARTICLE I.—CARLYLE AND LAMB.

WHEN the *Memoir of Lamb* by Barry Cornwall first made its appearance, Gerald Massey gave expression to the opinion : “We know now all that we are likely to gather from personal observers. We have the complete data of a story that will be told again and again so long as the English language lives in the world.” Little thought the writer, or any of his readers, at the time, that already sentences had been penned, bearing upon the reputation of Charles Lamb, which when published, would awaken the most heartfelt indignation. Nor, had the existence of such sentences been known, would there have been the faintest suspicion that the responsibility of their authorship rested upon one of the most renowned, and deservedly so, of all writers in the English language.

It is true that the literary judgment and productions of Lamb had been ridiculed by certain famous names. Not small was the circle of critics giving approval to the sentiment expressed in Byron’s lines :

“Yet let them not to vulgar Wordsworth stoop,
The meanest object of the lowly group ;
Whose verse, of all but childish prattle void,
Seems blessed harmony to Lambe and Lloyd.”

It is true moreover that by his dramatic efforts, Lamb had earned for himself the reputation of being "one of those persons whom the world has thought proper to designate by the title of Damned Authors." Youthful writers in ephemeral journals had assailed the weak points in his earlier essays, in the most Quixotic fashion. Eminent reviewers had not been willing to yield assent to his principle of literary and dramatic criticism. Macaulay had characterized his defense of the "Comic Dramatists of the Reformation" as sophistical though ingenious. But no one, of any note whatever, had turned aside from his arraignment of the author to impeach the man. When Francis Jeffrey—that critic whose ink was too often of vitriol—fell under the suspicion of having done this, he hastened to give Lamb his emphatic assurance that nothing had been farther from his intentions. What the rest of the literary world found no occasion for doing, Thomas Carlyle deliberately did when he put into Mr. Froude's hands the notes which since his death have been given to the world.

It is many years since Miss Mitford uttered the prediction, recorded in her volume of "Friendships," that Carlyle's idol would ultimately find destruction at the hands of its own worshippers. We think it may be justly claimed that this prediction has failed of fulfillment only because anticipated by Carlyle himself. We would not be understood as seeking to cast any shadow upon the reputation of Thomas Carlyle as a thinker and writer of immense power and profound originality. Unquestionably he possessed the ability to wield the pen as though it had been a wand and himself a magician. His words are many of them whole poems. His histories read like idyls. But our claim is that his life was not in consonance with his teachings. His scathing denunciations of "cant" and "sham" must have cost him no little self-writhing. Charity inclines us to the belief that much of Carlyle's inconsistency must be attributed rather to a dyspeptic stomach than to a demoralized conscience. He was the victim of a deliberate violation of the laws of hygiene. It may have been that the seeds of the discord between body and spirit were originally communicated to him by heredity ; but, if so, he was responsible for widening

the breach between the two most perversely, until concealed hostility became open warfare. The work of his life was wrought through the din of a prolonged battle. No signal of truce ever afforded him the opportunity of prosecuting it in quiet. He had all the persistence—the standing thoroughness—of a Stoic. Like his father before him, to use the words of Moncure Conway, “he had a thorough contempt for any one who said, ‘I can’t.’ ‘Impossible,’ was not in his vocabulary.” But then there are, unquestionably, times when though the will refuses to say “can’t,” Nature, with equal persistence, says “mustn’t.” Thomas Carlyle’s great sin was that of setting his own will against the imperative of Nature; and there is hardly one of his writings upon which is not the stamp of his lawlessness.

It is our desire, in the present paper, to examine Carlyle’s characterizations of Lamb in the light of such testimony as we have been able to secure from the writings of those who were best acquainted with the latter. We cannot share in the fear expressed by Mr. John Burroughs that “Lamb has been stamped to last” by Carlyle. On the contrary, it is our firm expectation that the so-called “stamping” will but serve so to attract the attention of the reading public as to lead to a more discriminating and faithful perusal of the works of one of the most genial of English writers.

We believe that the posthumous publications of “the Chel-sean sage” contain a sufficient warrant for the assertion that the object largely engrossing his attention through a long life was self. Magnanimity, in the supreme sense of that word, was not a characteristic of Carlyle. Self so stood between him and others as to incapacitate him for truly honest criticism. Though under the semblance of humor, it was none the less the true standard by which he measured men, which he disclosed in a letter to his wife: “Except Churchill, and, perhaps, chiefly because he liked me, I have hardly found a man of common sense or common honesty.” “He liked me” was the only talisman which could secure the opening of the door into Carlyle’s good graces. The memory of his interest in others rose and fell with their interest in him. Even his wife came to signify little more to him than his housekeeper; and he

made no objection to his best appreciated friend doing for him all the drudgery of a book-agent, repaying kindness with words of scorn in his diary. It seems to have been out of his power to love another for his or her own sake. Self was his deity; self-love his religion. He could not eliminate the "me" from his thoughts. How tediously familiar to his readers are those constantly recurring exclamations: "Ah, me! Ah, me!" "*Ay de mi! Ay de mi!*" "*Wae's me! Wae's me!*" They lose their pathos in their selfishness.

Under date of November 2d, 1831,—four years before the death of Lamb,—Carlyle wrote these words in his diary: "Heigh ho! Charles Lamb I sincerely believe to be in some considerable degree insane. A more pitiful, ricketty, gasping, staggering, stammering tomfool, I do not know. He is witty by denying truisms and abjuring good manners. His speech wiggles hither and thither with an incessant painful fluctuation, not an opinion in it, or a fact, or a phrase, you can thank him for — more like a convulsion fit than a natural systole or diastole. Besides he is now a confirmed shameless drunkard; asks vehemently for gin and water in strangers' houses, tipples till he is utterly mad, and is only not thrown out of doors because he is too much despised for taking such trouble with him. Poor Lamb! Poor England! when such a despicable abortion is named genius."

Forty years later, although in the meantime Carlyle had learned those facts which constituted Lamb's life a tragedy of unequalled pathos, he repeated the same ideas in changed phraseology. "Among the scrambling miscellany of notables that hovered about us, Leigh Hunt was probably the best, Charles Lamb the worst. He was sinking into drink, poor creature; his fraction of 'humor,' etc., I recognized and recognized—but never could accept for a great thing, a genuine, but essentially small and cockney thing; and now with gin, etc., superadded, one had to say: Genius, this is not genius, but diluted insanity. Please remove this."

Still later, in his *Reminiscences of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, we find him again writing in the same vein: "Insuperable proclivity to gin in poor old Lamb. His talk contemptibly small, indicating wondrous ignorance and shallowness; even when it

was serious and good-mannered, which it seldom was, usually ill-mannered (to a degree), screwed into frosty artificialities, ghastly make-believe of wit, in fact more like 'diluted insanity' (as I defined it), than anything of real jocosity, humor or geniality. A most slender fibre of actual worth in that poor Charles, abundantly recognizable to me as to others, in his better times and moods; but he was cockney to the marrow; and cockneydom, shouting 'glorious, marvelous, unparalleled in nature!' all his days, had quite bewildered his poor head and churned nearly all the sense out of the poor man."

Even the sturdiest of Carlyle's apologists do not attempt to deny that the above sentences, to put the matter mildly, contain many exaggerations. To the great majority of readers who have any acquaintance with the life of Lamb, they cannot but seem willful misrepresentations. No words could be better calculated to wound the feelings of those who have been drawn affectionately to Lamb by the nobility of his life of sacrifices and the geniality of his humor. No words could be better calculated to create a prejudice in the minds of those who through ignorance of him and his writings, have not yet entered the circle of his admirers. They are expressive of a supercilious scorn. They are tempered neither by justice nor by charity. The judgment of Carlyle was based entirely upon superficials. He argued universals from particulars. His inferences, which he puts as facts, are valueless. He allowed his imagination to supplant fact with fancy. His characterizations but illustrate afresh the truth of the criticism that much of his literary power is due to his faculty of exaggeration. Truth clothed in language woven in the loom of his fancy was made to appear doubly regal; but he often perversely clad Falsehood in the purple of Truth. His Prince sued the clemency of his Falstaff. We are willing to grant that his expressions of untruth were largely due to the fact that he himself was deceived through the disease of his intellectual vision. He was color-blind. What he saw was almost invariably in silhouette.

It is also necessary that we remember one fact concerning Lamb. He was unquestionably a bundle of contradictions, an incarnate paradox. In his portraiture of himself he reveals

how well he realized this: "I am made up of queer points and I want many answering needles." It is undeniable that there were "needles" enough in Carlyle's character, but, unfortunately, they were not "answering needles." As a Scotchman, possessed in an eminent degree of the peculiarities of his people, it was certain from the start that the intercourse between him and Lamb could never be congenial. "I have been trying all my life," wrote Elia, "to like Scotchmen and am obliged to desist from the experiment in despair. They cannot like me, and in truth I never knew one of the nation who attempted to do it." In his delightful essay on Imperfect Sympathies, one could almost imagine that he is giving a sketch of Carlyle. "His Minerva is born in panoply. . . You never catch his mind in undress. He never hints or suggests anything but unlades his stock of ideas in perfect order and completeness. He brings his total wealth into company and gravely unpacks it. His riches are always about him. . . You cannot cry *halves* to anything that he finds. He does not find but brings. You never witness his first apprehension of a thing. His understanding is always at its meridian—you never see the first dawn, the early streaks. He has no falterings of self-suspicion. Surmises, guesses, misgivings, half-intuitions, semi-consciousnesses, partial illuminations, dim instincts, embryo conceptions, have no place in his brain or vocabulary."

Carlyle was such an intellectual autocrat. "The twilight of dubiety" never fell on him. Lamb, naturally diffident and retiring, could not but find such a character obnoxious to him. Carlyle was a monopolist in conversation. Lamb, as Barry Cornwall tells us, hated long and much talkers, even as they hated him. Carlyle came nearest to being genial in the presence of those who obsequiously permitted him to play the tyrant. Lamb was very rarely else than genial. Tyranny was one of the few irritants that seriously disturbed his equanimity. Carlyle was supreme in his selfishness; Lamb was in an eminent degree unselfish, always taking thought for others. Carlyle was little touched by sorrow other than his own; another's trouble became Lamb's burden, though "he had no weak sensibilities, few tears for imaginary griefs; and he carried the burden of another as he carried his own without ostentation."

Carlyle had no sympathy for the "nigger" as he invariably terms the African bondsman. Lamb's philanthropy gathered within its large circle even the lowest of menials. Carlyle heeded little where his envenomed words might fall; Lamb was more sensitive for another than for himself. Never was the delicacy of his sensibility better illustrated than in his reply to the request that he should contribute toward a monument to the philanthropist Clarkson, while he was still living: "We should be modest for a modest man, as he is for himself." Indeed, in the whole catalogue of human peculiarities, it would be difficult to discover any more diametrically opposed than those respectively to be found in the characters of Carlyle and Lamb. Each of the two men was a species in one; there has been no second of either.

The allusions made by Carlyle to Lamb's unfortunate habit—the indulgence of an appetite for strong drink—might be passed over in silence but for the fact that the terms employed are calculated to leave a most incorrect and unjust impression upon the minds of their readers. Accepting as true the statements which he makes it would be impossible to escape the conviction that toward the close of his life, Lamb became an irreclaimable sot. It cannot be denied that there are to be found in Lamb's own words what seem to be confirmations of Carlyle's statements. In that exquisite *Autobiography*, written for Mr. Upcott's autograph book, he tells us that he was "a small eater, but not drinker," and "confesses a partiality for the juniper berry." But in his *Character of the late Elia* he asserts that he was "temperate in all his meals and diversions," though he "always kept a little on this side of abstemiousness. Only in the use of the Indian weed might he be thought a little excessive. He took it, as he would say, as a solvent of speech." Again in his *Confessions of a Drunkard* he apparently gives in detail a description of his personal experiences, and voices his own remorse. But certain critics having given this interpretation to the essay, Lamb, to correct the false impression, subsequently wrote concerning the portraiture: "A frightful figure, indeed, but no more resembling the man Elia than the fictitious Edax may be supposed to identify himself with Mr. L. its author. It is, indeed, a compound ex-

tracted out of his long observations of the effect of drinking upon all the world about him ; and this accumulated mass of misery he hath centered (as the custom is with judicious essayists) in a single figure. We deny not that a portion of his experiences may have passed into the picture ; but how heightened ! how exaggerated !”

In confirmation of these words of Lamb, Patmore wrote as one of his personal recollections, that Mary Lamb “endeavored latterly to restrict her brother too much in the use—*for to the abuse he was never addicted*—of those artificial stimuli which were to a certain extent indispensable to the healthy tone of his mental condition ;” and Talfourd fortifies the suggestion of Patmore’s closing words that Lamb’s drinking “was not a sensual but an intellectual pleasure ; it lighted up his fading fancy, enriched his humor, and impelled the struggling thought or beautiful image into day.” There is no hint here, however, of intemperance. Mary Lamb’s action may well be regarded as precautionary rather than corrective. And that this was the case we are warranted in inferring from the testimony of the Cowden Clarkes, who lived for quite a period under the same roof with Charles Lamb, and whose words, found in their *Recollections of Writers*, may be accepted as a sufficient answer to the calumnies of Carlyle. “There is another point on which we would fain say a word in vindication of noble, high-natured, true-hearted Charles Lamb ; a word that ought at once and forever to be taken on trust as coming from those who had the honor of staying under his roof and seeing him day by day from morning to night in familiar home intercourse,—a word that ought at once and forever to set at rest accusations and innuendoes brought by those who knew him only by handed-down tradition and second-hand report. As so much has of late years been hinted and loosely spoken about Lamb’s ‘habit of drinking’ and of ‘taking more than was good for him,’ we avail ourselves of this opportunity to state emphatically—from our own personal knowledge—that Lamb, far from taking much took very little As to Lamb’s own confessions of intemperance, they are to be taken as all his personal pieces of writing—those about himself as well as about the people he knew—ought to be, with more than ‘a grain of salt.’”

Carlyle's disparaging utterances as to Lamb's intellectual calibre are of a piece with those that touch upon his moral character. Because, in his occasional meetings with the humorist, the sage had heard him express "not an opinion or a fact or a phrase that you could thank him for," therefore, he inferred, there must needs have been "wondrous ignorance and shallowness." It might have been well for Carlyle had he passed more of his time in what he calls in *Sartor Resartus* "the small, chink-lighted, underground workshop of logic." As we have already hinted, he was a monopolist of conversation. Upon the confession of his most devoted admirers it was practically impossible to stem the impetuous current of his talk. He drowned interruptions in a roaring torrent of words. One naturally retiring, as was Lamb, had little opportunity of disclosing the wealth of his genius in the company of his detractor. His hatred of "long talk" very naturally led him to attempt the blocking up of the channel of Carlyle's verbosity, by an occasional monosyllabic explosion. When the chance was afforded him of slipping in a word, his "contrariness"—as Mr. Ainger well calls it—led him to slip one in that was topsy-turvied. It is not difficult to conjecture the motive lying back of his expression of regret in Carlyle's presence, "that the Guy Fawkes plot did not take effect (there would have so glorious an explosion)." But Carlyle's self-love blinded him to the motives as well as to the rights of others. Lamb hated with all his heart what appeared like an exhibition of learning. As Hood expressed it, in his quaint way: "Lamb, whilst he willingly lent a helping hand to halting Humility, took delight in tripping up the stilts of Pretension. Anybody might ride out his hobby; but he allowed nobody to ride the high horse He hated anything like cock-of-the-walkism." This was the spirit that prompted him to his ludicrous, though hardly courteous, treatment of the Comptroller of Stamps in Haydon's house. This it was also that led him to retaliate in his famous way upon Coleridge, when the latter bade him apply to him for any desired information. But Carlyle, mistaking his silence for shallowness, and an occasional laugh of dissent for ignorance, pronounced that genius, for which even the critical Macaulay expressed admiration, "a despicable abortion."

It is a characteristic confession which Lamb makes in his essay upon *The Old and New Schoolmaster*: "In everything that relates to science I am a whole encyclopædia behind the rest of the world. . . . Not that I affect ignorance,—but my head has not many mansions nor spacious; and I have been obliged to fill it with such cabinet curiosities as it can bear without aching. . . . There is nothing I dread so much as being left alone for a quarter of an hour with a sensible, well-informed man that does not know me." He never made any professions of learning. "I sometimes wonder how I have passed my probation with so little discredit in the world, as I have done, upon so meagre a stock." And yet, with all his confessions of ignorance, this was the man with whom the most eminent literary men of his day loved to associate. Wordsworth confided in him as a friend and admired him as a critic. Hazlitt wrote of him that he was "the most sensible of men," and "always made the best remark in the evening." Landor recognized the "wisdom in his levity." Coleridge bade his printer send Lamb the manuscript of *The Maid of Arc*, writing as his reason for the injunction, "his taste and judgment I see reason to think more correct and philosophical than my own." In the same strain Hood wrote after Lamb's death: "I lost in him not only a dear and kind friend, but an invaluable critic, one whom, were such literary adoptions in modern use, I might well name, as Colton called Walton, 'my father.'" This was the man who, alone and unassisted, converted the indifference of his contemporaries to the old England dramatists into an enthusiastic affection. His genius let in a flood of light upon the pages of Shakspeare. His literary criticisms—although, it is true, sometimes based upon false principles—are invaluable. He had "the faculty divine" of seeing to the very heart of his subject. His most careless glance was penetrating, taking in the thither as well as the hither side. But then it is to be remarked that he did not admit indiscriminately every subject into the circle of his intellectual vision. It was characteristic of him that he voluntarily limited his own horizon. And it was well that he had the courage to do so. Having by self-introspection ascertained his aptitudes he gave himself up with concentrated zeal to the prosecution of the work for which he

was capacitated by Nature. It was a work that needed to be done by some one. It was a work for which none was so well qualified as he. It was a work which, done by him, was well done. Thomas Carlyle was unable to appreciate it. He had an eye to the manifest greatness of the world, whether in individuals or events; Lamb was watchful for men and events whose very commonness was their obscurity. Carlyle was all attent for heroes, whether they might be divinities, or priests, or prophets, or kings, or poets, or men of letters; Lamb looked after the neglected, whether they might be dramatists, or beggars, or chimney-sweepers or convicts. Carlyle was a literary Levite, who, in his self-sufficiency, had no eye, no heart, for the way laid and deserted, but "passed by on the other side;" but Lamb, as Gerald Massey has written, "was the good Samaritan of all sorts of roadside subjects that had hitherto been passed by as too mean for literature."

But turning to regard briefly the comments which Carlyle has made upon Lamb's wit and humor. "He is witty by denying truisms and abjuring good manners." "His fraction of 'humor' I recognized and recognized—but could not accept for a great thing, a genuine, but especially small and cockney thing." "Ghastly make-believe of wit; in fact more like 'diluted insanity,' as I defined it, than anything of real jocosity, humor or geniality." Readers of the *Essays of Elia* will doubtless recall his description of that "sample of the old Foxian orgasm," whose remorse was that "he had been a wit in his youth." "His brow would have scared away the Levities—the *Jocos Risusque*—faster than the loves fled from the face of Dis at Enna." It is an open question whether the melancholy sage of Chelsea was capable of appreciating a true witticism. What Mr. Froude calls his "stern Calvinism,"—a creed whose main article seems to have been that of a Carlylean election—together with a self-inflicted dyspepsia, made his brow the scare-crow of the Levities. Who can fail to enjoy his description of the "encounter" between Lamb's "too ghastly London wit" and "the cheerful native ditto" of Mrs. Carlyle. Lamb, he writes, was "infinitely astonished." It is not difficult to picture that look of 'astonishment' creeping slowly over his face toward and into those indescribable eyes,

after the fashion of Dodd's look of dawning apprehension, which he has so inimitably described in his essay *On some of the Old Actors*. With all due regard for Mrs. Carlyle's vivacity, and with full appreciation of her "cheerful native ditto," we cannot but believe that Lamb's "infinite astonishment" was the master-stroke of all. DeQuincey tells us that "his stammer was worth an annuity to him as the ally of his wit." His look of innocent seriousness always intensified the richness of his jests. And yet stammer and look were but adjuncts. His wit, as Addison would have said, was "as piquant as salt." Rarely could it be said to consist of "a denial of truisms" or "abjuration of good manners." There were occasions, indeed, when he was carried by an unusually high-tide of mirth over the dykes of etiquetrical restrictions. There were occasions when he even condescended to lay aside the dignity which we ever associate with gentleness. But these lapses were not sufficiently frequent to warrant Mr. Stoddard in refusing to him the title of a "gentleman." He may have "played the buffoon" once in awhile, but rarely, if ever, save as Edgar in *King Lear*, with a purpose altogether worthy of him. There were times when he revelled in nonsense. DeQuincey tells us that he loved it as did no one else of his acquaintance save Scotland's austere professor of moral philosophy, "Christopher North." It was Lamb's own opinion that "he that hath not a grain of folly in his mixture hath pounds of much worse matter in his composition. It is observed that 'the foolisher a fowl or fish—woodcocks—dotterels—cod's heads, etc.;—the finer the flesh thereof;' and what are commonly the world's received fools but such whereof the world is not worth." Lamb's wit was no "ghastly make-believe." His laugh was as spontaneous and hearty as the bird's song, the expression of a spirit naturally joyous; though, it is true, his song, like that of Philomel, was oftentimes sung among shadows.

What gave special pungency to his wit was its marked intellectuality. Another has said of it that it "was sense brought to the finest point." Even when it took the form of a denial of truisms, how inimitable it was! In its intention it had all the force of an affirmation of truth. Take as an example his let-

ter to Wordsworth wherein he defends the claims of the city as against the country. "A garden was the primitive prison until man with Promethean felicity and boldness luckily sinned himself out of it. Thence followed Babylon, Nineveh, Venice, London, haberdashers, goldsmiths, taverns, playhouses, satires, epigrams, puns—these all came in on the town part and the thither side of innocence." It was that natural "contrarieness" to which we have already alluded that led Lamb to defend the weaker side of almost every question, although, as Patmore pointed out, "his contradiction was invariably in favor of right and truth and good." He loved to seek for "some soul of goodness" in a minority. As he used to say, "out-of-the-way humors and opinions,—heads with some diverting twist in them pleased him most." But perversion was not the predominant feature of his wit. A jest from his lips oftentimes revealed an intimate acquaintance with the best thoughts of England's literature. Stored away in his memory were innumerable quotations,—unfamiliar to the great majority of readers—which, by his witty adaptations, have been stamped with permanence. He never had to labor after a witticism. It was ever ready on occasion. "His wit was as quick as his eyes," wrote Hood, who well knew what quick wit was.

Of Lamb's humor we may say that it was but the froth and foam of his pathos; for the under-current of his life was one of suffering. "Lamb's humor," wrote Proctor, "I imagine, often reflected (sometimes, I hope, relieved) the pain that always weighed on his heart." That one great sorrow, of which none save his most intimate acquaintances had any suspicion during his life, greatly enriched his nature. With the growing richness of his nature, the blossoms of his humor became more beautiful and fragrant. "His smile was made up of sad experience and heartache and gentleness and great love." He was not a "laughing philosopher." His philosophy had deeper depths than that of old Democritus. "Mockery," even of one's own experiences, "is the fume of little souls." The richest fruit is ripened where the sunlight is excluded. The juices of life are perfected in darkness. So exquisite became Lamb's sensibilities, by the process of education in the school of sorrow, that he came to feel the joys and sorrows of others as though they were his own.

Rarely if ever—though his jests, as Hazlitt said, did sometimes “scald like tears,”—was there any bitterness in his humor.

We close our paper with a few words on Carlyle’s assertion concerning Lamb’s “actual worth;” that it was “a most slender fibre.” It is evident that estimates of worth must vary with varying standards of worth. That may be worth very much to one man which is worth little or nothing to his neighbor. Charles Lamb was not a man to lay any claims to personal worth; much less was he one to force a recognition of his worth upon any man who deliberately closed his eyes to it. There can be no doubt that to Mary Lamb—for whom her brother’s life was one long sacrifice—the “actual worth” of that brother was something more than “a slender fibre.” There can be no doubt that to those poor pensioners upon a bounty often involving great self-sacrifice on the part of their benefactor, Lamb’s “actual worth” was no mere “slender fibre.” To those who knew him best, although he neither was nor claimed to be a saint, his “actual worth” was infinitely more than “a slender fibre.” There was enough of grace and beauty in his character to elicit these words from the then Laureate:

“If in him meekness at times gave way,
Provoked out of herself by troubles strange,
Many and strange, that hung about his life,
Still, at the centre of his being, lodged
A soul by resignation sanctified.

* * * * *

Oh! he was good if e’er a good man lived.”

It is true of Lamb, as he himself confessed, that “he never greatly cared for the society of what are called good people.” It is not hard, perhaps, to conjecture why. But his companions were rather men in books than men in bodies; and as to the character of these companions Coleridge has left us in no doubt. “Catch him when alone and the great odds are you will find him with the Bible or an old divine before him—or may be, and that is the next door in excellence, an old English poet; in such is his pleasure.” “He was a Christian,” testifies another, “a Christian of that simple, child-like faith, that we may believe our Father so much loves. He had the charity of the Christian, lived the life of the Christian, and, we cannot doubt,

died the death of the Christian." "Unless we go back to the fountain-head, we shall hardly find elsewhere, save in Shakespeare's writings, such tenderness of Christian charity as Lamb had." He never preached, differing thus from his friend of a lifetime, who, he asserted, never did anything else in his hearing. But, while not preaching, he exemplified, which is something better. The purity of his life was never called in question. Such charity and such purity surely make a man's "actual worth" something more than "a slender fibre."

For a rich charity, an unspotted purity and an unfeigned humility, Charles Lamb will always be loved in spite of Carlyle's animadversions. These were the life of his genius. They gave perpetuity to all that he wrote, to much that he said. They inspired the words of Southey, with which Mr. Ainger closes his delightful book and we close our paper: "There are some reputations which will not keep, but Lamb's is not of that kind. His memory will retain its fragrance as long as the best spice that ever was expended upon one of the Pharaohs."

ARTICLE II.—THE ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

THE claim of the Roman-catholic is this: Lawfully there can be no religious teaching in our public schools; these schools, therefore, are "godless;" hence the Roman-catholic child ought to be educated in a Church school. There is one logical step more, sometimes insisted upon, sometimes not: namely, that a *pro rata* portion of the public educational funds ought to be given to the support of these Church schools.

A few years ago Roman-catholic efforts were directed to removing the Bible from the public schools, and in too many instances these efforts were successful. Was it with the purpose of bringing the schools into the position where they could be pronounced "godless?" Of late the efforts of that Church have been directed to this new point, and we may be sure that there will be no cessation of these efforts until a share of the public money is obtained, or until it becomes evident—as most convincingly evident it ought to be made—that the American people will not consent that a penny of public money shall be given for sectarian education.

The position of the Romanist is well stated by the *Catholic Review*, in its issue of December 14, 1884, as follows:

"The education of the rising generation is certainly a burning question of the times, and it must be discussed till it is settled satisfactorily to all parties. We object to the public schools because religion, especially the Christian religion, is not and cannot consistently be taught in them as now constituted."

These further sentences strongly put the matter from the side of the Romanist:

"If Catholics were in the majority you would decidedly object to their requiring Protestants to send their children to the Catholic schools. Why have not Catholics just as good a right to object to their children being forced to attend Protestant 'unsectarian' schools? Will it be said they are not forced:

that they are at liberty to do as they like; if Catholics don't like the public schools they need not send to them? Yes, we know that we who are poor can build our own schools and maintain them at great expense, and at the same time continue to pay taxes to support your rich schools which we cannot conscientiously patronize. You object to any portion of the public taxes being appropriated to the support of Catholic schools because you cannot conscientiously sanction these schools. But will you please tell us what good reason you can give why your conscientious scruples should be respected and ours ignored or rode over rough-shod?"

This puts the matter squarely, and the question as thus stated is one that involves real difficulties. There are those who pooh-pooh the idea of the Roman-catholic having "conscientious convictions." It is to their shame that some Protestants take this method in dealing with everything that concerns the differences between themselves and Romanists. But this is not the Christian way of dealing even with those who may be in the wrong. We must respect what any man declares to be his conscientious convictions, save when he puts himself, as every professed atheist does, on ground where the claim to a conscience is a contradiction in terms. The Romanist has very positive convictions which base themselves on the fundamentals of his faith. Those convictions must be held in respect, even when we are not able to yield to them.

This matter, again, can be put on the ground of might. The Christian majority—for such, in a sense, is the majority—can say that it has the schools, and that it is going to do what it thinks best about them. The *Catholic Review* charges that this is the ground that is taken. But the present paper seeks to show that we have a better warrant for maintaining our present attitude than that of the mere preponderance of numbers. This is not by any means altogether a matter of majorities. If it were, the arguments of the Romanist would be harder to meet. On that ground such a thrust as the article already quoted gives in its closing sentence would be well-nigh fatal. If this were a question of mere majorities, what answer could be given to the *Catholic Review* when it asks: "Is it good policy, to say nothing of justice and right, for you by

setting an example of intolerance now, to put it entirely out of your power to consistently object if Catholics should follow your example when they shall have attained to a majority, which you so much fear?"

The object of the present paper now, is to show that, paying proper respect to conscientious convictions, and not relying upon the mere fact that the majority at present and in all reasonable probability for the future is against the Roman-catholic, we can maintain religious teaching in our public schools, while at the same time we must decline to allow any portion of the public money to be devoted to sectarian education. It will appear in the course of the discussion that the Roman-catholic has no legitimate objection to the public schools, and that in common with other citizens he ought to support the system.

It may be taken as generally admitted that our common school system is to be maintained not only, but that it is a wise and beneficent system. Those who question its value form a very small minority of the people. The system has grown with the growth of the land and strengthened with its strength. Its beginnings date back to nearly two and a half centuries ago. Our ancestors believed in education, and the public school house, in New England at any rate, stood in every hamlet alongside of the church. As our newer States have one by one been settled, systems of public instruction have been established in them, in many cases extending from the primary school to the university. That the instincts of a free people point toward general education is shown by the advance made in this direction by the South since the incubus of slavery has been lifted off from the whites as well as the blacks.

Liberty and ignorance cannot walk hand in hand. The voter must be educated if he is to exercise the franchise wisely. A great mistake was made, as most of us now think, when the ballot was given to the freedman without the educational test being coupled with it. The State must educate as a condition of self-preservation. There is no safety when the foundations of society rest in ignorance. Hence the State not only makes provision for instruction, but enacts truant laws, compelling the attendance of the children upon the school. Knowledge

must exist as a condition precedent to wise action, action worthy of freemen. It is the ignorant who become the easiest prey of the demagogue.

It is further felt that this education is best attained by a system of "common" instruction—that which is in common to all. We speak of our "common schools" or "public schools." They are the schools that belong to the State—to the whole people, to the people as a whole. Says Dr. Francis Lieber in his work on *Civil Liberty* (p. 133): "Publicus, originally Populicus, meant that which relates to the Populus, or the State, and it is significant that the term gradually acquired the meaning of public, as we take it." Even if it were practicable to have a system of parochial education that would bring under instruction as many children as are reached by the public schools, it would not be as desirable as that which now obtains. It would have the inevitable effect of breaking society up into cliques and factions. There would not be that sense of unity, that solidarity which the present system tends to produce. No one can lawfully hinder the Roman-catholics from increasing the number of their parochial schools, as they have been urged to do by the late Plenary Council. But it would be a great evil if all, or even a large portion of the Roman-catholic children in the country were taken out of the public schools and put into church schools, for it would tend to segregate those children from their fellows, and when they came upon the stage of active life they would not have ideas in common with those of others. They would be, in a way, a foreign body within the State—a body animated in many things by different ideas from those of their fellow citizens, yet having the same privileges and exercising the same powers as they.

Doubtless one object of the Romish hierarchy—for the objections to our public school system come mainly from the priests, while the people as a whole, unless instigated by the priests, find no fault with the system—in the maintenance and extension of their parochial school system is to attain precisely this end. If they can control an *imperium in imperio* they have made no inconsiderable advance toward gaining that mastery over the State at which we do them no injustice in

believing that they aim. If by their system of education they can keep their children from gaining ideas in *common* with those of other children, they are securing a hold over future citizens which they will never be likely to lose. And if besides they can only secure a *pro rata* allowance from the public money, they will count it so much the more gain for Holy Mother Church. The children thus educated will in some respects doubtless develop into good citizens. But they could never be relied on in any case where the interests of the State and of the Romish Church were opposed, however clear the case might be for the State, to vote against the Church and for the State.

Here is an argument whose validity and force cannot be shaken, against the State giving any of its money for purposes of sectarian education. To do so is to strike a blow at its own vitals. The result of such a division of funds in the case of the Presbyterian, or the Baptist, or the Methodist, or the Episcopal Churches would not practically be likely to be as evil as in the case of the Romish Church. But it would be evil, for then we should at the least have an emphasis put on the *differences* which distinguish denomination from denomination. For the good of both Church and State we want to emphasize that which we hold in common. We need to identify the citizens of the State in their common interests. We need to insist upon the real brotherhood of men. But how is this to be done if, in their most impressible period of life, the future citizens receive their education under the auspices of this or that or the other religious denomination? Any purely sectarian education must necessarily be narrow and narrowing in its influences.

It is hard to see how any system of denominational education would be practicable; for, among other things, how would provision be made for those who are outside of any of the denominations? And yet this denominational system—parish schools supported by the State—would be the logical consequent of the concession that the Roman-catholic asks. But even if such a system could be devised, it would not yield good results. Nay, it would work mischiefs many and great. The State needs the common education of its future citizens.

But now, further, while there should be the common education of the children as one of the great elements of national safety in a free republic, *this education ought to be Christian*. The Pastoral Letter of the recent Roman-catholic Plenary Council puts this matter in a way to which all Christians will agree. We use the term "religion," to be sure, in a somewhat different because a broader sense than that which the Romanist attaches to it; but in general there will be close agreement to such sentiments as these:

"Few, if any, will deny that a sound civilization must depend upon sound popular education. But education, in order to be sound and to produce beneficial results, must develop what is best in man, and make him not only clever, but good. . . . True civilization requires that not only the physical and intellectual, but also the moral and religious, well-being of a people should be promoted, and at least with equal care. Take away religion from a people, and morality will soon follow; morality gone, even their physical condition will ere long degenerate into corruption which breeds decrepitude, while their intellectual attainments would only serve as a light to guide them to deeper depths of vice and ruin. . . . As a matter of fact, there never has been a civilization worthy of the name without religion; and from the facts of history the laws of human nature can easily be inferred. Hence education, in order to foster civilization, must foster religion. . . . It cannot be desirable or advantageous that religion should be excluded from the school. On the contrary, it ought then to be one of the chief agencies for moulding the young life to all that is true and virtuous and holy. To shut religion out of the school, and keep it for home and the Church, is, logically, to train up a generation that will consider religion good for home and the Church, but not for the practical business of real life. . . . The school, which principally gives the knowledge fitting for practical life, ought preëminently to be under the holy influence of religion."

These are sound sentiments, and every one but the extreme secularists will agree with them. The Pastoral Letter goes on to speak of the fact that the Christian denominations are awaking to this truth. (When did they go to sleep on so grave a question?) The Letter speaks of the efforts of the enemies of Christianity in Europe to banish religion from the schools, "in order gradually to eliminate it from among the people." It adds: "The cry for Christian education is going up from all religious bodies throughout the land. And this is no narrowness and 'sectarianism' on their part; it is an honest and logical endeavor to preserve Christian truth and morality among the people by fostering them in the young."

The Letter then proceeds to urge, so far as Roman-catholics are concerned, denominational education. Here, of course, we must part company with the Council and those whom it represents. It says:

"The friends of Christian education do not condemn the State for not imparting religious instruction in the public schools as they are now organized; because they well know that it does not lie within the province of the State to teach religion. They simply follow their conscience by sending their children to denominational schools, where religion can have its rightful place and influence."

It is to be noted as worthy of remark that while this Pastoral Letter urges the maintenance and extension and the perfecting of the parochial schools, it does not say a word about securing for them any portion of the public funds. And while the Romanists make no demands for a share of the public money they are at perfect liberty to increase their parochial system, yet, for reasons already given, the extension of such a system is greatly to be deprecated.

But now is it true that the State cannot teach religion? It depends upon what we mean by religion. Of course the State cannot teach the peculiar tenets of any sect. It has no right to emphasize or define Divine Sovereignty with the Presbyterian, or Free Agency with the Methodist, or the Authority of the Church with the Roman-catholic. In regard to such things it must be "colorless." There are those who go further, and with the Romanist say that legally there can be *no* religious teaching in our public schools. The question came up last summer in connection with a case in New York State. Mr. Ruggles, State Superintendent of Education, decided that while it would be desirable for all classes and sects to unite on "some limited measure of religious instruction in the public schools," yet that this was impracticable. "The only alternative," he says, "is to preserve the benefits of the constitutional guarantees in letter and spirit, and to secure to all absolute equality of right in the matter of religious predilection. We must, however reluctantly the conclusion is arrived at, exclude religious instruction and exercises from the public schools during school hours."

The *Journal of Education*, of July 31, 1884, says of this decision that Mr. Ruggles "is not a school-man, but a lawyer,

evidently of the strict construction school." It also says that "theoretically, this has been asserted as good law since 1837." But it expresses the doubt whether "the highest Court of the State has yet passed on the validity of these several decisions by the head of the State Public School Department since 1837." For ourselves we can but think that even if this were adjudged to be good law, it would be so much the worse for the law. And this is said in full view of the fact that both our National and our State Constitutions guarantee religious liberty.

The practical fallacy of the attempt to make the schools religiously "colorless," is well shown by the *Freeman's Journal* in commenting upon this decision of Mr. Ruggles. It says :

"A child lies or blasphemes. He is told that it is not 'nice.' Why? he asks. Because it is against the law of God, the teacher may reply, if he happens to believe in God. What is the law of God? Here the teacher must stop. He is not there to teach the law of God, and he cannot, without going against Mr. Ruggles' decision, quote either the Catholic, the Jewish, or the King James' version of the commandments."

The same paper further trenchantly says :

"If the spirit of Mr. Ruggles' consistent decision be followed out, the teacher who, in a public school, says that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, is liable to be called to order. Such a statement might offend the Unitarian, Mohammedan, or Jewish pupil."

Of course the *Freeman's Journal*, speaking for the Roman-catholics, is ready to call this a "consistent" decision, for it helps to establish the claim that these schools are "godless," and so to give force to the argument for denominational schools and at the same time a color to the claim for a *pro rata* share in the school funds. But that does not make its words any the less forcible when it thus submits this decision, and by implication the whole argument which it carries to the *reductio ad absurdum*.

It is time that the counter claim be made, namely, that there *can* be religious teaching which is not sectarian. As the words of the *Freeman's Journal* show, you cannot teach morality without teaching religion. But there is no one, even of the most ultra secularists, who does not desire that his children

should be taught morality. Our schools must not be "godless." But the sectary, of whatever name, is wrong when he claims that unless his peculiar tenets are taught, the schools are "godless." There are great fundamental religious principles which are tacitly admitted by all Christian people, Romanists as well as Protestants. The being of God, the Bible as the Word of God, Christ as the Saviour of men, are not specific Protestant doctrines as opposed to Romanist doctrines. It does not contradict any Roman-catholic dogma for a school teacher to tell his pupils that falsehood, and dishonesty, and impurity are wrong because they are forbidden by God. It does not necessarily contradict any Roman-catholic dogma for the school teacher to bring the conduct of his pupils to the test of God's Word. The Pastoral Letter heretofore referred to, said, "It can hardly be necessary for us to remind you, beloved brethren, that the most highly valued treasure of every family library, and the most frequently and lovingly made use of, should be the Holy Scriptures." It cannot be wrong to refer in the schools to that which "good Catholics" are exhorted to study at home. And there is no *essential* difference, as so profound a scholar as the late Professor Taylor Lewis has shown, between the King James and the Douay Versions. Nor does it contradict Roman-catholic dogma for the school teacher to teach, directly when necessary and always by implication, that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of men.

The Romish Church has its own explanations of these fundamental truths, or it may be more strictly true to say that the Romish Church makes many additions to these truths, and those additions it holds to be important and even essential to salvation. But the Romanists have the home and the Church in which to teach their own peculiar doctrines. No one says them nay in teaching there all that they please. But they cannot set up a valid claim that their conscientious convictions are violated when the State, in its public schools, recognizes the Being of God, the authority of his Word, and salvation through his Son, for these are fundamental tenets of the Roman-catholic as well as of the Protestant Church.

Now these tenets are not imposed by the authority of any sect or combination of sects. They are the underlying truths

of the Bible. The standard then, to which reference must be made is the Bible. This is the argument in a nutshell for keeping the Bible in the schools. Let it be read daily without note or comment, read in either Version, King James or Douay, and it may be trusted to make its truths felt. It presents the standard to which reference may be made, and by which moral questions may be settled. With the Bible in the schools, even though it be read in a perfunctory way and to far less purpose than it might be, the schools are not "godless." They have then a religious basis and are permeated with something of a religious spirit. They are differentiated from the schools that attempt to be "colorless," but which really are positive in their opposition to Christianity.

The Roman-catholic now, is not so foolish as to claim that the public school should teach his peculiar tenets. But he claims that unless these are taught, religion, as he understands it, is not taught. Therefore, he says, the schools are "godless," and he cannot conscientiously submit his children to their instruction. On the other hand, and somewhat inconsistently as it would seem, he claims that to teach in the schools even the fundamental truths above mentioned, or to keep the Bible in the schools is to make them "sectarian," and that therefore again he must conscientiously oppose them.

The best way to meet him is to make the issue squarely, and deny that he can bind the State with his definitions. The State has the right to make its own definitions. These are not the mere expression of the will of a majority—if they were, for the present at least, the Romanists would be hopelessly in the vocative—but these definitions are the expression of national being. They get their force from the historic life of the people. They state what the Nation is, not by the voice of a majority for the time being, but what, founded as it was, and with its roots running back into far centuries, it has grown to be. For a nation, even a Republic, where practical and present decisions are reached by the expression of the will of the majority, is an entity. It has an individual *life* whose germ was in the past. The Nation is something more than the people of each passing generation. This Nation is more than the sixty millions of people within our borders. Elements of our

national life reach back to Bethlehem and Calvary and the Mount of Ascension. Our civil and religious liberty took their rise, as Bancroft has finely said, "from the grave of Wiclif, the ashes of Huss, the vigils of Calvin." *Magna Charta* is a part of our life. A part of it are the persecutions of the Puritans, "for righteousness sake." The "Mayflower" is a part of it. Harvard College, founded as all our early schools were instituted, "*Pro Christo et Ecclesia*," is a part of it. The resistance to the Stamp Act, the first prayer in Congress, the Declaration of Independence, Saratoga, and Monmouth, and Yorktown, are all parts of it. The four years of bitter and bloody fratricidal strife, the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Constitutional Amendments, are parts of it. All these things, and what they stand for, are woven into the very fibre of the Nation. They are its life, far more than a law which a majority may make to-day and another majority may revoke to-morrow. When we read the story of our national life in this way, we find that it is the story of a *Christian* nation.

The Romanist says that religion cannot be taught in the schools, because this is to violate the rights of those who do not believe in Christianity. But the Romanist, for the sake of making his point against "godless" schools, is ready to yield too much. This is a *Christian* Nation. We have no State Church. We do not forward the interests of one denomination against another. As concerns the affairs of these denominations as such, the State, as it ought to be, is "colorless." (Our Roman-catholic brethren ought not to complain at this. When there has been any departure from our traditional and constitutional impartiality, it has been in their favor.) Every one has full liberty to worship God as he pleases. He has equal liberty to worship no god, or a false god. Indeed we are so tenacious of the rights of conscience that we permit the Chinese joss-house, and have submitted to the abominations of Mormonism. We are beginning to see that we have gone too far. Liberty of conscience is not license any more than is civil liberty. In a State where, so far as possible, the rights of all are to be guarded, liberty, in religious as in civil matters, does not mean the right to do as

one pleases, regardless of the rights of others. The rights, not simply of the whole people, but of the people as a whole, must be brought into the consideration.

This Nation stands among the nations of the earth as a Christian people. As a Nation we recognize Christianity as our possession. We respect religion, and instinctively rest upon its great fundamental truths. Witness what is implied as well as said in the resolution adopted by the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York in relation to the sickness of General Grant. After expressing sympathy, the resolution says: "We commend him to the care of the Father of Mercy and earnestly pray that He may vouchsafe to restore the illustrious sufferer to health and thereby spare him to us and the country." Such a resolution as this is not "colorless;" but who complains of it?

Now what is contended for is that the schools of this land ought to be Christian just as other things pertaining to it are Christian. Says the *Journal of Education*, of July 31, 1884:

"While according absolute independence of belief to every mind on all subjects, every American State has incorporated in its fundamental law and legislation the belief of all but an insignificant minority of the people in those fundamental truths of religion which underlie the whole Nation, of public and private morality in all Christian lands. Without the belief in God, the spiritual nature, immutable moral obligation and immortality of man, and the kind of morality taught in the Sermon on the Mount, the Law of Love, and the Golden Rule, every statute book in America, with the whole system of common law, would be impossible. Our whole republican life is polarized by this common religious faith of the people."

If, as we have seen is the fact, this is a Christian nation, it is right that we should make Christianity fundamental in the teaching in our schools, even though some of the people deny Christianity and some are avowed atheists. Deniers of Christianity and atheists do not stand on any ground where they can ask tolerance for their peculiar views in any such matter as the education of future citizens. Says President Porter in his recently published *Elements of Moral Science* (p. 264): "For a man who denies duty altogether to ask for tolerance or charitable judgment in respect to whether this or that action should hold or yield the field when the two come in conflict, seems a simple contradiction in terms. To such a claim, the only pos-

sible response is found in the position that the two disputants cannot discuss questions concerning relations in which the one party believes and which the other denies." Dr. Lieber in his *Civil Liberty*, already quoted, says (p. 99) in substance that our States are not hostile to religion, but that liberty of conscience, "or, as it ought to be called more properly, the liberty of worship," is attained by strict adherence to two points: "No worship shall be interfered with, either directly by persecution, or indirectly by disqualifying members of certain sects, or by favoring one sect above the others; and no Church shall be declared the Church of the State, or 'Established Church;' nor shall the people be taxed by government to support the clergy of all the churches." The teaching of religion, as already defined, the keeping the Bible in the schools, surely does not touch either of these points which this eminent publicist declares are the essential things in the maintenance of liberty of conscience.

It is hard to see how this argument can be evaded or denied. But if it holds we have a right to say to the secularist and to those who stand with him: "The State does not meddle with your peculiar views; they are your own concern. But this question of education is not one of majorities. The paramount right and duty of a Christian State to make its education Christian cannot be gainsaid. The teaching of the great fundamental principles of Christianity is not sectarian propaganda. On the contrary, it preserves the country from schools that are sectarian propaganda. For let the ultra-secular programme be carried out, and not only all religious exercises stopped but the text-books purged from what one of these secularist apostles calls "*all taint of religion*," and it would necessitate the establishment of denominational schools. This Nation, we may be very sure, is not ready for any such step.

No, this Nation is Christian. Such, God helping us, it shall remain. Being a Christian nation, its educational system shall be based upon the Christian religion and shall be saturated with its spirit. We shall not teach the tenets of any sect, for Christianity is broader than any denomination. But we shall continue to demand that in our schools our children be instructed that God *is*, that He speaks through his Word, that

He saves us by his Son. As for the secularist, the Mohammedan, the Pagan, the Jew, he does not stand on any platform where we can argue the question. If he seeks the *public* instruction of his children, he is in a Christian country, and he must find it in a Christian school. And as for the Romanist, he believes all these things, and it is no violation of his conscientious rights to take them for granted and act upon them and impress them in the public school. The other, and to him important and vital truths which he holds, he can teach in the home and in the Church. The child's education is by no means wholly a matter of the school, and the *main business* of the school is not to impart religious instruction. All that it is necessary to ask is that the foundation of the school discipline and of its teaching whenever the moral sphere is entered, shall be in religion. Such teaching is not "colorless," and the schools in which it is imparted are not "godless." The case of the Romanist will not stand. He is not a victim of oppression for conscience sake when he withdraws his children from the public school to put them in that of the parish. He is rather the victim of his own hierarchy, for it is to the interest of the ecclesiastical authorities that the children of the Church should not be educated in "common" with the children of other citizens. The cry of conscience is one to which we are sensitive, and the Romish hierarchy has taken advantage of it. We need to stand more firmly to our principles. The motive that sways us in taking such a course, for example, as that defined by Superintendent Ruggles in New York, is good, but our wisdom therein is not conspicuous.

It is high time that, both out of respect to the memory of our forefathers and in solicitude for the welfare of our children through long generations, we revise our too free and easy method of yielding to every clamor in which we think we can detect the voice of conscience. True freedom is at the farthest possible remove from mere license. It is regulated by law—law "whose seat is the bosom of God, and whose voice is the harmony of the world." This Nation is entrusted with the priceless blessing of civil and religious liberty, and we may neither barter nor throw it away. We may welcome—though, as we are beginning to learn, not too freely or unthink-

ingly—the oppressed of every nation. We may guarantee that disciples of every faith who come hither—and equally those of no faith—shall not be molested in their religious beliefs and practices, or in their negations of religious belief and practice, so long as no overt act interferes with the welfare of others. But we ought to insist—it is not only our right, but our duty—that these all shall remember that they come to a *Christian* land, and that in all those things that pertain to the public they govern themselves accordingly. Our institutions and laws are based in Christianity, our weekly rest-day is an ordinance of God. Our system of education should, as for the most part so far it already does, both recognize Christianity and act upon it.

Surely it is more easy for the Roman-catholic to recognize these things than for the Pagan, the Mohammedan, or even the secularist. For the Roman-catholic is a Christian, even though the traditions of the Church are piled so high and spread so broad as to shut from view the foundations of the structure. And if he cannot see eye to eye with his Protestant brethren, and if it at times seems that he has not all the rights which he thinks he ought to possess, he must remember that he is in a world where perfect adjustments are not always possible. He must further remember that the Nation is one, and that its interests as a whole are to be considered. The furtherance of the interests of the Nation as a whole means in the long run the promotion of the interests of all.

ARTICLE III.—ROSSETTI AND THE PRE-RAPHAELITES.

[Continued from page 522.]

WHAT is to be said of a man living in the heart of modern London who had never read an act of Parliament, nor looked into a book of science, nor pretended to any acquaintance with recent philosophy? There are those who would summarily, on general principles, dismiss a personality that answered to this description. What relation, they would ask, could such an one have to his generation? He must have passed his existence quite obscurely in some out-of-the-way corner of this great world. If he had nothing to do with science, philosophy, or art, for what could he possibly stand as fruitful or representative in his time? Yet Dante Gabriel Rossetti, of whom this is approximately true, had without doubt a very intimate relation to his generation, and an influence positive and seminal upon a large and important class of minds; and it endures still and increases in strength from day to day in ways which we hardly recognize. The wisdom which it was his privilege to absorb and reveal was that of neither science, philosophy, nor politics, being, if I may say it without tautology, the wisdom of beauty; a special and greatly needed message which the time-spirit partly, and partly his own brooding imagination, enabled him to embody in its inherent purity and attractiveness. Yes, in reverting once more to the life of this unique poet-painter, it is necessary to shut out utterly the world's turmoil and strife, to forget the insistent "confederate pleas" of ordinary life and as much as possible place ourselves in the serene and toilful atmosphere of art. The world in which he worked and dreamed is like a quiet close, set apart in the shadow, lit only by passing gleams of sunshine; a cloistral succession of nights and days filled with labor and austere musing, rapt by radiant visions of color, and interspersed with song and elegy.

There is now no longer any question of the high and exceptional place that Rossetti holds in modern English art and poetry. It remains only to fix his exact relation to his time, to determine

the quality of his genius, its ultimate direction and worth, and finally his place among the romantic poets. From a task so delicate I could not but shrink if left to my single and unaided judgment, but, fortunately, the preliminary material for such an essay has already been furnished and the verdict of capable judges, summed up from various standpoints, already rendered. Taken collectively, these sympathetic studies of Rossetti in his twofold capacity as poet and artist, supply us with a vivid and delightful portrait, and throw a flood of light upon his aims and achievements.

Produced in solitude, and for private patrons almost always, Rossetti's works in color were, with rare exceptions, never submitted to public examination until after his death as late as three years ago. But with all the disadvantages attending an exhibition so long deferred, they immediately received the most generous and glowing recognition. From quarters whence it was least to be expected, there came multiplied assurances of appreciation and discriminating praise. It is perhaps not too much to say that the moment these strange pictures were seen and tested by the light of the best critical knowledge in England, and estimated apart from the prejudices of opposing sects, Rossetti was at once assigned to his rightful rank among the English masters of color and design. Thus, at least once in history, the ardent prophecies and adulations of devoted friends were verified! The distinguished circle of poets and critics who surrounded him with such tender care and solicitude, as if in shielding him from ignorant misapprehension to make amends for the world's neglect, only perceived early in his career what now, after the opportunity of meed is past, is an open and incontestable secret to all.

Since then, in so brief an interval, we have had the mournful pleasure of reading the documents to which I have referred, the several biographical sketches, memoirs, and special critiques, which betoken the literary and artistic, as well as the wide general interest taken in the solitary of Cheyne Walk. These volumes for the most part have issued directly from the Rossetti inner circle, a group remarkable even in this age for its culture and a certain mark of distinction;—and wherever in these there is occasion to express a judgment, lest it might

be thought biassed by intimate relation with a man so magnetic in his personality as Rossetti, I have presented as far as possible the views of the most disinterested critics. And as no foreign critic so far as I know has pronounced a deliberate estimate of his work, it is to the fairest and freest expression of English opinion that we have to look. Such, happily, is to be found in the lately published papers of Mr. Ruskin, who late in life corrected his earlier enthusiasm for the pre-Raphaelite school, and judged it with more moderation, of Mr. Watts, Mr. J. Comyns Carr, and Mr. Sidney Colvin.*

And first let us see what is the best English opinion upon the place to which Rossetti is entitled and the influence he exerted in modern art. "I may be permitted, in the reverence of sorrow," writes Mr. Ruskin, "to speak first of my much loved friend, Gabriel Rossetti. But in justice no less than in the kindness due to death, I believe his name should be placed first on the list of men within my own range of knowledge who have raised and changed the spirit of modern art: raised in absolute attainment, changed in direction of temper."† These words are full of weight, and they came from the great art critic at a time when he had outgrown the movement which Rossetti in his early life represented. "He speaks in sympathy as well as with authority," says Mr. Carr, whose clear self poise as a critic lends additional force to his comment in this tribute,

* General observations upon the school and its aim are scattered about the several volumes of the *Modern Painters*, as i. 297, 918; ii. 148, 226, 287, 242, 255.

Early single copies of Mr. Ruskin's interesting little tract on pre-Raphaelitism are very difficult to procure, but it is to be found in its entirety in almost any complete edition of his works. Written in 1851, and containing therefore his earliest views, it ought to be compared with his *Three Colours of pre-Raphaelitism*, in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for November and December, 1878, and above all with his recent utterances in the lectures on the *Art of England*, the realistic and mythic schools (Hart and Rossetti). Mr. Theodore Watt's paper, the *Truth about Rossetti*, appeared in the same periodical in March, 1888, and Mr. Carr's in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for October of the same year. Mr. Colvin and Cosmo Monkhouse, each have an article in the *Magazine of Art*, the latter in January, 1883, entitled *A pre-Raphaelite Collection*, and the former in April number, 1882, and also in the *Fortnightly* for October, 1887.

† Lecture I. on the *Art of England*, 1888.

"and there is ground for belief that the deliberate judgment to which he has committed himself is slowly gaining acceptance at the hands of the public." And he goes on to add:

"The estimate of his career, which I have borrowed from Mr. Ruskin, can be made good without extravagant or indiscriminate praise, and his genius when it is rightly apprehended will be seen to be of too masculine a temper to need to be championed for its shortcomings and defects. Those who knew Rossetti personally can never be in doubt as to the original and surviving force that was in him. They will be in no fear lest the strength of his individuality should suffer by plain speaking, and although it is true that he shunned criticism while he lived, there can be no reason why his work should not now be temperately and dispassionately discussed, with a fair statement of its great merits and its obvious defects. Rossetti's strong personal feeling in regard to publicity has indeed given rise to some natural misconception as to the strength of his individuality. It is perhaps a plausible presumption that a man who so resolutely detaches himself from the ordinary social life of his time, and who prefers, even as regards his work, to avoid a constant reference to the public judgment of his contemporaries, is therefore secretly apprehensive lest the strength of his convictions should be shaken by attack. But such a conclusion fails to take into account a paradox of the artistic temperament by no means peculiar to Rossetti. The conditions which certain natures demand for the free exercise of their faculties are often wholly unconnected with the strength or weakness of intellectual character: the process of artistic production may be helped or hindered by influences that leave untouched the central faith in which an artist labors: and so it will happen that a little outward discouragement finds sometimes too ready a response in that natural dependency with which every artist of fine temper and noble ambition views an uncompleted task. The disposition which dares not hazard these discouragements is perhaps to this extent sensitive and even morbid, but it is not therefore weak or faltering; for in apparent inconsistency and yet in combination with a character which chooses in this way to guard itself from contact with the outer world it is possible to encounter a clear and masculine judgment, and an intellect in quick and full sympathy with the varied intellectual movement of its time.

That this was so at least in Rossetti's case is known to all who knew him. In his presence it was impossible not to be impressed by the extraordinary range of his intellectual appreciation, by the certainty and strength of his judgments and by the unimpeachable security of his own personal convictions. If he chose to live apart and in seclusion it was assuredly from no inability to vindicate those principles in art which he had deliberately adopted, and for which he sought with steadfast persistence to find a worthy expression. His mind was of too robust a sort to cherish untried illusions or to indulge willful caprice and affectation; and for what is strange in the direction of his genius

or imperfect in the form of its embodiment we must therefore seek some better explanation than that which is suggested by the outward habit of his daily life."

And again :

"In Rossetti's case it is this admixture of robust strength and penetrating refinement which partly explains the influence he exerted over minds of varying constitution not more masculine than his . . . the force of his personality has been felt and admitted in the practice of men who could never have hoped to appropriate his finer sense of beauty, men who were realists born and bred, but who, nevertheless, found in the uncompromising certainty of expression which stamps his earlier design a means of securing a closer contact with nature. And, on the other hand, the earnest and high purpose with which he sought to enlarge the vision of English painting, and to open to it a nobler inheritance of poetical truth, no less attracted to him the allegiance of others differently gifted, who came with no thought but for the beauty that is born of ideal invention, and who nevertheless equally gained from his example the encouragement and direction of which they stood most in need !"

And finally, in the last extract I feel at liberty to make, Mr. Carr touches his subject in its historical relations :

"At the age of thirty, he had already in some sense refashioned the current ideals of English art, appropriating to its uses new stores of poetry and romance, and revealing by his own practice and example the secret by which the visions of the poet might be shaped to the service of pictorial design. This, indeed, constitutes his real claim to distinction, and it is here at last that we reach the true source of his influence over men whose minds were too seriously engaged to be deluded by any empty promise of the reality. The mere desire of ideal beauty would of itself have been no new thing in English art ; for it must be allowed that the poetic ambition had haunted the spirit of many an English painter before the advent of Rossetti. Barry, Fuseli, West, Haydon, even Hilton,—they had all been professors of the grand style, had all believed that it was possible to painting to begin again just where Raphael and Michael Angelo left off, and had all so far helped to discredit a cause to which some of them, at least, were passionately attached. It would have been late in the day to revive these hapless and hopeless experiments, nor could the attempt have won the support of a generation that had learned to recognize the supremacy of those English painters who had taken no part in the race for the ideal, but who had won a more enduring fame by simple reliance on nature. Between Reynolds and Barry, between Wilkie and Haydon, there is now no doubtful choice, and at a moment when the claims of realism were once more asserting themselves, any endeavor to revert to a style that was already stamped with failure would most surely have proved fatal to its author and disastrous to his cause."

In accordance with the high rank Rossetti has been assigned, he has come to be regarded as the chief representative of English romantic art. If he is not in truth the chief, and the title is still open for bestowal elsewhere, no man of his time at least so sums up the qualities of this school, and in none, taking him in his double capacity of poet and artist, is it possible to find a more exquisite and refined exemplar of its noblest ideal. Rossetti's life, said the *Spectator*, was more that of Florence in the fourteenth than London in the nineteenth century. "In an age of domestic materialism," says Mr. Watts, who devoted to him the best year of his life, "he lived steeped in a sense of mystery as genuine as though he lived in the middle ages." "Mr. Rossetti," writes one of the earliest of his admirers, a Roman ecclesiastic, writing from the Birmingham oratory, and in daily converse with Cardinal Newman, "is a mediæval artist heart and soul. . . . His mediæval figures live indeed with the intensest kind of life.* When Mr. T. Hall Caine first saw the poet-artist in 1880 he was living in great retirement at Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. Chelsea was then a favorite place of residence for people eminent in literature and art. Maclise had dwelt in this famous old row. The cottage where Turner died was standing; George Eliot and Carlyle were still living there; and not far off Whistler, etching the expanses of the Thames, and Swinburne, full of projects half romantic and half classical. But of his numerous acquaintances Rossetti was at this time seeing little or nothing; a walk in the little garden back of the house, under the sycamores, among his birds and armadilloes, a row down the river, a midnight excursion along its motly banks, or into the heart of grimy London, sufficed the recluse. His surroundings were characteristic. The house by the Thames was falling into decay, the windows dull with the accumulated dust of years, the sills hung with cobwebs, the courtyard overgrown with moss and weeds. Tangled ivy crept about the doors and eaves to cover up the visible ruin. Within, the dim light straggled with difficulty, touching with its faded rays, the cold marble floors, and striving to reach the recesses where bits of sculpture stood, cabinets of curious design, old

* The *Catholic World*, May, 1874, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. See also Sidney Colvin's remarks on Rossetti as a romantic proper. The *Magazine of Art* for April, 1882.

oak carvings, Japanese furniture, blue china ware; and lying about in disorderly profusion were Indian spice boxes, ecclesiastical brasses, incense-burners, sacramental cups, antique bronzes, mediæval lamps. "Before going into my room," says Mr. Caine, "he suggested that I should go and look at his. The outer room was made fairly bright and cheerful by a glittering chandelier (the property once, he told me, of David Garrick), and from the rustle of the trees against the window-pane one perceived that it overlooked the garden; but the inner room was dark with heavy hangings around the walls as well as the bed, and thick velvet curtains before the windows, so that the candles in our hands seemed unable to light it, and our voices sounded thick and muffled. An enormous black chimney-piece of curious design, having an ivory crucifix on the largest of its ledges, covered one side and reached to the ceiling.*

These details, trifling in themselves, help to bring the man and his environment before us. For this atmosphere was in a certain sense expressive of his character; it was congenial to all that had nourished him as a child. As a child his tender mind had opened to the mediæval influences immediately about him, making the centre of his home-life, the familiar air of the household. The Rossetti household, indeed, with its family memories of Alfieri and Byron, was impregnated with the perfume of study, poetry, and romance, which had no part in the great London world outside its own inner circle. From the lips of his father, Gabriele Rossetti, the ardent Italian patriot and poet, the commentator of Dante, the young lad heard the story of Beatrice and the allegory of which she was in his father's mind the human personification, and from him also he may have learned the mystery of platonic love, as expounded in a learned treatise. His eldest sister Maria, treading in the same path, had made her own contribution to letters in her *Shadow of Dante*, and later, with that leaning towards the religious life which may be said to have marked the whole family, retired to a sisterhood in the Anglican church. His brother William Michael early developed the taste which made him in time one of the most fruitful of English critics and essayists, and beside the boy, keeping pace with, if not surpassing him in her versatile precocity, his younger sister, Christina, was, even as a

* T. Hall Caine: *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 227 et seq.

maiden, pouring out her heart in sacred lyrics exquisite in their tenderness and mystic passion. A group, surely, singularly attractive in the first bloom of their literary and artistic ardor! It was indeed a dewy springtime for all these eager young hearts, living not for pleasure or the world's common tasks, but in the shadow of the great Florentine, in the noonday of Shakespeare and the mediæval ballad writers with Faust, and the *Niebelungen Lied*, and the *Arme Heinrich*, absorbed in their creations and striving themselves to embody them in immature verse or with stumbling pencil and inductile pigment. The young Dante Gabriel had begun to prattle in dramatic verse at five, we are told, and this does not seem so impossible when we read his legendary ballad of *Sir Hugh the Heron*, composed at fourteen. In his nineteenth year all the golden dream, the spiritual imaginings that had surprised his boyhood and grown with his growth, burst into full and perfect flower in the ballad-romance of *The Blessed Damozel*, next to *Christabel* perhaps the most matchless short mediæval poem that the English language possesses.

Surroundings and aptitudes like these indicate the future direction of the man, but they cannot be said to explain him. To some they will seem to fall far short of explanation. For Rossetti's peculiar strength and beauty of mind, although they may have been nourished and confirmed by outward circumstances, do not have the appearance of having been moulded originally and solely from them; this is true even of his mediæval tendency. Whatever may have been the secret force of successive generations of Italian blood and Catholic belief, whatever the power of functional development in a single groove of ideas and emotions, the environment alone fails signally to account for him. He seems to have arrived at his affinity with the middle ages by no research or effort of study, as has been the case with so many others, but involuntarily, by pure similitude of nature with its art, as Newman with its religion. The tastes, the symbolism, the mysticism of that anterior time, were reborn in him in modern London as strikingly as love of form and proportion in Greek art were reborn in Winckelman and Goethe.

In the development of Rossetti's art three periods have been distinguished by various critics, which represent roughly

three distinct manners or types of beauty. In the decade from 1848 to 1858 his imagination was pre-occupied with mediæval motives, and especially with the sacred legends of the church and Bible. The *Girlhood of the Virgin Mary* belongs to this time, *The Virgin in the House of St. John*, *The Annunciation* (Ecce Ancilla Domini), the first sketch of *How They Met Themselves*, *Hesterna Rosa*, *Giotto painting Dante's Portrait*, the fine engravings made for Tennyson's mediæval poems, the powerful design *Found*, and his masterpiece *Dante's Dream*, and many others. Contrasting it with later work, it at once appears that this was pre-eminently the period of the artists' highest dramatic attainment. In place of single figures, we have composition, a fertile and precise design applied to large subjects. The execution is as yet tentative, the draughtsmanship faulty, the color-sense bold and rich, but sometimes crude and insensitive to finely modulated tints. But if the technic improves afterward, his intellectual qualities, fervor, earnestness, invention exist here in the fulness of their power. These works are stamped with the impress of a high energy, a strong and passionate dramatic sense which he never surpassed, and for which we look in vain in the productions of previous art. The succeeding decade is best represented in *Beata Beatrix*, *The Beloved* (or the Bride), *Monna Vanna*, *The Loving Cup*, *The Blue Bower*, and the *Lady Lilith*, the designs for *Goblin Market*, *The Heart of the Night*, *Paolo and Francesca*, and the frontispiece to the *Italian Poets*. This fairly constitutes the middle phase of his artistic life, in which, if not so fecund and splendid in conception, his genius attains its most complete and symmetrical development. His command of the technical resources of this art is now more nearly commensurate with his thoughts; his earlier and later ideas meet in equilibrium. The third period, from 1858 to his death,* in the opinion of the best

* The critics of the *Athenæum*, January 6, 1888, of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 8, 1888, and of *The Times*, observe nearly the same division of periods in Rossetti's Art, but Mr. Sharp's opinion is at variance with all these, regarding the decade 1866-1876 as highest in the scale of achievement, "such a ten years of imaginative and consummate work," he comments, "as may be doubted ever to have been excelled or even equalled by any English artist save Turner."

critics, marks the moment of decline. It is illustrated by the *Venus Verticordia*, a superb work in its kind, *La Pia*, the *Rosa Triplex*, *La Ghiolandata*, the *Blessed Damsel*, *La Bella Mano*, *Fiametta*, *The Salutation*, and a crowd of figure sketches and heads in all mediums, *Fiametta*, *Pandora*, *Proserpina*, and others. But in despite of some notable works, it is clear that in this last phase of his art, corresponding, it will be observed with his years of ill health and obscured faculties, the ideal of his youth and early manhood has undergone a sad change. The power of invention has dwindled, the glowing color of his former time has become heavy and coarse, and instead of a temper nicely balanced between sense and spirit, we see here his fine mind subjugated by the excess of a single element, the mystical idiosyncrasy which informs nearly all the work of this period. As the former decades witness to the power and beauty of the romantic ideal, so in this it is impossible not to be struck with its extravagance.

In no other sphere, perhaps, does Rossetti show himself so much of a romanticist as in his treatment of love and womanhood. How this theme was handled by the pseudo-classical poets of the last century has been already noticed. Contrasted with a temper so arid and prosaic, the mood in which this modern artist approaches it brings into full relief the poetic value of the romantic ideal, when restrained by a delicate plastic sense.

Turning over a portfolio of prints of Rossetti's pictures, one passes in review a great variety of feminine type, scriptural, legendary, classical, mediæval; heads, figures, faces uplifted in devout and holy aspiration, eyes looking frankly at you out of the depths of a superb sensuousness. But in this complexity of type what especially impresses us, is the magnetic attraction of the feminine face for this dreamy and sensitive nature. It is the emblem to him of all beauty:

"This is that Lady Beauty, in whose praise
Thy voice and hand spake still,—long known to thee
By flying hair and fluttering hem,—the beat
Following her daily of thy heart and feet,
How passionately and irretrievably,
In what fond flight, and how many ways and days."

So he sings as the poet, and so indeed he felt as an artist. The feeling changes all his work with its subtle intermixture of sensuous and mystic passion, impregnating it with a nameless charm, an indefinite and occult suggestiveness which eludes the most searching analysis, *Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi*. In the physiognomies of women that most men passed by without a glance, his eyes discerned "the meaning of all things that are." With his constant craving for poetic beauty, there was united, however, a strain of that personal magic, which Leonardo possessed in such a supreme degree. Certain faces, certain lines, contours, and evanescent posings of the head and figure, haunt him and guide his pencil almost in despite of himself. In this, too, we see the imaginative quest of the man, dissatisfied with common fact, seeking curiously the hidden and less obvious elements of beauty.

Another thing to be noticed is that Rossetti's women are to be clearly separated from that which is often supposed to be conspicuously the pre-Raphaelite type, the pale, gaunt, angular type that has come to be popularly associated with the works of Mr. Burne Jones. With this they have absolutely nothing in common; and the later ideal woman of his art is the exact opposite. It is certainly true that the ascetic type was introduced by the pre-Raphaelites, and is to be found in the pictures of Burne Jones; and no doubt something of the popular derision that has assailed it is not altogether unmerited. Whatever may be its value to convey a certain order of emotion,—as sorrow, self-renunciation, the supremacy of the spirit over the flesh,—it expresses after all but a half-truth, and the attempt to make it a universal type of beauty is clearly an error of artistic conception. To Fra Angelico and a Roman Catholic world, the form worn by fast and vigil and mystic trance is sacred, sacred as a memory and an emblem, and the mediæval artist, working an altar, niche and screen, will wrest from it a certain secret of spiritual significance. But the beauty of the human form was never revealed to the purely Gothic sculptor, and when we see the type in its meagreness of form and sad wistfulness of countenance transferred from saints and martyrs to a group of naked young bathers, as in one of Burne

Jones's recent designs,* it leaves a singular impression of incongruity. As Rossetti avoids this archaic misconception of beauty, so he escapes what seems another blemish in the highly gifted painter I have named beside him. To dwell on Mr. Burne Jones's idiosyncrasies as blemishes is possibly rash and misleading. He is a painter of such delicate and exquisite sensibility that I use the word with regret, and also with every allowance for his peculiar gifts, which express themselves no doubt by a law of inner rightness. So when I have seen single heads and figures of his of a deep and tender spirituality, I have wondered, as many others have no doubt wondered, if the thin and pallid color in which they were sometimes embodied, was not a necessity of highly spiritual expression. Yet one is forced to ask again, is there no other medium for a kindred truth? The pre-Raphaelites themselves in a measure found an affirmative answer; the ancient prototype of Burne Jones in color, if he has any at all, is Sandro Botticelli, whom he appears to have studied deeply; but Botticelli is pallid and thin by fantasy, and what he aimed at obviously and at his best attained, as does also Burne Jones, was tenderness and delicacy of tone. In Fra Filippo, on the other hand, we have glowing and gracious color-sense, allied to an ideal of woman ample and stately in their comeliness and spiritual in their type.

If it is to this old pre-Raphaelite, and to Montegna, that Rossetti's studies of women have the nearest resemblance in general conception, yet it must be observed his types are richly various, and with an individual charm all their own, varied slightly in the transition which his art in general underwent. In his early pictures, while yet the religious sentiment was strong in him—not uppermost, for it was the artistic sentiment that was always uppermost throughout his career—his women are distinguishable for a certain decided mediæval quality; the nature of the virgin and the saints is what he strives to shadow forth, and with palpable suggestions of the ascetic element in those archaic and angular figures. In his second manner this has completely disappeared, and from this mo-

* Cupid's Hunting Ground, in the Collection of C. Ionides, Esq., and ink-photographed by Sprague & Co., London.

ment his art became romantic in the best sense, mingling with it the classical ideal in the treatment of the human form. Mediæval figure-painting was, as I have said, meagre and faulty in the extreme. The antipodes of the Greek, the mediævalist saw only shame and degradation in the body; to its beauty, its dignity and grace, he remained uniformly indifferent. "I have sinned against my brother the ass," said St. Francis, meaning his body. But in Rossetti's art, as in the highest romantic poetry, the traditions of both cultures meet and, at one moment at least, harmoniously blend, to kindle a broader susceptibility than either one by itself could attain.

In Rossetti's heads and faces the imaginative truth is complete; the poetic charm of the artist has shaped them into a vision wherein sense and spirit are wedded. There are Greeks among them, if we may trust to names, *Helens*, *Pandoras*, *Penelopes*, *Proserpinas*, but they are Greeks, after all, such as only the romantic mind could conceive. The self-poise, the joyousness, the untroubled repose of the youth of the world is in nowise to be seen in these faces, as it is seen on Athenian vases, on Olympian friezes, or in the bas-reliefs of Lucca della Robbia. The reflexive fancy of the romantic, involuntarily intertwining both instincts, has put weightier meanings in these Hellenic women, strange ardors, baffled yearnings, hope, sorrow, an overcharged experience. But upon them, as upon the creations of his own race, the *Lady of Sorrows*, the *Magdalenas*, *La Pia*, *Beatrice*, *Lucrece Borgia*, *Francesca*, the romantic artist sets the seal of his rich and subtle symbolism. And in Rossetti "the soul's sphere of infinite images" was shaken into strange lights and shadows when the faces he especially loved were present to his fancy,

" With eyes to search out and with lips to tell
The heart of things invisible."

The image of the Virgin is as familiar to him as the Syrian Venus :

" Thus held she through her childhood ; as it were
An angel-watered lily, that near God
Grows, and is quiet."

And so indeed in the picture of her girlhood the face of Mary is full of tranquil dreams and visions, as she gazes before her,

seeing in mind the angel that tends the lily of the annunciation. How tenderly devout was the imagination that conceived that mood and scene! Place beside it the *Beloved*, or the *Monna Vanna*, and conceive the diversity of gifts they imply; or the frontispiece to the Italian poets, the lovers clasping hands and wedded in the first kiss of passionate love, and what a poetic charm is thrown about the supreme moment, what ardor as they lean each to each, and how chaste and restrained in its perfect grace of action and modeling! And then, beside these, another type purely introspective, the pale angular faces surmounted by a cloud of blackish brown hair, leaning forward intent, with eyes that "dreamed against a distant goal," remembering "the shades of those days that had no tongue;" and next to this that ample splendid suggestion of the Gothic Venus, the long throats, columnar and white as alabaster, the full curving lips, the eyes, placed far apart, and with lids drooping to hide the light of passion that brims them, low brows, and black thick clustering hair. In the *Venus Verticordia* we read the secret of that beauty which haunted all his later years, sumptuous as the ideal of Titian, an imperious loveliness and bodily bloom, a remorseless and insatiable craving for the love and desire of lost men's hearts. Lilith is equally as ample and voluptuous in her beauty, but not so "sovereignly direct" in her appeal to the senses; she typifies the charm of the most exquisite enticements, "subtly of herself contemplative," whose flowers are the poppy and the rose. Only the sonnets can interpret their delicate meanings, "of ultimate things unuttered the frail screen." Between these Italian faces and the purely spiritual type, there is his ideal of intellectual beauty, as in the *Sibylla Palmifera*, or *Il Ramoscello*, a fair English face, beautiful in its pure simplicity, with soft brown hair, blue eyes brimful of intelligence, and a charming sweetness of feature. In all, whatever the origin, there is more or less that cast of sadness and resignation, or of intent meditation and longing, which comes of the interfusion of the romantic emotion in the artist. The glamour of the world, alike its beauty and its enigma, its hope and its pain, its eagerness and repose, emanates from their personalities of a moment. They record in their multiform aspects the trouble and perplexity

that lies deep in the soul of him who wrought them as he stands before the veil of things questioning the unknown, not without evanescent glimpses of its secrets, but yet with a consciousness of failure to apprehend the whole, and clasp the un-reachable, which flies before him as he pursues it.

In this absorption in the mystery of human loveliness, nature was forgotten, or appeared to the poet-artist only in a subordinate way. His poetry indeed is full of subtle imagery, catching the evanescent and fitful moods of natural things, and there are little sylvan scenes in his pictures. But invariably they are decorative or symbolic accessories; a glimpse of green forest to rest the eye; shadowy boughs or twilight streams to heighten a melancholy tale; tendril, blossom, or leaf cluster to complete by their symbol some idea in the central figure. But Rossetti never turns to nature, as Wordsworth, and Shelley, and Tennyson, for the solace or grave joy which came to them from constant communion with visible forms. What attracted him and held him exclusively, and with a strange fascination, was the drama of human relations, especially that of love, the most intimate and complex of them all. In love and beauty he found the key of life, as these others found it in differing degrees in nature and in contemplation; and, as with Keats before him, they became the centre of his artistic interest, the leading and vital motive of his work in both color and verse. Without seeking for the reason, it must be admitted that in his whole treatment of love Rossetti touches at the heights and depths of the romantic sentiment upon this theme. From the simple straightforward movement of passion to the transfigured vision of beatific love, he sounds its entire compass, and always with the delicacy of a pure mind and the fineness and strength of an artistic one. The sureness of his perception lifts him above the level of ethics, as it lifted Dante; and whatever may be said of the final tendency of that substratum of sensuousness which underlies his conceptions, in his best achievement it exists only as a necessary base and in equilibrium with a delicate imaginative sense which secures it effectually from the gross censure of certain well-meaning but perverse cavilers. Above all, the shaping faculty of the artist guides him in his representation; it

subdues the memory and ardor of love-dreams to a plastic purpose, and is in its very intensity and direction purely ideal.

The greatness and all-sufficingness of love appealed to him as it appealed to no other living poet save Swinburne and Morris, but in his praise of it, he has touched chords which are distinct from theirs, and peculiar to his more sombre and visionary genius. Upon Swinburne the spell and enticements of pure passion have a powerful and possibly too exclusive hold, and Rossetti shares with him, as with Keats and Marlowe, and some of the greatest of English singers, this susceptibility to sensible form, but how swift is his recoil upon an hour yielded to the flowers and toys of the poet's life! These indeed, as he so finely says, may be "love's true ministers," but they merit only their hour, and then are lost, merged in that graver and fuller experience of a love,

" Whose voice, attuned above
All modulation of the deep-bosomed dove,
Is like a hand laid softly on the soul !

So, dwelling an instant with the world of visible beauty, his fancy takes flight at a trivial detail and mounts into that region where perception melts in dreams and rapturous vision.

" Not I myself know all my love for thee :
How should I reach so far, who cannot weigh
To-morrow's dower by gage of yesterday ?
Shall birth and death, and all dark names that be
As doors and windows barred to some loud sea,
Lash deaf mine ears and blind my face with spray ;
And shall my sense pierce love,—the last relay
And ultimate outpost of eternity ?

Lo ! what am I to Love, the lord of all ?
One murmuring shell he gathers from the sand,—
One little heart-flame sheltered in his hand.
Yet through thine eyes he grants the clearest call
And veriest flush of powers primordial
That any hour-girt life may understand."

The sublimation of the personal element in this sonnet into the larger mystery of cosmic law, has been noticed by Frederick Myers, who has interpreted Rossetti's conceptions of love with refined discernment. Love is here, he remarks, what it was to Plato, of whom the poet himself was ignorant, *ἐρμηνεύων καὶ διαπορθμεύων*, the "interpreter and mediator between

God and man," a divine idea. And it is of this divine idea, and its infolded flower of truth and wisdom as yet unrevealed, that Rossetti is constantly in quest. In the very face of beauty he gazes earnestly beyond its visible form and seeks to lift the veil and impart to us the incommunicable secret. The germ of that illusion which is to be found in the old romanticism lies opened here into full flower; at first a dream, it is now a need of the poet's nature and a fruitful principle of art. But the secret, the poet knows, will never be discovered or told; it lies beyond his ken, impalpable, unreachable; it comes only by fragments, in silence, in broken melodies, in refruent gleams of color and brightness. These shine through the tissue of his work as threads of endless suggestion, but the substance that remains behind unsung and unpainted, fill him with a mournful sense of haunting and incompleteness.

"Sometimes thou seem'st not as thyself alone,
 But as the meaning of all things that are;
 A breathless wonder, shadowing forth afar
 Some heavenly solstice, hushed and halcyon;
 Whose unstirred lips are music's visible tone;
 Whose eyes the sun-gate of the soul unbar,
 Being of its furthest fires oracular;—
 The evident heart of all life sown and mown.

"Even such Love is; and is not thy name Love?
 Yea, by thy hand the Love-god rends apart
 All gathering clouds of Night's ambiguous art;
 Flings them far down, and sets thine eyes above;
 And simply, as some gage of flower or glove,
 Stakes with a smile the world against thy heart."

But in speaking of the mediæval influence in Rossetti's art, it is necessary to guard against laying a too exclusive stress upon it. Although it moulded his early work, and is, I think, the true basis of his inspiration, it did not prevent his original and masculine intellect from exploring other fields of emotion. In these also the temper of the romanticist guides him, but becomes more wisely subordinate and modified to the nature of the subject-matter he has in hand. Of these essays, two powerful paintings in particular stand as chiefly representative, the design *Found* and *Hesterna Rosa*, and a brief glance at

* Modern Essays: *Rossetti and the Religion of Beauty.*

them brings into full relief that side of his genius which operated most successfully upon life in its more general aspects.

The water-color drawing entitled *Found*, or *The Farmer's Daughter*, is a study of modern life in one of its most pathetic phases. Based originally on a fine ballad of Mr. W. B. Scott, called *Maryanne*, and first drawn in 1847, while a mere lad, Rossetti returned to the subject in the last year of his life, and painted it anew, but the last finishing touches were never added. The story is a simple one, and full of a tragic suggestiveness. A countryman going to London market in the wan light of the early dawn, before the street lamps are put out, comes face to face as he crosses Blackfriar bridge, with the girl he had loved and betrothed in a happier hour. In the kindness of his heart he stoops to raise her from the wall against which she has crouched in her shame; their eyes meet and at the moment of recognition it all at once flashes over his mind in an agony of despair that she is forever and irretrievably lost to him. The sonnet written for the picture, the mournful tale in the poet's most condensed and dramatic vein.

“ ‘There is a budding morrow in midnight;
 So sang our Keats, our English nightingale.
 And here, as lamps across the bridge turn pale
 In London's smokeless resurrection-light,
 Dark breaks to dawn. But o'er the deathly blight
 Of love deflowered and sorrow of none avail,
 Which makes this man gasp and this woman quail,
 Can day from darkness ever again take flight?
 Ah! gave not these two hearts their mutual pledge,
 Under one mantle sheltered 'neath the hedge
 In gloaming courtship? And, O God! to-day
 He only knows he holds her;—but what part
 Can life now take? She cries in her locked heart,—
 ‘Leave me—I do not know you—go away!’ ”

In the picture itself, the pale, cold gleam of the dawning light strikes athwart the rustic lover, his homely gray smock contrasting with the gaudy finery of the woman, and touches her careworn face pressed close against the brick wall, as she shrinks from her sweet-heart's gaze. This face is a wonderful study; the print that Mr. Carr furnishes in the first number of the *English Illustrated Magazine* renders it expressive, but the loss of color effect is severely felt. The closed eyes,

the brows contracted with the bitter misery of the moment, the drawn lines of the mouth and the lips pursed tightly, with their pathetic memory of beautiful curves, now soiled and worn, the golden hair, a relic of her spring-time, straggling down about the face in piteous dishevelment as if to hide it along with her woe. There is in it all a concentrated image of desolation, of recoil before the present, together with a mysteriously suggested recollection of the past days of sweet innocence and love, which, once seen, stamps itself upon the mind with extraordinary power. Placing it in conjunction with the poem *Jenny*, and weighing well the quality, the supreme imaginative force of each of them, we see how incisive and dramatically intense the genius of this man was in dealing with the tragic problems of modern life.

The other example of his treatment of common life, *Hesteria Rosa*, sometimes called *Elena's Song*, is, if not modern in its external dress, equally representative of its spirit. It was nominally founded on a song of Sir Henry Taylor's in the second part of *Philip Van Artevelde*, and illustrated expressly the conception in the following quatrains:

"Quoth tongue of neither maid nor wife
To heart of neither wife nor maid,
'Lead we not here a jolly life
Betwixt the shine and shade?"

"Quoth heart of neither maid nor wife
To tongue of neither wife nor maid,
'Thou wag'st, but I am soul with strife,
And feel like flowers that fade.'"

The scene represented is in a pleasure tent, at the close of a night's revel, verging on the early dawn, and the effect of the water color replica, according to Mr. Frederick Craven, the possessor, is that of a lamplight interior at this unreal hour, when, as in twilight, all objects appear absolutely blue by the contact with the warm glow within. But let Mr. Sharp describe it as he saw it in a highly finished pen-and-ink drawing: "The centre of the drawing," he says, "is occupied by a kind of sofa or couch, on or close to which are four figures, two gamblers and their mistresses; a square massive stool in front of the sofa serves for a table, on which the men are throwing the dice, one gamester sitting with crossed legs on the sofa,

and the other, to the left, kneeling beside his Rose of yesterday, who gives the name to the design, *Hesterna Rosa*. The latter gambler is still sufficiently enamored of his mistress to be susceptible to her touch, for though intent on the throw his companion is about to make, he lifts her left hand to his mouth to kiss it. But her face is averted and covered by her right hand; some sudden memory of past purity and girlhood having perhaps been struck by the low lute-music made by a young serving-maid or innocent sister beside her; her companion in misfortune, however, is either beyond or reckless of the past, and with an ungirlish song on her lips leans over the sofa clasping both arms around the neck of her lover. Both women are crowned with flowers, but they are wreaths such as Bacchantes might have worn; and beyond, on the right, a hideous ape is scratching itself, adding by its presence a significant type of degradation." It is just possible that it is the woman's song, some simple ballad heard in early days, and not the lute accompaniment, which touches the heart of her companion; but whatever the correct interpretation, the leading motive of the design is plain, and expressed with a virility and point which leaves a long remembered impression upon the mind.

ARTICLE IV.—PROTESTANT VATICANISM.

To discuss this intelligently, we must understand Catholic Vaticanism, if not in its shadings, yet in its principle. What is it then? It is too vast and various a form to be easily defined, and even a description must be somewhat elastic. But we will do the best we can, so far as required for illustration.

First. Vaticanism centres in the assumption of the *ex cathedra* doctrinal infallibility of the Pope. This, if a truth, is not an obvious truth. It appears to be contrary to plain facts. Preëminent holiness is not claimed for the Popes. It is freely admitted by the Vaticanists that some of them have been exceedingly bad men. It is allowed that some of them, in private belief, may have been heretical. Some of them have been antipopes, who became legitimate only by the death or withdrawal of legitimate rivals, carrying over, without any retraction of their usurping claims, the schismatical spirit, which, having made them enemies of the chair of Peter, did not leave them really its friends when they sat upon it, but merely the friends of their own domination, a very ill preparation for becoming the organs of the Holy Ghost. Great historians assure us that some of them have undoubtedly given *ex cathedra* doctrinal decisions which have since been abandoned by the Church as heretical. And other decisions have been peremptorily imposed upon the Church rather than freely recognized by her as divine truth, until now this right to reduce her to absolute passivity is made the corner-stone of the faith. Other decisions, such as that against Fenelon, halting and reluctant, have been wrested from an unwilling Pope by the most notorious intrigues, backed up by mutterings of royal displeasure.

All these, and a thousand other objections as to fact, and Scripture, and the conditions which we must of necessity ascribe to the workings of the Spirit have to be met and answered by perhaps the most extraordinary chain of subtle and elusive reasoning in existence.

Yet, *secondly*, all this sets out from plain beginnings of Christian fact and Christian reason, and is only meant to develop their necessary implications. It is true that Christ has established a Church on earth, that he has made her the witness of his truth, and that he has promised to be ever with her. It is also true that he must have meant her testimony to be a living and ascertainable thing. From these plain principles there is now made to depend a chain of reasoning, each link of which has an obvious congruity and a subtle incongruity with the preceding, until in the final result the sum of discords is deafening between the plain initial harmony and the complicated thunders of anathema which destroy it in assuming to develop it.

Thirdly, when a theory advanced in defence of a position is so elaborate and uncertain that it needs a great deal more proof than the position itself, it is plain that it must fade away, unless artificially supported. And Papal Infallibility being so much harder to prove than the Gospel, no one would set much store by it unless it were made to take the place of the Gospel. Accordingly, at the Vatican itself, as attested by Dr. R. I. Nevin, a living faith in Christ, vital holiness, nay, even interest in the general Roman Catholic system of doctrine, are all pushed into the background by the one inquiry, How do you stand affected towards Infallibility and the Universal Episcopate of Rome? In other words, the instrument has become the end, and the end is left to shift for itself. He is the most faithful son of the Church who is most intense in the support of decisions extorted from timid servility by all the forces of zealotry, chicanery, loud-voiced imperiousness, and vulgar pressure upon the very means of life.

Yet, *fourthly*, this vast system of despotic falsehood and unreason could never have won its victory by the mere strength of Italian craft and domination, or of sacerdotal craft and domination at large. Powerful as these have been, they would have been baffled, had they not been implicated inextricably with profound Christian faith and feeling, and the deepest convictions of multitudes of eminent Christian men and women, and above all of numbers of bishops whose zeal was as pure as it was intolerant. The irresistible champion of

Papal Infallibility and the Universal Episcopate was Henry Edward Manning, one of the deepest Christians, both in thought and feeling, and one of the most disinterested men, living. It was the very self-forgetfulness of his tyrannical zeal which carried all before it at the Council. His overpowering resoluteness to establish the Universal Episcopate has essentially the same end with the resoluteness of the disciples of Ignatius the Godbearer to establish the original Episcopate, namely, that Christian truth might have a fixed centre and support in a disintegrating age. The work of 1870 is merely the culmination, and let us hope the final explosion, of the willingness to strike hands with sophistry and violence for the love of Christ, of entering into treaty with Apollyon to draw the car of the Lord. It is all in one line with Hildebrand's disregard of the natural affections, with that eminently holy man Pius the Fifth's approval of St. Bartholomew, with Luther's consent to the bigamy of his dear young Landgrave, and with Cranmer's complaisance towards the bloodthirsty lustfulness and lustful bloodthirstiness of Henry Tudor.

Turning now to Protestantism, we want to bring with us a definition of Vaticanism accurate enough to answer the purpose of comparison, recurring to the original from time to time to get our bearings more exactly. Perhaps the following definition will do to start upon: that Vaticanism, in spirit, apart from its crystallization in specific form, consists in the belief that Christ is the Revelation of God, united with a timid distrust in the self-evidencing power of this revelation over the hearts and thoughts of right-minded men within the influence of his Church, unless supported by wire-drawn theories which to unbelievers have no evidence and for believers have no necessity, and to believers and unbelievers alike are immeasurably harder to understand and to accept than the claims of Him to whose spiritual supremacy they proffer their damaging support.

But can there be such a thing as Protestant Vaticanism? some simple-minded people will ask. It is true, it does seem almost as much a contradiction in terms as Calvinistic Methodism. Yet as there is such a thing as Calvinistic Methodism, so there is such a possibility as Protestant Vaticanism, though

not a possibility in Protestantism of so coherent and magnificent a scheme of lying for God. Protestants may become Catholics, and Catholics Protestants, a proof of specific identity which no fierceness of mutual hatred can gainsay. And these workings of the common human nature which have made Popery a masterpiece of God, man, and the devil, can display themselves in Protestantism, the evil ones even more odiously, because so much less effectively.

Dr. Arnold has said, and truly, that Protestant Bibliolatry is as bad as Roman Catholic Mariolatry. To hide Christ behind his mother is no worse than to entomb him in his word. And the displeasure which Protestants feel at the very mention of Bibliolatry is a proof how deeply they are enslaved by it. They must acknowledge that there is such a thing, that the Bible may be worshiped as an end, instead of being used and honored as a means. Then if they were free from this idolatry, they would not so resent being warned against it. How far it is carried, a single instance may show. I have heard an orthodox Protestant minister, in a gathering of clergymen and laymen of four denominations, say: "The Bible is the Head of God. Now we read that the Word was with God and was God. What awe then should we have in approaching to handle Almighty God!" And not a single remark did I hear, then or afterwards, in criticism of this extraordinary doctrine of transubstantiation. But indeed what else is meant at bottom by calling the Bible *theanthropic*, unless that God is incarnate in the Bible? It is true that wise and holy men use this language, notably Adolphe Monod, in his death-bed Conferences. But then wise and holy men, in abundance, have been champions of Transubstantiation, and have attributed the most extravagant honors to Mary, and have fairly worshiped the Pope, even declaring him, in so many words to be a legitimate object of devotion. Faber is an instance of this. And we might search a continent before we could find the equal of Faber for wisdom and holiness. Yet the deep unsoundness of his threefold devotion to the Host, the Virgin, and the Pope is none the less, even though it be but a threefold form of his devotion to our Blessed Lord. And so the deep Christian wisdom of a Monod does not make it any the less true that to

call the Bible theanthropic is to say that God is incarnate in it, and that to make God incarnate in a book is blasphemy. God can only be incarnate in a living soul. To call the Bible theanthropic, is to justify the Coolies of Jamaica in their taunt, that if they worship a wooden god, the Christians worship a paper god.

Of course we know all the nice distinctions that are made. But distinctions that do not control feeling, and regulate habitual language, are nothing. That word *theanthropic* could never have come into use had there not been the thought behind, that in surrendering ourselves unreservedly to the full influence of any part of the Bible, whether it be Leviticus, Canticles, Ezra, or Hosea, or Paul in all his varying moods, we are coming as truly (perhaps not as fully) into communion with the unmixed mind and heart of God, as in surrendering ourselves unreservedly to the influence of Jesus Christ. Even the limitation suggested is too much for the height of orthodoxy. We have heard excellent Christians say: "Leviticus is the Word of God, and John is no more. It is then irreverent to say that Leviticus is less excellent than John." So Bishop Samuel Wilberforce is shocked that some of his American brethren pick out some of the Psalms for the selections as more excellent than others. This is Bibliolatry run mad. But then all idolatry is madness to begin with.

But is it then a matter of indifference to our faith what we think of the Bible? Even less than it is what we think of the Church which rests upon its testimony, or the Sacraments which symbolize its facts, or the Creeds and Councils which are all fainter echoes of its truths. Yet even these, in various ways, and varying degrees of fulness and perfection, are vital means and channels of expressing, completing, and augmenting faith in the Incarnate God. He who treats them irreverently, who is careless of general Christian feeling towards them, and who thinks it of little consequence to formulate full and satisfactory theories concerning them, on pretence that Christ is all in all to him, either professes a faith which he does not have, or deprives himself of its muniments and others of its main benefits. No well-regulated Christian mind will be contemptuously careless were it of so remote and incidental

a point as the true shape of Aaron's mitre. But what if we say that to doubt whether Aaron's mitre is more than an adaptation of the ordinary turban is the first step towards denying Christ! Yet indeed what extravagant remoteness of inference can be brought up by way of illustration which is not already expressly included in the system to be illustrated? It is true, the system yet lacks its full coherency, its Vatican completeness. This it will only attain when, under the head of a Burgon and a Todd, it is made heresy to mention a various reading, when some honest Dunkard, such as one we know of, has carried through the doctrine that every translation, in all its variations from every other, is infallibly inspired, and when the inconsiderately surrendered position is impregably recovered, that the Masoretic punctuation is Divine. Thus only can this dangerous disposition of the individual mind, not only to read the Scriptures but inwardly to digest them, a process of discrimination which contains the germ of all mischief, be averted, so far as this may be without a Supreme Rabbi, to whom every possible divergency of individual apprehension from the one permitted pattern could be brought.

Now we are not to cast the stigma of Bibliolatry upon the doctrine of Plenary Inspiration. The New Testament without the Old is a tree without a root. Marcion is an heresiarch, and an heresiarch he will remain. And in the Old Testament the Law and the Prophets are inextricably interwoven, in the consciousness of both dispensations, of past-exilic and pre-exilic believers alike, and above all in the perfect mirror of the theanthropic consciousness of the Son of God. It is the Bible as a whole, and that alone, which gives us the fulness of Christ. Those who talk as Andrews Norton was wont to do, about all the Bible outside of the Gospels as comparatively worthless, might as well bid us hope that some fourfold mountain peak, some happy day, might emerge from the depths of the earth, and leave behind all the radiating chains, which should at once enhance and render more accessible its supereminent majesty. But when the pious Jansenists of Utrecht admonish their priests and students to find their chief spiritual sustenance in the Bible, and within this preëminently in the New Testament, and within this again preëminently in the Gospels, are they

saying anything amiss? This little church is not yet so far decayed, but that in this wisdom of graduated reverence, rising from step to step towards the sublimity of the Divine centre, even our Protestant self-sufficiency may find a profitable lesson towards our competency as scribes well instructed into the kingdom of heaven.

The whole thing lies in a nutshell. As Dr. Muhlenberg used to say, Do we receive the Bible for Christ's sake, or Christ for the Bible's sake? Bishop Huntington says, that the principle of all our faith is the Incarnation, and that from this impregnable centre we judge all lesser things. Is he right or wrong? Do we take our Lord merely because having taken up the Bible to worship we happen to find him between the lids of it, just as we find a list of names in the first chapter of I. Chronicles? A great many good people do. Christ is more, much more, to them in fact of experience, but in theory the evidence of his Godhead is shaken to its centre, if the chronicler should be thought to have made a slip of a single name. And if we should conclude, with John Calvin, that Stephen, before the Sanhedrin, made a slip of memory about an incidental fact, then immediately, for some people, Stephen's martyrdom would sink into a fanatical devotion to a dissolving illusion, the opened heavens would roll together with a jarring crash like the gates of hell, the Son of man would be dethroned from the right hand of God, and the Father would be stricken out of the depths of his infinitude, leaving nothing in the hollow void but some lamentable voices crying: "Stephen said 'Abraham' when he ought to have said 'Jacob:' therefore there is no God." People who are capable of such awful leaps of inference ought to be employed to bring us news from Sirius or Aldebaran. They ought not to be allowed to excuse themselves. For them such a journey would be but a gentle jump.

There is a plain doctrine of the Church, and there is a plain doctrine of the Bible, each of which is a powerful buttress of the faith, because, like the mighty spurs of the majestic ceiba, it strikes right out from its very trunk and body. Of the Church we have a right to say, for it is implied in all Christ is and does, in all we are and receive, that the blessed company

of all believing people, in exact proportion as it is united with the Redeemer, will be joined in mutual recognition and helpfulness, faith and charity, and to the augmentation of heavenly mindedness. In proportion as this unity is real and deep, it will know how to express itself, in thought and action. The living member will know where to find the living Church, and will know as easily whether he is in agreement or disagreement with Christ in her, as the living organ knows how far it is in agreement or disagreement with the healthful body. Here is a doctrine of the Church common to all believers, and capable of being developed into a rich variety of propositions, each one of which shall stand plainly within the terms and tenor of Christ's work. All such propositions reinforce our faith in Christ and are reinforced by it in turn into growing explicitness and power. But from this point we may proceed, if we will, in the interest of hierarchical power, or of some worthier end, and unroll proposition out of proposition, until at last we have a doctrine no more resembling the original doctrine of the Church, than the lowest æon of a Gnostic emanation resembles the supreme Plesoma. The true doctrine helps faith; this burdens it. It must be received by a separate act of belief, which really makes it another Christ. And the unutterable contrast between the Divine Original and this spurious dependant can only be concealed by pushing Christ back into the depths and wrapping him up under the veils of mystical ceremony and doctrinal reserve, because, as Shakspeare says :

"A substitute shines brightly as the King,
Until the King be by."

Here we have Catholic Vaticanism, centred in the doctrine of the Church. Its Protestant parallel is centred in the doctrine of the Bible.

The true doctrine of the Bible, as of the Church, is involved in Christ and his work, and is received and developed, not by some endless argumentative genealogy of tutuous Rabbinical ingenuity, but by the living and united Christian consciousness. To speak of the Christian consciousness dismays some men as the face of Jesus did the unclean spirits. And no wonder, for it is the face of Jesus in his Church. For God,

"who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." "No man knoweth who the Son is but the Father; and who the Father is but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." "We all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory." Here we have the doctrine of the Christian consciousness, expressed as only the Son and the Spirit can set it forth.

The way in which the Christian consciousness is dealt with by some of its Protestant maligners is exactly parallel to the way in which it is dealt with by Rome. Rome says, "Use your reason, and natural sense of truth by all means, in judging of my claims. If the invincible force of prejudice withholds you from acknowledging these, you may not have sinned, whatever you may have lost. But when once you accept my claims, you must thenceforward never urge conscience or the sense of truth to lighten by a grain the absoluteness of your submission to every least particular of all my duly certified decisions in doctrine of faith or morals." Just so there are those among ourselves who say: "Use your sense of truth in deciding whether you ought to accept the Bible as the revelation of God. Nay, if you care to face the responsibility, decide that the Protestant churches ought to have left out or left in one or two more canonical books. If your critical knowledge shows you, here or there, a spurious verse or pericope, strike it out. But, the canon and text once settled, your liberty ends. You are not to accept Christ in the Bible because he immediately enlightens your sense of truth, but because, by a process as yet of mere inference and expectation, you have concluded that whatever you find in a certain canonical book must be absolutely true." Here we have the Christian consciousness as thoroughly ruled out as by Rome. Uncertain inference first, and indiscriminating submission afterwards, completely extinguish it. There is no room for the self-substantiating power of Christ's personality over the conscience and the perceptions. The believer is not permitted to say to

the Evangelists and Apostles: "Now we believe, not because of your speaking: for we have heard for ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world."

Here we shall be interrupted with the triumphant reminder that it is only through the evangelists and apostles that we know anything about our Lord, and asked how we are to learn the truth about him if we prejudge our sources. We cannot. We are bound to approach our sources of knowledge with docility and confidence. But how, pray, are we ever to advance beyond this preliminary stage of belief if we do not leave our sense of truth free to vibrate under the impact of evidence? How are we to distinguish the clear ring of truth in the New Testament authors if we have first muffled our own responsive sense of truth by a purely *a priori* and most uncertain identification of trustworthiness of recital with unerring perfection of recital? Many a purely human character is so great that the true aspect of it breaks through all variety of portraiture, and by the force of its perceived coherency gathers into one the various single traits which, till this centre of the character is reached, lie loose and uncomprehended. Until this organizing centre of the character is reached we remain helplessly subject to our sources. When it is reached we are no longer possessed by them, but possess them. Then their value instead of sinking rises into a specifically higher stage. Previously they oppressed us; now at every step they minister strength and cogency to our knowledge.

But all this the dull perversity of our scribes prohibits us when we come to the life of the Holy One. We are not here allowed to submit our sense of truth freely to the evidence, and the evidence freely to our sense of truth; we must first doctor both into numbness by injecting into them a theory of the absolute infallibility and accuracy of the evidence, such as is both superfluous and as yet to us unproved. This procedure is not born of faith but of secret infidelity. With open infidelity it has this in common, that both contend that if we do not stop the stroke of evidence upon our minds by an interposing theory it is not certain that we shall accept Christ as the Divine Son. Here secret and open infidelity diverge.

Open unbelief says (how honestly is not here the question), "I have examined the evidence in detail with an unbiased mind, and it does not bring conviction to me that Christ is the Son of God. He may be so but I do not yet apprehend it." There is nothing in this of necessity censurable. It is much within the limits of the Redeemer's benign concession, "Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man it shall be forgiven him." Docility, modesty, ingenuousness that does not tamper with its sense of truth are not Christian in faith, but they are an excellent preparation for it. With sullen and disingenuous unbelief of course we have nothing to do.

Secret unbelief says, or whispers, to its franker sister, "I do not, any more than you, feel sure that the genuine effect of the evidence concerning Jesus is to induce the belief that he is indeed God manifested in humanity, though he makes a claim equivalent to this. But I find it, for various reasons, expedient to conform myself to this opinion, and therefore by a precommittal of myself to acceptance of everything I find in certain books simply because I find it there. I make a very good shift to appear genuinely believing. Now if you would do the same you might be as well off as I. For I am not only high in reputation in the church but pass for the special champion of the faith." And indeed how far men actually have the vision of God in Christ by a true intuition of the believing consciousness is an inquiry which is apt to withdraw itself too far from ecclesiastical judgment to be easily taken as a basis for the dispensation of honors or the assignment of spiritual rank. But anybody can tell who handles the most dexterously theories merely spun out of mechanical ingenuity. The less these have to do with reality the better counters they make for the use of theological adroitness. It is as easy to tell who plays a good game with them as if they were so many chessmen. No wonder then that such theories of pure artificiality are so dear to hard-headed, empty-hearted Rabbinism. On such a basis the awards of theological soundness or unsoundness can be as easily distributed as if they concerned a tournament between Morphy and one of his rivals. And they allow of a facile distribution of Christians into three classes. *First*, the masters in Israel, who know how to handle these doctrinal

counters. *Secondly*, the docile faithful, who cannot play the game but who can gape admiringly upon the players, and in their simple reverence imagine that the issues of life and death hang upon the result. *Thirdly*, those who believe in Christ and his redemption far too deeply to have much patience with this empty trifling, this rattling of dry bones, whose doctrine is too deeply palpitating with life to take on the rigid outlines from which life has departed. These it is easy to put out of the camp as unsound. And then the victorious scribes go on with their marchings and countermarchings of their pawns and knights and stiffened bishops as if there were not one who is wont to appear from time to time to sweep off the worthless chaff from his threshing floor. Now am I speaking of Rome or her rivals?

Some of these men will one day bless God that Christ judges more mildly in applying his declaration concerning those who shall speak a word against the Son of man than they would ever have allowed. For one of the most deeply disparaging things that could be said of him is to represent him as one of themselves by talking about "the system of doctrines which he has taught." The system of doctrines! Why do they not talk about "the system of optics which the sun has taught?" It would certainly be doing infinitely less dishonor to the sun than to the Eternal Word, through whom and in whom all things consist.

This comparison between the sun and the dayspring from on high is one with which the Old Testament closes and with which the gospel begins, and it is well to heed this great parable of nature. Those have not of necessity the greatest interest in the benefits of the sun who are the most accurate in formulating the laws of his working. Indeed, it is wholly possible for such to exhibit a watery lifelessness which marks them as among the least favored of his children. Their task is important, growingly so. But imagine them teaching in our time the last results of deductions upon deductions from observations never enlarged or corrected since Newton, or perhaps since Aristotle or Archimedes! And then imagine them, on the strength of these formulas, attenuated now into infinitesimal truth and extended into infinite error, warning all the

rejoicing tribes of earth not to suppose themselves to have any benefit of the sun, not to imagine that all their consciousness of life is anything more than an illusion, declaring that only those have warmth or illumination who receive them through the mediation of formulas which would not give them if true, and which are not even true !

Here, however, in justice to Vaticanism proper, we must interpose a caution. Vaticanism is bad enough, but not so bad as that. Towards those who should be within its jurisdiction but refuse it, it has, indeed, nothing but assurances of damnation. But towards the rest of Christendom its frank and coarse imperiousness is mingled with large allowance and free concession that the grace of Christ goes far beyond the limits of Rome. It gladly recognizes the evidences of the regenerate life in the heretics, and draws from them large auguries of loving hope. The utmost malignity of the true scribe is found in these Protestant and Puritan editors and doctors of divinity who not only throw the whole weight of their interest and zeal into the maintenance of theories which, even if thoroughly true, are only the skirts and fringes of the gospel which have to be held fast by a strenuous grasp of the attention, and proved by arguments that are continually fading out like sympathetic ink, to be revived only by a hot fire of polemic zeal, but who, when asked if they cannot have fellowship with those who vary from them as to these intricacies and dim recesses of truth, if only they are ingenuous, lovers of good, with faces turned Godward, ever reverently waiting on the words of Christ, and only uncertain sometimes as to the precise interpretation of words of his which penetrate into unsounded depths where, all experience failing, Christian humility might well suppose that interpretation, awed and hushed under the awfulness of "the powers of the world to come," could afford to abate somewhat of the arrogance of dogmatic assurance who, when asked if with brethren who speak hesitatingly as to some points where their own tougher confidence seems never to have known a tremor of doubt, they cannot still have fellowship in the broad sunlight of the cheerful day of certain Christian knowledge and duty, blasphemously dare to wrest Christ's most awful words by likening

these to those whom Christ will cast off in that day, not because they had not clearness of vision in all the depths, but because they were workers of iniquity! What horrible distortion is this, what dislocation of the members of Christ! This outrage against Him in them can only be sheltered under the pleading tenderness of the prayer on the cross.

We know the answer that will be made. Who is not familiar with all the commonplaces about the necessity of manfully upholding the faith once delivered to the saints! To uphold this is indeed the central work of every Christian. And against whom does the apostle exhort us to uphold it? Against libidinous and rapacious men whom a sensuous religionism has brought into the church, and who then endeavor to turn its fellowship into an instrument of lust and greed. And this warning against the utmost wickedness of wicked men is then turned into opprobrious use against such men as Gregory of Nyssa, a pillar of the faith; as pastor Oberlin, as Spencer and Arnold, the revivers of evangelical piety in Germany, as Frederick Maurice, whose lectures on John have been described as John expounded by John; as William Augustus Muhlenberg, whose name needs no remark. All these men held it, not as an article of faith but as an article of hope, that all men might ultimately be restored to holiness and the favor of God. The writer of this avows that the longer he ponders the grounds of their hope the less he is disposed to acquiesce in them. Arthur Hallam's brief exposition and defence of eternal punishment in the *Horæ Subsecivæ* appears to him to sound a deeper note of Christian wisdom, and also Dr. Arnold's interpretation of the Saviour's woe against the betrayer. But now imagine some strident ecclesiastical demagogue lifting up his voice against these wise and holy men, and warning the church that those who do not accept Christ's testimony are periling their own salvation! But there is little danger of his doing this. He knows, no man better, on which side his bread is buttered. Such a man will vie with the foremost in building the tombs of the prophets, and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous. It is only against younger men of the same spirit, but who have not yet achieved the same reputation, that he will level the poisoned darts of his injurious insinuations.

But we must not wander too far. We are considering Protestant Vaticanism. And Vaticanism, even in its narrow and sullen shape, implies sincerity and strict maintenance of accepted doctrine. It verily thinks it is doing God service. But we are going beyond the proper bounds of this article when we spend large space upon the exploitation of Vaticanism of orthodox prejudice by men who themselves take the largest swing of doctrinal liberty who are warm in their hopes of Brahminical mystics, and with affable cheerfulness suggest a purified Mohammedanism as a possible refuge from the theological rigor of Christendom, but who know the value of "Stop thief" as well as any Artful Dodger of them all, who can throw a tub to any whale by suggesting some imperceptible change in a formula that is to make all the difference between life and death, and then understand how to protest with lachrymose solemnity against the natural identification. Ah, it is a wonderful thing, the sight drawing, as Phillips Brooks says, of "the lines of orthodoxy within the lines of truth." The inner circumscription has so many curious and wholly unexplainable turns that no man who is not in the secret of the management can know when he is within it and when without. Perhaps then it is as well to make sure that we are in Christ with a faith of genuine acceptance, and to leave the question whether or not we are within the lines of orthodoxy to take care of itself.

These Vaticanist tormentors of better men make great use of the cry that unless they are thus strict all Christian truth would dissolve into mere nebulosity. And rather than suffer that infinite loss we might better accept a great deal of rubbish and submit to a great deal of oppressive dictation, as no doubt many Roman Catholics argue, and not without much force. But after reading Henry Boynton Smith's book how can any one pretend that the utmost thoroughness of doctrinal conception is inconsistent with a habit of mind which insists on dwelling in the range of central realities, and will not be persuaded to lose itself in the mazes of artificial definitions. We cannot say that he always avoids the temptation of trying to bring an outworn theory into reconciliation with new truth by adding "cycle on epicycle, orb on orb," for who can avoid

some measure of that in any science? But if any such thing should be found in him it would be but an occasional, a regretted but not wholly avoidable infirmity. Whereas there are divines, not a few, the breath of whose nostrils it is to support a difficult theory by adding to it an improbable conjecture and repeating this alternation until at last they have a jelly-cake through which it is clearly impossible to cut, so that the ultimate and original proposition is safe because it lies buried lower than human strength avails to penetrate. This book will put new honor upon clear and strenuous doctrinal thinking because, having first been apprehended of Jesus Christ, he views all things in the large leisure of the light of Christ, not as points to which he must give a blind and eager assent lest he should be overtaken by the avenger of blood, but as points which he may decide with varying stress of certainty in the serene independence of a justified man. His pupils have never imagined that his interest in clear-cut doctrine was any the less intense because the whole tone of his lectures was so thoroughly consonant with the quotation from Schleiermacher with which he was wont to begin them: "Woe unto me if Christianity be not more than my system!" Were Newton's results less important or less appreciated because, instead of swelling himself up with frog-like self-importance, as if he had drawn up into his inflated body the whole ocean of truth, he declared that his discoveries were but pebbles by its shore?

We do not mean to force the comparison between Roman Catholic and Protestant Vaticanism into the various details which must of course be widely different in two so widely different forms of religion. But we may remember the power which the Pope has of swamping the votes of real bishops by an unlimited creation of titular nonentities, enjoying episcopal rank and rights, but wholly dependent on their Roman lord. So we sometimes hear the fling that however loose some of these eastern men may be in daring to think that the riches of Christ are inexhaustible, and that as the church as yet knows but in faintest part, so in the brightening light she will here and there discover points in which supposed knowledge has been actual error, the men of the far west at least give no uncertain sound but are ready to decide with rattle-headed confi-

dence the most delicate points as to which the noblest souls of all ages of the church have struggled with perplexity and indecision. Now the writer has lived long beyond the Missouri but was never able to discover that he grew in wisdom or in Christian experience or consecratedness in proportion to the remoteness of his longitude from the first meridian, nor did he discover any such thing of his associates. But one thing he did discover, that where the daily bread of poor men is dependent on the good will of functionaries who wield ultra-episcopal powers by the ignoblest of all tenures, the control of the purse, spiritual or intellectual independence is just about as much to be expected of them as of the mitred shadows mentioned above.

We cannot impute to Vaticanism proper another motive of the stringent and blindly unreasoning orthodoxy on which some of our western churches and ministers are said to pique themselves, namely, the fear that some rival sect will outbid them in the race for the name of ecclesiastical soundness. The old magnificence of wide-ruling Rome is at last lifted far above this tremulous and enslaving competition.

As to effectiveness of persecution, the comparison is certainly chiefly one of contrast. Rome has lost her power to destroy but she keeps only too much of her power to make men's lives bitter to them. Our Protestant Vaticanists are malignant enough, but their malice, compared with Rome's is like a snake cut to pieces compared with a snake yet whole. The severed pieces yet writhe with venomous instinct of mischief, but they are hastening to impotency, and their dying convulsions can only cause a transient alarm. These people can still gall honorable men to the quick by coarse taunts implying that the denominations belong to themselves in fee simple, and that whoever in the quest of Christ's truth goes beyond their limit is an indecent intruder if he dares to stay after they have given him notice to quit. They may still, in their vulgar arrogance, call every Christian scholar and thinker a common knave, by throwing at him the nearest-lying simile of trivial life, because he does not allow them to settle for him, in this butcherly fashion, the most delicate and intricate questions arising in the reaction between the steadfastness of

faith and the flux of opinion, between the rights of the past over the present and the duties of the present to the future. But after all this is only the dying echo of the thunders of the seven hills.

Let me wind up these imperfect parallels with a perfect parallel. After infallibility had been defined in 1870, some Catholic theologian of Germany (I do not now remember who) objected that it was against clear facts of history. Whereupon his bishop admonished him that now that the doctrine had been defined, appeals to history were no longer allowable. Christ's spiritual infallibility had been once for all identified with the infallibility of his vicar, and thenceforth all facts tending to show that the one was not wholly co-extensive with the other were to be shut out of his church as unholy things. And the more cogent, of course the more profane.

Now the doctrine that the spiritual infallibility of every writer of every canonical book is as absolutely complete as that of Christ, is an accepted tradition of Protestantism, fastened upon it after the creative energy of the Reformation was spent. It is a theory most derogatory to the unique prerogative of Jesus Christ; it is in contempt of our Lord's own declaration that the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than the greatest of the prophets; it is open to exactly the same charge which Dorner so cogently brings against Vaticanism, that it overlooks the inconsistency of ascribing perfection of spiritual knowledge to admitted imperfection in holiness; it calls attention away, by its painful subtleties, from the noble unity of divine wisdom of which the Bible is the repository. But this mitigated form of the old theory, though it raises the Bible from the norm and fountain of our faith into the object of our faith, is itself a betrayal of the genuine tradition. This is summed up in the pithy question, "If we admit an error of any kind in this verse how do we know what to believe of any thing in any verse?" And as this identification of the great synagogue with the Son of God, besides its intrinsic falsity and unworthiness, is vulnerable to history at every point, it is no wonder that its defenders, in the exact spirit of the Roman Catholic bishop and his exact words should, with many pious phrases, and with a profusion of

devotion, cover up their unwillingness to expose their artificial idol to the rude shock of fact, in the following words :

“There is one thing for which the Christian heart has a greater reverence than for schools of interpretation and of criticism. It is the Bible itself. Rather than see that discredited and gradually destroyed it will turn a deaf ear and a cold shoulder to historical researches however discriminating, and philosophical speculations however refined. It has its Bible left, and that is enough.”

The archbishop of Munich and the protestant divine would doubtless quarrel over many points of doctrine and ritual. But in a hardy willingness to declare that if facts would disprove their respective theories it shall be so much the worse for the facts, they are too precisely identical not to have been inspired from a common source. What was this source? Not Christ, for Christ is afraid neither of the past nor the present nor the future. Who was it then that inspired them? I do not know.

ARTICLE V.—GOVERNMENT BY PARTY.

I. THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE.

I HAVE defined in the preceding paper what I understand by the sovereignty of the people, in what sense it may be said that we have, in the phrase of Mr. Lincoln, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The conclusion was that the people has its way to the extent that it has made up its mind. As the State is nothing but the organic association of all the constituents they are the sole source of its power, and their entire agreement upon any matter of State policy disposes of the power absolutely, determines the end and the manner of its employment beyond all possibility of resistance or evasion. In that event the will of the government, if it could be supposed to have one of its own, counts for nothing at all. It is, for example, impossible that it should so much as entertain the idea of bringing back here an hereditary aristocracy or an established church or a slaveholding order, or do or undo any other of those things irrevocably settled in the convictions and purpose of the people. Given this perfect consent of the body politic, one form of government or sort of administration is about as effective as another. The most perfect adaptation of the political institutions to the people does not avail if the people is without purpose or hopelessly divided in counsel; the most ill-adjusted and obstructive machinery suffices to do its work when it has made up its mind.

It appeared further that the preëminent political quality of the American people is its capacity for coming into agreements of this unanimous and constraining character. No other community of modern times has worked its way to so many of them, while in the ancient communities the capacity of reaching them at all gave out entirely. There was a critical period in the affairs of the Roman Empire, after it had absorbed its predecessors one by one, when the vast population upon which it was based lost what we may call its nervous irritability and power to react, in a kind of torpor, or paralysis, which left it

insensible to the encroachments of the government. It ceased to divide upon the issues submitted to it; and abandoned to its rulers not only the initiative inseparable from all government but the uncontested disposal of the whole power of the State. But a people insensible to the provocations, is also a people incapable of participating in the action, of the State. It turned out that the governing body, confirmed in the exclusive possession of power, was shut off from the natural sources of its supply. At last over-burdened and overworked it gave out in the exhaustion of its own reactions, bringing the whole fabric down with it.

None of the German, or Germanized, communities which have arisen among the ruins of the Roman Empire have as yet shown any signs of this abstention of the people or this isolation of the government. Even where the quality of the ancient blood and the pressure of ancient institutions tell with most effect the non-governing class shows something of the German vitality, and what is quite decisive of the matter, shows more of it to-day than at any previous stage of its development for a thousand years. It is increasingly able to respond to the initiatives of the government, while every successive response puts it in possession of a clearer political consciousness and a higher political capacity. However slowly it moves, it does move, continuously, toward a wider distribution of the sovereign prerogative and a larger accumulation of the sovereign power.

I suppose it would be admitted anywhere that this capability of prompt and efficient reaction of the body politic is found at its best in the youngest of contemporary communities, the American Republic. Its vitality seems to be higher, its sensibility more acute. Any commotion at the organic centre is followed by discharges along all the lines of transmission to the extremities and motive apparatus of the system; that is, dropping the figure, any action of the government takes immediate effect beyond it, putting into motion the men who approve and the men who disapprove; who in turn communicate the impulse to the inattentive and unconcerned, until the whole mass is agitated and divides according to the several alternatives submitted to it. Now for a people of the right temper and in fitting political circumstances, this is the kind of

trouble that begets order, and the kind of conflict from which comes agreement. Our brightest lights have been struck out in the collisions of hostile bodies that come together from opposite sides of some question raised by the action of the government. Each of the contestants plays his opinion for all it is worth, brings it forth in its most exhaustive statement and its highest possible relief. When the opposing alternatives have been thus sifted in the excitements of popular controversy from irrelevant and confusing accessories, comparison between them becomes easy and a choice is soon made. Here again it will probably not be disputed that the American community is in advance of its contemporaries. As it accepts the issues presented to it more promptly, so does it find its way mere promptly out of them than any other. It refuses to rest in the futilities of interminable debate, to *éterniser la situation* as the French say, but when the argument is closed it makes up its mind. This is what Mr. Arnold really refers to in his recent paper as that intelligence of the American which sees so straight and sees so clear. In this way a multitude of questions still in dispute, or not so much as raised elsewhere, have been finally settled here, and have yielded those great regulative ideas which animate and control the whole machinery of our government. The paradoxes or the distant dream of foreign politics, they are the realities and commonplaces of ours; the habitual, the almost instinctive and unconscious axioms in virtue of which the people is absolutely supreme in its own domain.

But in recognizing actual results it is not at all necessary to credit ourselves, as we so often do, with any special favor of that overruling Providence which is supposed to have the fortunes of the democracy at heart, or with any exceptional genius and virtue of our own. The truth is that, along no doubt with a remarkable amount of political capability, we have in large measure been forced into these sovereign unanimities by the sequence of events and the inexorable logic of the situation. The founders of our State got out of Europe with the most advanced ideas of the 17th century; on arrival here they found themselves relieved at once, by sheer force of geographical isolation, of the ponderous burdens and active interference which still obstruct those ideas in the Europe of to-day. That

was what they came for and what they found. A hundred years later when political independence was added to geographical separation, we had the good fortune to begin our career as a people with the doctrine which has been the goal of all political evolution since the rise of society, the doctrine that the control and the benefits of power should go back where they belong, namely to those who furnish it; that the constituents, whose association for common ends is what we call the State, should determine its forms and profit by its action. But this, it is clear, is a generalization of the widest kind, a principle whose adoption commits us to all its consequences one after the other as they arise. The order of their coming and the shape in which they come have been determined by events, but the necessity of accepting each in its turn and time has existed from the first. We have been caught in the toils of a stringent and beneficent syllogism which, in the last resort, has saved us from the "fumbling" and "floundering" of foreign politics by forcing us to vote the conclusions whose premises we had voted before.

Accordingly it will be found that the agreements into which the American people has come hitherto are all related as parts of a whole, and bear upon a single point. From the first proclamation of the revolted provinces down to the adoption of the 15th amendment to the constitution they are concerned with the constituent unit of the system, and taken together supply an exhaustive definition of the person of the citizen in his relations to the State; his responsibilities as one of the contributors to its power, his prerogative as joint-owner of the power so created, and his right to a proportional part of the benefits accruing from it. In all these respects he is declared to be the peer of each of his associates in the association, to have an equal measure of responsibility, of prerogative, and of right, and to have no more. The only *class* distinctly known to our polity is the class of offenders, who have forfeited their prerogative and right in the measure of their offending. They are our *kakistocracy*, and are recognized in specific provisions of the law for the purpose of being punished and put down. The exception to this statement is the political position of women who constitute a class because their relation to the

State has not been perfectly defined except in certain omissions and negations. The reason for this is not in their political demerit or incapacity, which has not been put to the proof. It is in the fact that, unlike other outlying classes which have found their way to a share in the sovereignty, they have never made themselves troublesome to the State. Whenever woman, or the friends and foes of woman, create for the sex the position the slaveholder and the abolitionist created for the black race, she will find her place in the system all ready and waiting for her. Until that is done it will stand empty. Even under our generous polity no class has got anything it was not ready to fight for and to make itself disagreeable about if it did not get it. We don't vote any of the conclusions to our premises until the occasion arises and we are obliged to.

With this one omission the long era which has just closed has solved its problems and finished its work by decisive agreements of the people which perfectly define the person of the constituent in his relations to the State. But it has not done this for the *property* of the constituent, although nothing can be more evident than that the possession of property intimately concerns all his political relations. He has more to contribute to the joint-power of the association and more benefits accrue to him, but how much more? And should he not have a prerogative proportioned to his responsibilities and rights? None of these things have been as yet fully taken into account and finally disposed of. The reason again is evident. It is partly because the relations of person are the fundamental ones and naturally present themselves first, partly because they are much simpler and easier of definition, and most of all because, as in the case already referred to, those who are directly interested have not forced the issue by making trouble about it. Like the women the owners of property have suffered so little or so willingly, or have been so little conscious of suffering, that they have not made the definition of the rights and responsibilities of property a State necessity. But that they are about to do so is manifest by a thousand unmistakable signs. Already we may say that the specific questions of the era we are entering will be questions of wealth in all its aspects, social as well as political, and that the new agreements into which the

American people will come are agreements defining the relations of citizens as owners of property to the State. Standing therefore as we do at one of the great articulations of our history, the point where one era closes and another opens, we may profitably inquire how the new questions arise out of the old ones, and what obstructions are likely to get in the way of the people in settling them; what special interests or prejudices will confuse the issues and prolong the controversy, and what agencies they will be able to dispose of to effect this end. This is the really picturesque and instructive phase of our politics, when the action of the government brings the opposing forces into the field, and the inattentive mass of the people, troubled in the preoccupations of its daily life, is gradually involved in the controversy, and at last ends it by making up its mind.

I. In 1856 the policy of the government as maintained for many years had distinctly committed the State to the doctrine that the negro, including the child of a white parent with any trace of negro blood in its veins, although presumably a human being, was no person in the eye of the law; not, to be sure, a savage animal like the panther or the alligator, as Mr. Douglass was good enough to allow, but what the Darwinists call an animal under domestication, to be worked without wages, coupled without marriage, punished without trial, and sold without his consent. This being so it followed according to the Fugitive Slave Law, a perfectly logical enactment, that the owner could pursue his stray cattle into the States where the negro was a political person; and according to the Dred Scott decision, another piece of pure logic, that he could drive his herds, his bullocks and horses and hogs and niggers—for the creature had gotten a name that fitted it—into all the territories of the United States. The gathering disgust and wrath of the unwilling accomplices of this high reasoning at last decided that the line must really be drawn somewhere, and drew it in the unreasonable proposition that slavery must go no farther than it had gone already—as if a thing fit to be left anywhere were not good enough to go everywhere. In the election of 1860 it was found that they were a constitutional majority of the voters, and their representatives took the government pledged

to the exclusion of slavery from the territories of the United States. Within six weeks they had added the proposition, good logic this time, that for a State to levy war on the United States is armed rebellion to be put down with arms; within eight years the propositions that the negro is a person, that he is a citizen, and that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. These were the ideas of the Republican party, that the State must stand intact and entire, and stand to maintain the political equality of all its constituents whatever their differences of culture, religion, fortune, birth, or race.

Now let us carefully observe this situation, for it contains the standing anomaly of our own as of every other representative system. We say that the people governs here by virtue of certain ideas which it has in common—as that there shall be no hereditary aristocracy, or that all male citizens over 21 shall have the right to vote—and about which it has made up its mind. But the government, meaning thereby the men through whom the people governs, do not represent these ideas, or rather are not chosen because they represent them, for any other set of men, for example the men who have just gone out of office, would do that quite as well. They are chosen for the very reason that they do *not* represent them—any better than anybody else, and do represent the ideas of a *part* of the people. The Republicans were not even an absolute majority of all the voters of the country, but the representatives they had chosen took possession of the State, with the whole available power of the State, to coerce the will of the other half, or even more than half of the people. By what right and for what purpose? We are so habituated to this as the natural and necessary result of the working of our institutions that we fail to see the full significance of it. We have come to look upon the submission of the less number, although guilty of no offence, to the greater as the very end for which the State exists, as if the majority had that infallibility and absolute right to rule pretended to elsewhere by the monarchy or the theocracy. Yet it is clear that these things are not born with a mere majority. They may be claimed, and have often been actually held, if by any-

body, by the minority. The Republicans for example were as much in the right in 1856 when beaten as in 1860 when victorious. The transfer of a single vote may create a constitutional majority—the transfer of a thousand votes in New York did create it the other day—and would carry the whole power of the State with it; but it could not create more than a constitutional right. Accordingly the real end of the State with us, that to which everything else is a means, is not in the least that one part of the constituents may rule over the other but that all may rule; it is verily meant to be a government of the people and not merely of the Whig, or Democratic, or Republican party. If therefore we invariably hand over the government to the representatives of the majority and to no one else, we do so for the time being, in a tentative and provisional manner, because with all its obvious inequality and inconvenience this is better than the other alternative, the rule of the minority; better, not in a vague and general way, as if somehow the right must be on the side of the bigger battalions, but in this specific way that it is better fitted to bring us in the end to the rule of the people. Our fundamental assumption is that, whatever their differences of opinion for the moment, all men are reasonable beings at bottom and fit for self-government; and we simply argue that when there are differences the greater number are more likely to be correct in their reasoning than the less, and therefore more likely to bring the less number, who are reasonable too, into agreement with them; that is to bring about the ultimate agreement and rule of the whole people. So we deliver the State to the party victorious at the polls and we say to them, You hold that Slavery should be restricted to the area it occupies already. Your adversaries hold that it should go into all the territories of the United States. With the resources of the government at their disposal they have failed to convince you who are the greater number. Therefore do you take the government and convince *them*. You have outvoted them, you are presumably in the right; now bring your doctrine to the tests of public and official experiment, put it into the form of law and enforce the law against anyone who resists it. You add that as the negro is a man he ought to be free, to be a citizen, and a voter. Very well, make him

so and see what will come of it. Your mission is to do with your doctrine what your predecessors could not do with theirs, to bring about the settlement of this difference in a universal and abiding agreement of the people.

This is the meaning of popular suffrage and the appeal to the ballot; it is even, in the case of civil war, the meaning of the appeal to arms. What I said of the law in its first enactment, that it is a conjecture and an experiment, an interrogation put to the constituency whom it concerns, is true of the rule of the majority in general and the initiative of government confided to it. The opposing parties express the opposite alternatives of the question which divides the people; the party outvoting the other conquers the right to take the government provisionally, that in governing it may bring the alternative it stands for to practical tests and so convince the people that it is the only possible or the better one of the two. If we are out in our calculation here, if all this searching ordeal and public exposure are unavailing to bring forth the truth and the right to the satisfaction of all men, then our system is a failure. With a minority unconvinced and implacable, the perpetuation of the majority in power becomes a despotism of the most authentic and formidable kind. In the name of ideas which it will not relinquish and cannot propagate it confiscates to itself the dignities and emoluments of the State, to rule against the will and at the expense of its victims. Nor is the situation bettered when the people is divided into two rival bodies, with incommunicable ideas and irreconcilable interests, who dispute the possession of the government on nearly equal terms. In that case our political history becomes a war of ruinous reprisals between alternating despotisms, each body in turn the oppressor and the victim of the other. If what the Senator-elect of New York said not long ago is true, that the two great parties are in principle and temper what they were twenty-five years ago, then it is nearly certain that they will be what they are now twenty-five years hence; that is we have got here in chronic form that very dualism of the State which we were supposed to have escaped in the capacity of the people to end its controversies by universal accords.

It concerns therefore the honor of the American people,

whose institutions and character are in question, to repel this imputation upon the Republican party. Now if ever is the time for all men to remind one another how magnificently it did its work. It has just gone out of office, not gloriously. Gone out why? Because it had failed? I say no, but because it had succeeded. It did not take office for the paltry purpose of putting its adversaries out, but for the purpose of making its ideas good and therewithal, in the truest and noblest sense of the words, of *bringing its adversaries in*. Its task was to convince them and all men of the shocking unreason of a free State founded on the atrocities of slavery and triumphant over the ruins of the Republic; to carry out to its logical conclusions the consecrated doctrine which puts this country in the forefront of civilization, that all men who contribute to the power of the State are co-equal constituents, entitled to equal shares in its benefits; in a word, to close the first great era of our history by fixing forever the authoritative definition of the personal responsibility, prerogative, and right of each member of the association. It is not only a dishonor to the Republican Party and to the North, which for this purpose was Republican, to deny that this was done; it is absurd. What if it be true that the rancors of the war still live in the breast of many an impenitent rebel, or that persistent animosities of race obstruct the progress of the emancipated slave? All this inevitable Jacobinism and Bourbonism, with its unavailing retrospects and regrets, is impotent against its own conviction that there is to be no slavery here and no disruption of the Union for the sake of it. It has been discovered and is acknowledged all round that the North, victorious at the polls and on the battle-field, was right in its reasoning. What were a little while ago the convictions of a belligerent party are to-day the will of the united American people.

But the moment this came true the retention of the government by the Republican party became an unmeaning anachronism. A portion of the constituents can have no reasonable pretensions to rule over or rather than the other portion in virtue of ideas and purposes which are common to all. He who was a slaveholder and a rebel, or is still a Democrat, is as good a Republican as anybody to the extent that he has accepted

the Republican principles. The party has disappeared by assimilation so that it is no longer distinguishable in doctrine from the mass of the people which is now at one. Nothing was more evident throughout the late campaign than that the wind had been completely taken out of its sails by the assent of everybody to all it had ever contended for. Having lost its distinctiveness, its continuing *raison d'être*, why should it continue to hold as its own the honors and profits of government? This was the question really voted on at the polls, and no political party was ever caught in a more distressing dilemma. It had to reply, either that its long control of affairs had left the people unconvinced that its doctrine was the true American doctrine—the confession of Mr. Evarts—in which case it deserved like its predecessors, to be turned out as a preposterous failure; or that the people was convinced, in which case its mission was ended. As a matter of fact it had perfectly converted its opponents, and in converting them had prepared their return to power upon any new issue which gave them a majority.

But was it reduced to this dilemma through no negligence or error of its own? A party so long in administration must have either failed or succeeded in vindicating its original ideas. Is it necessary that it relinquish office as the consequence alike of failure and of success? Nothing would seem more unreasonable if we consider that in the invaluable matter of experience and training it is never so fit to remain as at the moment it is called upon to retire, while its opponents are never so little prepared to come in. This consideration has often told with fatal effect on the pretensions of the Democratic party. It has been widely felt that apart from all differences of opinion long exclusion has disqualified its leaders for taking the places of men whose lives had been passed in the responsibilities of practical administration; a feeling justified by the fact that they had repeatedly been guilty at critical moments of that passionate and reckless action begotten of irresponsibility and the disuse of power. But besides this there is nothing in the natural relations of parties to one another, or to the State, which requires the party in power to give way to the other. The rights and the liberties of the opposition are not in the

least dependent on the return of its representatives to office. What makes the rule of the majority a despotism is not any, even indefinite, continuance of it, for in that case to rule at all would be in some measure despotic ; it is its continuing to rule in virtue of ideas which it cannot persuade the opposition to accept, or of ideas which the opposition has accepted. In any other circumstances its retention of office would give the country the highest form of party government possible, that in which previous experiences are utilized and the continuity and coherence of public measures assured.

II. Accordingly there was a way out of the dilemma so obvious with all its difficulty, that the humblest political intelligence, or at any rate the highly trained intelligence of the Republican leaders, ought not to have missed it. All they had to do in order to retain the government in the interest of the entire constituency was to hold their majority by rightly anticipating the new issues ; having converted one set of partisan ideas into abiding agreements of the people, to find in the conclusions of their own logic and the altered state of affairs other ideas waiting for the same treatment. They had made themselves unnecessary by settling for all time the questions of one era ; they had only to make themselves indispensable by fitly raising the questions of another. This was so far from being denied to them as one of the privileges of power that it was, in theory at least, a conspicuous part of their function. The initiative of government is confided to any body of men, first of all, no doubt, to give effective expression to the will of the party by whom they are elected. But this does not exhaust or begin to exhaust the whole right and obligation of initiative. The doctrine and purpose of the party, however far-seeing and comprehensive they may be, cannot possibly cover all the prospective exigencies of a great community in active evolution, or even those exigencies nearest at hand as the immediate consequence of the party's action.* From the situation actually

* Here belongs the much debated question of the extent of the obedience due by a representative to his constituency. The principle is a simple one. So far as the constituency, or the party, has made up its mind and issued a clear and imperative mandate to him at the time of his election, he is absolutely bound to obey, as the government in general is absolutely bound by the agreement and expressed will of the peo-

acquired in settling past differences new situations emerge with all the material for fresh differences requiring further agreements of the people. They concern everybody alike, and one party as much as the other ; but it belongs to the government to take the first cognizance of them because, as the sole depository of public power, it must take action upon them. It cannot refuse the initiative if it would ; the very refusal to act raises the issue as distinctly as any action. It has only the option between putting itself and its party in the right or in the wrong, between a political blunder and political success. This being so, all men are concerned that its action should be a wise one, determined by sound deductions from fundamental principles settled in the past, and by clear provisions of the agreements into which the people must come in the future. That it should be so mistaken in its estimates as to put the State from the start on the wrong side of the new issue, should make of it an aberrant and obstructive power which must be gotten out of the way before the people can make up its mind, would be a disaster to both parties alike ; for the parties, however interested in prolonging the controversy, are after all the people, and the interest of the people is to end controversy and settle the principle as promptly as possible.

Here, too, it must be added, are all the real dignity and pleasure of governing. To the extent that the people, or even

ple. He need not have accepted the mandate had he disapproved, and he ought in honor to resign if his opinions change. But for all public interests not covered by the mandate he is bound only by his own conscience and reason. Any new instructions issued to him after his election are advisory and not mandatory. If he disapproves of them he should resist them and should retain office in the interest of the people for the express purpose of making his resistance effective. So of a delegate to a party convention. He is bound by the instructions he accepts with the notification of his election, but in no manner by the action of the convention itself.

For the duty of a representative is in the nature of things undefined and indefinable so far as his functions are prospective and concern interests of the people upon which the people has not yet divided. It is essential to his proper discharge of it that his right of private judgment should be protected from all encroachments even of his principals. They have in fact chosen him for the distinct purpose of using his own reason in all cases where they have not already furnished him precise instructions.

that the party has made up its mind, the government is the helpless instrument of the will of another and its action so far automatic and mechanical. But where the people, although its interests are in question, is unconcerned or divided in counsel, there the government recovers its freedom of choice and the use of all its faculties. It has now to deal with an element of the incalculable, to adjust its measures, not to the precise instructions of State or party documents, but to novel emergencies and all the undetermined applications of general doctrines. With such conscience and intelligence as it possesses, it must decide for itself which one of several alternatives will get the better of the others in the impending trial; a question of high and attractive dialectics, troubled by all the thousand hazards of popular controversy, but steadied by one immovable certainty, that the American people can never be permanently united upon any conclusion at war with the principle which expresses its abiding political conscience.

In this instance everything apparently invited the government to prompt and courageous action. The new ideas it required for maintaining the party majority and justifying its retention of power were all there, perfectly defined and obtruded upon its notice by the situation it had itself created. On the one hand the close of the war had left the State burdened with a current expenditure and a capital debt so great as to modify the political relations of every person in it. When we reflect that, directly or indirectly, all public power is now created by contributions of money and exercised by disbursements of money, it may almost be said that the augmented liabilities of the constituent were as signal a revolution as the admission of the slave to the constituency. How was the enormous burden to be apportioned? By the rough-and-ready taxation of the war? But it was found that the war tariff was yielding a revenue far beyond the needs of the State after the war had ended. For whose benefit was this sudden surplus to be spent, and how was the diminishing burden to be redistributed? The double question of taxation and expenditure in all its details, the readjustment of the entire fiscal system of the United States, was at once thrown forward as the imperative and commanding problem of the time. Equally on the other hand, its solution

was to be had only in a further application of Republican doctrine, now declared and admitted to be authentic American doctrine. What has been affirmed to be true of the unit of the constituency which makes up the State must be accepted as true of the unit of property which supplies the power of the State. Every constituent is, in his person, the peer of every other, held to equal responsibilities, endowed with equal rights. But his responsibilities and rights, so far as the creation of a State power are concerned, are, as I have said, almost wholly those of an owner of wealth. He may indeed be called upon to serve on a jury or a *posse comitatus* or in a conscription, but in general what is required of him is a payment of money. To discriminate between any unit of his wealth and any unit of another man's is to deny at once, in the matter of most concern, that he is the peer, or that he is no more than the peer, of any other constituent. You cannot tax him beyond the uniform rate for everybody without violating political rights you have just consecrated; or tax him under the uniform rate without remitting responsibilities you have just exacted. Precisely so of expenditure, when any man is paid more or less than the equivalent of his services, which is the uniform rule for all. There was absolutely nothing left to the logic of the Republican leaders but to meet the situation of their own creating with the direct conclusions of their own doctrine; by a new initiative to sweep out of the constituency the new inequalities, to suppress the classes brought into being by the stupendous development of the money power of the State, as they had suppressed the slave-holder and the slave.

But pure logic of this wide-seeing and comprehensive kind is as rare in politics, or even in statesmanship, as pure disinterestedness, and the two will probably come together if they ever come at all. The kind of reasoning which deduces the Fugitive Slave Law from the obtrusive and insistent fact of slavery is abundant enough, but not the reasoning which fathoms the character of a great people in all the phases of its long development, and from the accordant traditions of the past foresees the certainty of its unanimous agreements in the future. *That* is a philosophy which we need not look for until we get a race of public men lifted above the reach of personal interests and

the strife of parties by their intelligence of fundamental truths and their devotion to the common cause. With that sort of men in power the initiative of government would acquire a quality and a strength it has never had in any State; and would avail to reduce the obstructive rivalries of parties to their just limits, to shorten all our controversies and hasten all our final settlements by putting the State on the right side of every issue at the start. But we have not got men of that sort, nor are likely to have them, in sufficient number to determine the character of the government. What we have is what we have always had and what other States have, men, often of abundant ability and high character, but who shrink from any action not demanded, or suggested, by the party, or by some state of public opinion likely to affect the immediate fortunes of the party. As I have said no class with us gets anything it is not prepared to make trouble about if it does not get it; and the same thing is true of the general interests of the people. Its manifest interest is that the money-power of the State should be recalled from its perversions and brought under the general law that all public power is to be furnished at the cost and exerted for the benefit of all the constituents alike. But the mere certainty that the people will never be at one until the reform is effected does not suffice to prompt the action of the government; there must be the further certainty that it is distinctly and resolutely bent on effecting it, or that some formidable body is. In the absence of salutary pressure of that kind the government will surely yield to pressure, never wanting, of another, the urgency of the classes which have grown up around the abuses of public power and whose prosperity depends upon their perpetuation. We need not wonder, therefore, that exactly as the question of the personal rights and responsibilities of the constituent was raised in its final form by the alliance of the government with the slave-holder, so the question of his rights and responsibilities as the owner of wealth has been raised by the alliance of the government with other interested classes; the power and prestige of the State on the wrong side of the question both times.

ARTICLE VI.—THE STATES GENERAL OF FRANCE.

III. THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE STATES GENERAL.

No ordinance or enactment ever defined the powers or regulated the functions of the States General. Vague statements in the letters of convocation set forth the occasion and purpose of each meeting; but in the law of the realm there was nothing to which the assembly could point as a charter of rights and privileges. Ideas about the place and mission of the great representative body of the nation, at all periods of its history, were in the highest degree confused and contradictory, differing according to different standpoints, varying with every new set of circumstances. Yet if a Frenchman of the time of Louis XI. or Marie de Médici, for instance, had been asked whether the States General really possessed any authority or any recognized means of activity, he would probably have greeted the question with astonishment and indignation. Notwithstanding the uncertainty regarding the prerogatives of the assembly, there was attached to it a vast though intangible influence; and in the absence of any formulated statement of its powers and functions, a general view of these may be gained by considering, first, the authority of the States General, according to their own view and according to the view of the monarchy, and as manifested in their relations with the Royal Council and the Parliament of Paris; and secondly, their office, as shown in the voting of supplies, the decision of questions of State, and the presentation of cahiers.

The view of the States General themselves regarding the proper extent of their rights and privileges as a national assembly enlarged with time. During the first period of their history, that is, up to 1439, they had no adequate conception of their reason of being or the possibility of a constitutional monarchy. True, indeed, during the captivity of King John they assumed control of the government and ruled the Dauphin. But why? We must not project back into the fourteenth century the advanced political ideas of to-day. At that time the

masses were in dense ignorance ; and among the higher classes the thought of the sovereignty of the people, of the King as executive head of the nation, and kindred ideas, were as yet hardly comprehended. The States General of 1356-7 claimed no rights as rights. The deputies had no thought of establishing by intelligent and united effort a permanent guaranty of the nation's authority. They were simply forced by stress of circumstances to take the supreme power into their own hands. The country was being overrun by the English, the finances were falling into irretrievable confusion, and the royal authority was represented by a corrupt and heedless court ; such was the emergency that compelled the assembly to take independent action. Nobly it did its duty ; but we seek in vain for any evidences of broad patriotism, or of a higher aim than to meet the crisis impending in the affairs of the nation. In the addresses of the deputies one hears no assertion of the rights of the people, no declaration of the sovereign authority of the States General as representing it. There is only an impassioned outcry against the sufferings brought on by continuous wars, against the disgraces heaped upon the nation, against the abuses of corrupt administration in the government. Similar protests, less vehement perhaps, characterized all the sessions of the States General during the first period. Courageous denunciations of wrongs and bold demands for reform were never lacking. But while the deputies in a vague way doubtless regarded themselves as responsible for the nation's interests, they did not look upon themselves as possessing any authority to interfere in matters of state without the permission of the Court. The regulation of imposts indeed they regarded as their peculiar province, but of this right even they did not appreciate fully the significance, or it would not have been in part at least ceded to royalty in 1439. Being summoned by the Court, they remained for the most part ready to do its bidding.

But the second period of the history of the States General reveals a clearer comprehension of the proper position of the assembly in the state. In the debates upon important issues and even in the addresses of the orators of the estates before the King, the thought of the sovereignty of the people often

found expression. In the writings of leading scholars the traditions of Greek liberty and Roman republicanism were revived. The division of Europe into two hostile camps by differences in religious opinions caused each party to inquire into the other's right to rule, and thus a more searching examination into the basis of sovereign authority was made than ever before. Occasional pamphlets attacked vehemently the arbitrary power of Kings. Gradually among the intelligent the thought gained currency that the State is for man, not man for the State. Men of breadth of view began to see that the States General ought to be like the English Parliament, a fixed institution, mandatory of the rights of the nation and able to bring influence to bear directly on the conduct of public affairs.

In illustration of the changed attitude of the States General toward the crown, witness the earnest plea of Philip Pot, a deputy of the third estate at the meeting of 1483, in the course of a debate on the composition of the Royal Council: "Royalty," he declared, "is a dignity, and not the property of the King. History relates that at the beginning the people, being sovereign, created kings by its suffrage, and that it preferred in particular the men who stood preëminent above the rest in virtue and ability. It is in its own interest that each nation has given itself a master. Princes have not been clothed with vast powers in order to enrich themselves at the expense of the people, but in order to enrich the State and to conduct it to better destinies. If they do anything to the contrary they are tyrants, and they are shepherds who, far from defending the sheep, like cruel masters, devour them. Then it is a matter of the highest importance to the people what head and what law direct them. If the King is good, the nation grows great; if he is bad, it becomes poor and enfeebled. Who does not know, and who will not forever maintain, that the State is a thing of the people? If so it be, how can the people abandon the care of it? How can vile flatterers attribute sovereignty to the prince, who himself exists only by the people?" Then, dealing no longer in generalities, the orator exclaimed: "Hence, what is the power in France that has the right to direct the course of affairs when the King is incapable of governing? Obviously this function ought to return neither to a prince nor

to a council of princes, but to the people, who gave the power. For two reasons the people has the right to direct its affairs; first because it is the master, then because, in last analysis, in the case of bad government it is always the victim. . . . It has not the right to reign, but it has the right to administer the government through those whom it has chosen. I call 'people' not only the plebeian and lower classes, but also all the men of each order, to this extent, that under the name of the States General I include even the princes. . . . Thus, deputies of the three estates, you are the repositories of the will of all. . . . Then why do you fear to organize the government? What is the significance of these letters of convocation? . . . What meaning do you attach to the discourse of the chancellor, who in the first line traces this duty for you?"

The address of Philip Pot is only one of many that show the same spirit. Bold demands were made for the recognition and exercise of the nation's rights. From time to time there were speeches full of sentiments of freedom and loyalty to the interests of the people; some of them have never been surpassed in earnestness and power. And outside the number of deputies were men like Commines, who declared that the States General ought to be an essential and regularly constituted branch of government. Even after the States General had become a thing of the past, Fénelon, in sketching the outline of an ideal government for his country, gave them the highest place in authority, making them the most prominent feature of his system. He would have them meet every three years, independently of the royal convocation, and maintain a general supervision over the administration of affairs throughout the realm. Subject to their direction there should be in every province Provincial States, which should have in hand the regulation of the police, the apportionment of imposts among the dioceses, and the hearing of deputations from the *assiettes* or assemblies of the separate dioceses. In the *assiettes* the bishop would meet with the lords and the deputies of the third estate to make provisions for the raising of imposts and to formulate grievances.

Thus the conception of the true place of the States General as a repository of the rights of the nation and a counterpoise to

the power of the crown, as the proper source of legislation with the general supervision over the affairs of the judiciary and of administration, found full expression at the later meetings, as well as in the political writings of the times. By seeking the authority to assemble without summons from the court, by attempting to determine the make-up of the Royal Council and thus by choosing the King's advisers to shape the policy of government, and by claiming the right to reform and direct the entire administrative system, the assembly at times showed a clear comprehension of what its powers ought to be. Yet these manifestations of enlightened statesmanship were accidental and short-lived, called forth by emergencies and never backed up by a united, persistent effort to maintain the position assumed. "France had no lack of statesmen," says Guizot, "full of brilliancy and power, between 1356 and 1789, from Charles V. to Louis XVI.; but in most of the meetings of the States General, for all the ambitious soarings of liberty, it was at one time religious party spirit and at another the spirit of revolution that ruled and determined both acts and events." There was no depth of national feeling, no intelligent, earnest public opinion behind the deputies to sustain them and urge them on. Then, too, they were hampered in their actions by the directions of their constituents. At the elections they were formally assigned particular functions, the deliberating upon certain matters proposed in the letters of convocation, and the presenting of certain grievances. Whatever attitude they might desire to assume regarding other things, in taking action they did not feel authorized to go beyond the letter of their instructions. Yet had a wave of enthusiasm for liberty at any time swept over the nation, these restrictions would have been passed over without heed. Notwithstanding their fine theories about their position in the government, the States General never dared to break loose from the shackles of royal authority and assert their rights as representing the sovereignty of the people. Hence their actions were often inconsistent. Thus the States General of the League, though they had declared the throne vacant, did not dare to choose a king to fill it. They were much more ready to listen to overtures from the detested and outlawed heretic Henry IV., than proceed on

their own authority to carry out the policy which they had laid down and inaugurated. Too late the assembly of the nation came to recognize its rightful sphere of activity. It had sold its birthright in 1489. The trend of the government was more and more toward the centralization of all powers in the hands of the King. The dreams and ambitions of the deputies and statesmen faded away before the sombre realities of rising absolutism. The States General passed out of sight; the monarchy remained supreme.

However much the view of the States General themselves regarding the extent of their authority varied from period to period, there was no change in the opinion and attitude of the monarchy. No French king ever thought of the assembly of the three estates as anything else than a purely advisory body. In appealing to the nation royalty never dreamed of allowing its prerogatives to be curtailed, or in any way endangered. In its own theory the French monarchy was from the beginning absolute. It gathered about itself the traditions of Roman imperialism, whose fundamental maxim was "The will of the monarch has the force of law." These moreover came to it not through succession, as in the case of the German Emperors, but through the Roman Law, the office of which in building up a central authority has already been noticed. The French monarchy never in good faith conceded a single right or privilege to the States General. It was careful to check and render fruitless all efforts on their part to perpetuate their own existence independently of itself. In its view their sole reason of being was to aid it in carrying out its plans, principally with money alone, sometimes with the moral support that accompanies an expression of national feeling. Yet it always considered itself independent of such assistance, never admitted directly its obligations to the nation, and never in theory reckoned an appeal to the three estates a necessity.

Though this doctrine of the monarchy was never accepted by the French people, nevertheless it was never effectually combated or replaced by any other before the revolution. Constitutionally, that is, in accordance with its body of unwritten custom of the realm, the States General could have authority only so far as this might be conferred upon them by the crown.

Strictly speaking they had but one right, that of imposing taxes; this even was virtually ceded to the crown, as we have seen in 1439. But though technically they did not possess authority, they had a prestige and influence which the monarchy for all its pretensions was forced from time to time to recognize. Stress of circumstances sometimes drew from the crown what seemed the fairest concessions, but it looked upon these as merely temporary measures, not in the least affecting its own rights, and ignored them at the earliest opportunity. Just the moment the deputies began to discuss with earnestness and independent spirit any question the decision of which would tend to increase their own powers and trench upon those of the Court, it considered them in the way, set them down as its enemies, who must be flattered or coerced into submission.

The privilege of presenting cahiers, moreover, must not be looked upon as a recognition, by the monarchy, of the rights of the nation as the assembly of the estates. Rarely indeed did a prince, as Henry IV., ask for cahiers with the real design of ascertaining and satisfying the wants of the people. Usually the crown bade its subjects formulate their grievances and requests simply in order to win favor with them, that they might be made more generous in the contribution of grants and less disposed to resist the imposition of financial burdens. Kings thus found a clever way of seeming to do much for the people without actually doing anything, of appearing to make concessions without really conceding, and of thus getting money without its equivalent in reforms and grants of privileges. The cahiers therefore were generally makeshifts, received graciously enough in appearance, at heart with dislike. The provisions suggested by these were sanctioned by the Court only when it thought its interests would be furthered by such a course. They were simply a collection of complaints and requests, with no surety whatever that attention would be paid to them.

All the French kings indeed were not like Charles V. or Louis XI. Some there were doubtless that had the good of the people at heart, and sought to increase the prosperity and happiness of all classes. Yet in their plans of reform and methods of operation, even these looked upon themselves, not

the people, as the centre and source of authority. "The State—I am the State," was the motto of them all, though only one of them had the courage openly to own it. Once, it is true, a broad-minded chancellor, l'Hôpital, advocated the usefulness and importance of national assemblies. At the opening of the States General of Orleans in 1560 he gave utterance to striking sentiments for a representative of the king. He declared that "the regulation of the royal power is a guaranty of its continuance," and cited as an example for the assembly the career of the parliaments of England and Scotland, the beneficial influence of which upon their respective governments none could gainsay. Yet circumstances showed that in this the chancellor was expressing his own views, not those of his Court, and that even he would not have cared to see his ideas carried out to their logical conclusion in the establishment of a permanent deliberative body, a Parliament of France.

From first to last, then, the monarchy looked upon all effort on the part of the States General to exercise independent authority as an encroachment on its own prerogatives. Notwithstanding occasional spasmodic attempts to assert their own rights, the assemblies for the most part did the bidding of the Crown. They thus became an important means of strengthening its position, especially in crushing out Feudalism and in repelling the claims of the Papacy for temporal supremacy. The voice of the deputies as a whole, was always for peace, for regular administration, for the protection of life and property, for the facilitating of commerce, for the maintainance of national interests as opposed to foreign pretensions, of whatever kind. In all this it is evident that while they thought themselves called upon to consider the general good and the welfare of the country at large, they were really by grants of means and by encouragement aiding the cause of the monarchy, making themselves the strong right arm of that authority which had appealed to them as their protector.

The subordination of the States General to the Crown and the unsettled state of their rights and privileges brought them into frequent collision with the Royal Council and the Parliament of Paris. An examination of their relations with these two institutions will throw light upon their place and influence.

No body of State was ever more fluctuating in its membership or uncertain in its functions than the French Royal Council, or Council of the King. Its origin must be sought in the old feudal court of the Duchy of France, the office of which was both advisory and judicial. As the Kingship increased in power and importance this council of great vassals was found useful in many ways. Finally its functions were divided. Part of it was made over into a high court, the Parliament of Paris; and what was now left of the original Council accompanied the King everywhere as an advisory body. Its membership gradually passed to the more influential of the King's male relatives and the chief officers of the Crown. With the increasing splendor of the court life, it came to be composed often, if not generally, of selfish and ambitious courtiers, whose statesmanship never looked further than the gratification of a desire to exert influence and be masters of intrigue, and the getting of enough public funds to meet the needs of a corrupt and extravagant life; such men were apt to be lax enough regarding the administration of the realm. In theory the functions of this body remained purely advisory, yet in the frequent successions of weak princes, with cases of minority and regency by no means rare, it naturally came to have a vast influence. It was the power behind the throne. Often a single member of it made the prince simply a tool in his hands and shaped the whole policy of State.

With the customary deference to royalty, the States General in their complaints and grievances always proceeded on the assumption that the King himself was faultless, having the best interests of his subjects ever at heart, and intentionally doing or suffering no wrong. They attached all blame to the officers of government. To the Royal Council in particular they directed their attention, as the prolific source of evils. Since 1317 the right of the States General to settle the succession to the throne had been tacitly, though not formally, recognized. Upon this naturally followed the right to determine the make-up of the Council of Regency; hence an effort to determine the membership of the King's body of advisors at any time did not appear, to the deputies at least, unwarrantable or out of place. On many occasions therefore the

States General assumed the authority to impeach the members of the Royal Council, and made out a new list. The first and perhaps the most striking illustration of this was in 1356, when the assembly forced the dismissal of the Council and appointed in its place a commission of thirty-six, twelve from each order, which during the brief period of the nation's supremacy, in the intervals between the meetings of the States General was looked to as the centre of authority, and inaugurated many wide-reaching reforms. But ordinarily the composition of the Council depended on the royal will alone. The assembly could make out lists, offer suggestions and present petitions; but that was all. To the King belonged the choice. In case the throne belonged to a minor the regency generally accepted the counselors recommended by the estates; but no constitutional provision obliged them to do so in case it was not thought best. Nevertheless it is clear that the States General considered the Royal Council as subordinate to themselves in authority and inferior in standing.

The Council, however, by no means accepted the view of the assembly. Claiming no authority of its own, yet exerting great influence by moulding the King's opinions, it of course held the view of the monarchy regarding the extent of the royal prerogatives. But as neither the Council nor the assembly had the power to make laws or control the administration, the one acting only through advice, the other through suggestions and petitions, in case of a disagreement between them neither could coerce the other. The monarchy therefore found and followed its own interest in setting one over against the other, sometimes placing suggestions of the States General above those of the Council, sometimes alleging the decisions of the Council as an excuse for not doing the will of the estates. Thus the balancing of two indefinite authorities against each other, either of which could be exalted or degraded according to the character of the emergency, gave the King an excellent opportunity to increase his own power at the expense of both bodies.

The same uncertainty that characterized the relations of the States General to the Royal Council was manifested also in those of the assembly with the Parliament of Paris. This

institution, whose functions were intended to be purely judicial, and the Chamber of Accounts, whose functions were both judicial and financial, formed the only fixed bodies of State having a permanent organization and clearly defined powers. The Parliament of Paris, being composed of the best legal minds of the realm and devoted to a policy of centralization, gave to the monarchy great assistance in reducing the kingdom to unity, as well as in undermining Feudalism and resisting papal pretensions. As a matter of course it became the great judicial centre, then the supreme court, of the realm. It tried cases of treason against majesty, and received appeals from all the other high courts, including the provincial parliaments. Since it thus gained a great prestige, the kings came to send to it important edicts and ordinances, that these might be enrolled upon its records. The process was called registration, and had for its object to assure prompt and faithful carrying out of the decrees; for the formal acceptance of them by the highest judicial authority inspired confidence in them on the part of those who were to execute them. From this ceremony of registration the Parliament gradually gained a power of interference in matters of State, wholly outside its original sphere of activity. The lower courts came to look upon its approval as essential to the validity of every measure. In cases brought before them involving the violation of an ordinance without the parliamentary sanction they refused to take action, and thus the execution of such an ordinance was effectually blocked. What was at first a clever expedient of the monarchy became finally a matter of necessity, and all enactments of the Crown having to do with the welfare of the realm were presented for registration.

Taking advantage of its opportunity, the Parliament became accustomed to discuss all measures thus brought before it. If anything in them seemed inexpedient, unjust or from any other cause objectionable, it would defer registration until it could send remonstrances to the King. These at first were humble enough in tone, stating simply the reasons why it was thought that the proposed edict or ordinance ought not to be promulgated. Afterwards however objections were urged with great firmness; suggestions as to the proper modifications

of measures proposed, or even regarding the formulating of new laws, were freely made, and sometimes grievances were presented. The King indeed could force the registration of anything he wished by holding a *lit de justice*, that is, by appearing in person at a session of the Parliament and formally commanding it; but in such cases the remonstrances were always published along with the ordinance, so that it was executed only with the greatest difficulty. For the inferior courts attempted in every way to sustain the action of the Parliament. This therefore came to have influence in political affairs, and served indeed in some degree as a check upon the power of royalty itself. As all public measures were submitted to it, those that had their origin in the suggestions of the States General were brought before it. Hence arose a conflict between the two bodies.

Few matters of government are more difficult to regulate than the administration of justice. In France, especially before the Revolution, the judicial class was so large and influential that it had matters relating to itself pretty much its own way. At times it became so corrupt that the trial of cases in which money was at stake could not in any way be made prompt, cheap, or impartial. As the deputies of the third estate always comprised a good number of lawyers, through their influence the matter of the judiciary always received at the meetings of the States General a full share of attention. Sometimes they urged reforms in matters of jurisdiction and sought to expedite the course of justice. Occasionally they proposed the remodelling of the judicial system throughout, pointing out abuses and corruptions, suggesting better methods of appointment, and fixing compensations. During the reign of King John the Parliament of Paris even was several times reorganized on the demand of the States General. But with its increasing political prestige and growing ambition to exert even greater influence on the actions of the Crown, this resented the interference of the assembly in matters pertaining to itself and took an attitude of envious hostility toward the estates. At first it merely objected to measures emanating from the deputies which did not meet its approval. But finally with a jealousy that grew more and more bitter with each meeting of the

institution, whose functions were intended to be purely judicial, and the Chamber of Accounts, whose functions were both judicial and financial, formed the only fixed bodies of State having a permanent organization and clearly defined powers. The Parliament of Paris, being composed of the best legal minds of the realm and devoted to a policy of centralization, gave to the monarchy great assistance in reducing the kingdom to unity, as well as in undermining Feudalism and resisting papal pretensions. As a matter of course it became the great judicial centre, then the supreme court, of the realm. It tried cases of treason against majesty, and received appeals from all the other high courts, including the provincial parliaments. Since it thus gained a great prestige, the kings came to send to it important edicts and ordinances, that these might be enrolled upon its records. The process was called registration, and had for its object to assure prompt and faithful carrying out of the decrees; for the formal acceptance of them by the highest judicial authority inspired confidence in them on the part of those who were to execute them. From this ceremony of registration the Parliament gradually gained a power of interference in matters of State, wholly outside its original sphere of activity. The lower courts came to look upon its approval as essential to the validity of every measure. In cases brought before them involving the violation of an ordinance without the parliamentary sanction they refused to take action, and thus the execution of such an ordinance was effectually blocked. What was at first a clever expedient of the monarchy became finally a matter of necessity, and all enactments of the Crown having to do with the welfare of the realm were presented for registration.

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States General it habitually objected to all measures suggested by them without regard to value or merit, presenting remonstrances and in every way trying to neutralize their influence. This hindrance became so effectual and so galling that the States General of 1561, at Pontoise, made an attempt to do away with it by appealing to the Crown. They demanded of the King that for the future all ordinances and edicts originating in the expression of their wishes become law on their authority and the sanction of the Crown, without being brought before the Parliament for registration and verification.

As the Crown took no notice of this request, the first States General of Blois renewed it and urged it in the strongest terms. "His Majesty ought to ordain that the decisions (of the States General) have full force and virtue by the single publication that shall have been made in the general assembly of the said States General, just the same as if they were published and registered by all the courts of parliament of the kingdom," said the cahier of the clergy (art. 434). The third estate aimed to reach the same end in a slightly different way. "As that which shall be ordained following the opinion of the said estates ought to be inviolably observed without being subject to any retrenchments or limitations whatever, may it please you to ordain that in the publication of the said ordinances by your sovereign courts these shall be able in no respect to affect, amplify, reduce, or modify them, either by power of enlargement, restriction, correction, declaration, interpretation, or detention *in eventu curiæ*." (*Third Estate Cahier*, § 9.) The protest was fruitless, and passed unheeded by the Crown; but after this time not a session passed without an earnest remonstrance against the meddling of the Parliament. As no action was taken in the matter the Parliament to the end continued to subject the ordinances emanating from the estates to the most minute examination and searching criticism, raising objections to every point, and generally registering them only at a *lit de justice*. Even the great ordinance of 1629, embodying the grievances of the States General of 1614 as modified by the work of two assemblies of notables and recast by Richelieu, was thus forced upon the acceptance of the Parliament. But the Parliament, not yet content, spent six months in discussing

and giving courage to the oppressed. The history of the Parliament of Paris for the two centuries preceding the Revolution is full of famous names and brave actions. It merits a much fuller recognition and more thorough study than is usually given to it.*

*For a fuller account of the Parliament of Paris, and its relation to the States General, consult Mérihou, "*Les Parlements de France*;" Desmages, "*Le Parlement de Paris*;" Montesquieu, "*Esprit des Loix*;" Le Bas, "*Dict. Encyclopédique*;" Brougham, "*Political Philosophy*," etc.

[To be continued.]

ties, except in an uncertain and often ill-disposed public opinion. When the Parliament became possessed of political ambitions and began to vie with the States General for prestige there could be no shadow of doubt which in most cases would prevail. The continuous organization, comprising in its membership many of the best minds of the realm and able by its direct and indirect influence to affect the entire policy and administration of the State, would naturally in the course of time prevail over its irregular and inharmonious rival. Again, the monarchy left the relations between the two bodies purposely indefinite and unsettled in order to offset one with the other, as in the case of the States General and the Royal Council. The Crown was never desirous of doing the will of the estates, and while it openly deprecated it secretly welcomed the interference of the Parliament. Thus in the case of conflict it expressed no definite opinion, but sometimes deferring to the one and sometimes to the other it cleverly strengthened its own position.

After the decline of the States General, however, the Parliament of Paris to some extent redeemed its past and entered upon a glorious career. In reality it took the place of the States General as a counterpoise of the monarchy. The selfish, jealous, intriguing spirit that characterized so many of its former actions gradually died out. During the period of absolutism it nobly entered protest after protest against the encroachments of the Crown, the abuses of an irresponsible administration, the ill treatment of the much enduring nation. During the darkest hours it kept alive the idea of the people's rights. Few despotic measures passed unchallenged. It did not indeed become wholly purged of corruptions. Sometimes moreover it showed a spirit of cringing subserviency toward the Crown. But generally its attitude was one of dignified independence. It looked upon itself as representing the rights and responsible for the welfare of the nation; neither bribery nor coercion could make it betray its sacred trust. Its resistance to the Crown, although without initiative and solely by way of remonstrance, was nevertheless often very effectual. Its indirect and moral was even greater than its immediate influence, checking bold usurpations on the part of the Crown

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[To be continued.]

ARTICLE VII.—PROHIBITION NOT DESIRABLE.

PROHIBITION is very generally assumed to be in theory the most perfect method of suppressing drunkenness and the most advanced temperance legislation. Many reformers join in its praise who yet do not attempt it in practice, fearing that its enforcement would be impossible as above the moral standard of their communities. The reality and possibility of enforcing it are the points of anxious dispute. The previous question, whether successful prohibition would be desirable, has not been much discussed.

When the Maine law was adopted more than thirty years ago, the writer did what he could to secure a similar law in Connecticut. The simplicity of the new plan of reform made it seem like a bright discovery. Total abstinence which had been the salvation of multitudes, but had been unwisely rejected by many, would become compulsory and universal. The law was passed. His faith in its excellence continued after he had seen it become a dead letter. But later observation and reflection have brought about the belief that successful prohibition would involve such change in our methods of government, in the relation of individuals to each other, and in the exercise of responsibility that we are better off without it.

This disapproval does not apply to all that is called prohibition, but only to that combination of laws that is supposed to be indispensable to successful prohibition. Prohibition is a recent invention—prohibitionists are a new party. To prohibit from getting drunk, to prohibit from selling to a drunkard or to a child, to prohibit reckless or immoral men from selling at all, are old laws, tried and approved a hundred years ago. But States with these laws are not called prohibitory States. Prohibition alliances are not formed to adopt and enforce these laws, laws which temperate drinkers sometimes support in hearty union with teetotalers. In the new prohibition teetotalers turn their guns on temperate drinkers them-

selves. The prohibition now to be considered is such prohibition of alcoholic liquors as makes it impossible for even the temperate to procure them for a beverage. Of course such a law, like every other, may be broken occasionally. It may even allow some exceptions of little importance. With these limitations the essential characteristic of a prohibitory law is that it prevents the procuring of liquors.

That the friends of prohibition use the term in this sense may be further illustrated. In States where the law of local option happily prevails many towns have banished from their territory the saloons with their temptations to the thirsty and the social, the young and unwary, with their offensive smells and sights, their noise and rowdyism. But men who will drink can get all they wish by going or sending a few miles. In these towns there is prohibiting, but not prohibition with a capital P, not what prohibitionists seek, at least not the prohibition now to be considered. In the State of Iowa for many years the sale of all intoxicating liquors was prohibited except wine and beer which each town could act upon for itself. But most Iowa people lived where they could obtain whiskey in twenty-four hours by express from a neighboring State. This law can be called prohibitory, and may have merits. But the friends of prohibition have not only taken away all local option, but have also provided for the punishment of any person who "shall knowingly bring within this State for any other person" except importers from foreign countries and licensed dealers "any intoxicating liquors." It was claimed that without this law against importation prohibition was not complete, and so it is plain what its Iowa advocates include in the idea. Some prohibitionists may shrink from such stringency and feel that it should not be charged on their system. That some of the chief benefits they expect* can be secured as well or better without it, we do not doubt; but the only prohibition whose merits we care to discuss is that which takes away the temperate man's liberty of obtaining liquor as a beverage. Such an operation works serious evils.

* "This is what the temperance men of Kansas are aiming at, and what they mean to accomplish—to close the open saloon, which is an open threat and an open nuisance."—*Rev. Richard Cordley*, June 8, 1882.

1. One evil of prohibition would be that it might prevent a man from regulating his food and drink according to his own best judgment. The combination which one constitution requires may be suitable to no other. "What is one man's food is another man's poison." Men differ in wisdom about diet as about everything else, but every man has means of judging of what is best for himself which no one else possesses. Appetite is given not only to stimulate him to eat and drink, but to guide him in his choice. Besides, each man has a special interest in choosing what is best for himself. It is he that is to have the health or the pain, the lengthened or shortened life caused by his diet, and he for this reason should be free to make his own choice. That choice, to be sure, may seriously affect the happiness of others, as may one's choice of abode, occupation or recreation, and therefore friends may rightly use their influence to change it: but even where their advice ought to be heeded, where the wisdom of the world and the golden rule of the Christian alike seem to require the self-denial of perpetual abstinence from some attractive article of food or drink, it is safer to let him do wrong, than to go counter to what most will admit as a sound general rule. The total interests of the whole people will be best promoted if each man's course in such matters is finally decided by himself rather than by his neighbor.

Take an example. Gladstone says that he can do hard bodily work with no drink but water, but he finds a glass of wine necessary for his best mental work. A friend who thinks him mistaken may ask him to try the experiment of mental labors on a cold-water diet, but ought to be satisfied if Gladstone should reply that he *has* tried, and is now too busy to repeat experiments with a body which he has lived in for seventy years, and has become well acquainted with. No man is infallible, but a statesman, scholar, and philanthropist of unabated vigor, whose opinion is authority with millions, is the best person, in office or out, to decide how to treat his own body. Prohibition would deprive him of this privilege, power and duty, and would so far do harm.

2. Another objection to prohibition is that its enforcement requires great exercise of governmental power. This is evident

from the nature of the act forbidden. (a) Both parties to a sale, the seller and the buyer, consent to it and are interested to prevent interference. Quite different is an act of robbery, where the party robbed would often be glad to serve gratis as sheriff, judge or executioner. Even in gambling, the successful player is often afraid of being betrayed by the loser. (b) In the ordinary sale of liquor there is no third party who feels his rights invaded. In the unlawful sale of patented articles the holder of the patent furnishes the motive power to start and keep in action the machinery of the law. (c) The sale of liquor is limited to no place, but may occur wherever the parties are. In this respect it is unlike smuggling which takes place only on the frontier and yet requires an army to suppress. (d) It is not limited to any time, as ballot-box stuffing to election days, or as the discharge of dangerous fireworks, which is little to be feared except on Fourth of July or Christmas.

Not only is the sale from its very nature easy of concealment, but a strong and sometimes depraved appetite brings it eager protectors, if the supply of liquor is endangered. Prohibition advocates say that it is almost past belief what arts and inventions are used to baffle the search of the police. Places the most private have to be watched and searched—bed-rooms, partition walls, chimneys, wells, cemetery vaults, hearses. The desperate resolve to have the prohibited article calls for alertness and ceaseless vigilance in the pursuit.

To enforce universal prohibition we should therefore expect beforehand would require great governmental power. Of the ten States which attempted it from 1851 to 1855, in five it is said that the laws were declared unconstitutional by the courts. So general a miscarriage is perhaps attributed by some friends of the law to the strong appetite or corrupt sympathy of the judges. But a truer interpretation is that such repressive law naturally leads to government operations and methods of a sort which the English race have found dangerous and hurtful through generations and centuries; against which therefore our careful forefathers set barriers in their constitutions and bills of rights. The New York prohibitory law was held by the court to interfere with what is essential to the idea of property and therefore to violate rights guaranteed by the

Constitution. In Kansas where the law has been sustained, the Supreme Court said in reference to a manufacturer of liquor, "The legislature has probably gone a long way in destroying the values of such kinds of property as the defendant owned, and has possibly gone to the utmost verge of constitutional authority." Such is the adverse criticism that the courts of justice are forced to make.

The prohibitory laws, moreover, are made stringent by many unusual requirements and severe penalties. The Kansas law, 1882, punishes not only the seller but also any person who shall manufacture, or aid in the manufacture of any spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented or other intoxicating liquors except for specified purposes. "The giving away of intoxicating liquors, or any shifts or device to evade the provisions of this act, shall be deemed an unlawful selling within the provisions of this act." "If any county attorney shall fail or refuse to faithfully perform any duty imposed on him by this act, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor," and on conviction "shall be deemed to be removed from office." Similar penalties impend over "all sheriffs, under-sheriffs, deputy-sheriffs, constables, marshals and police officers of cities and towns." An amendment, approved March 7, 1885, provides that in prosecutions under this law a witness shall not be excused from testifying "by reason of his testimony tending to criminate himself (the witness), but the testimony given by such persons shall in no case be used against him." It does not appear that so much constraint is felt necessary for punishing arson, rape, forgery or murder.

The law of Iowa (1884) imposes a fine of \$50 for the first, and \$300 for the second offence upon any one who sells liquor "on any pretense, or by any device," without first procuring a certificate signed by a majority of the legal electors of his township, town or ward, and a permit from the county supervisors, and giving a bond for three thousand dollars. A person who has complied with these conditions will forfeit one hundred dollars (half of it to the informer) to be recovered on his bond with costs, if he shall fail within five days from the last Saturday of every month to make a return "showing the kind and quantity of the liquors purchased by him since the date of his

last report, the price paid, and the amount of freights paid on the same ; also the kind and quantity of liquors sold by him since the date of his last report, to whom sold, for what purpose, and what price, also the kind and quantity of liquor remaining on hand." These restrictions on the sale of alcoholic drinks as medicines were adopted to make prohibition successful.

The great force which prohibition calls for cannot be defended on the plea of necessity. True, great perils may call for great powers, and extreme force in governing is sometimes justified by emergencies. In a great crisis some free nations have committed absolute powers to a dictator. Nor do they repent, though when it is over and they hasten to restore the precious things that have been shaken or thrown down, they have to toil long and painfully against the evil consequences of the necessary shock.

But intemperance is not like slavery or monarchy which can be overthrown by one mighty paroxysm, but like covetousness or slander, an evil likely to last till the millennium. New-born millions of the race will continue to crave stimulus till Evolution brings a new variety of the species. A law to check intemperance should not be patterned after what is tolerated only in a national spasm, but should conform to the great principles of permanent good government. It should not demand the exercise of powers, of which our forefathers were deeply and wisely in dread. The continued tension of government authority, without which prohibition cannot succeed, is an injury to the commonwealth and a menace to liberty.

3. Successful prohibition brings annoyance to a large number of citizens and makes a hurtful breach in the community. The language of some prohibitionists seems to show that they misconceive who their real opponents are. They emphasize the fact that it is only the *sale* of liquor that is prohibited, and not its purchase, as if buying could continue where there was no selling. They talk of making war on the saloons,—of the audacity of a few thousand saloon-keepers who defy the authority of a great State. The truth is that the sellers of liquor are but a small part of the opposition—only the scouts and sutlers of the besieged garrison. The force which prohibitionists are

trying to keep on short rations is the vast host besides who are neither drunkards nor dealers, but wish for liquor for their own temperate use.

The number that drink liquor is not given in the census, but it can be estimated accurately enough for the present purpose. In Iowa a vote was taken on a prohibitory amendment in 1882, which probably shows pretty nearly the ratio of non-drinkers to drinkers, 155,000 to 125,000. That is, in every hundred voters forty-five use liquor. If one-tenth of these are intemperate and as many more are liquor sellers, there remain still thirty-six voters in a hundred, or 100,000 in Iowa, who have heretofore exercised the right of procuring liquors with very little restraint. It is upon them now that the new law lays a heavy hand. They have not attempted to make teetotalers drink, but they choose to drink themselves and perhaps to recommend it to others. The arguments for total abstinence they do not accept, its benefits they do not appreciate or are willing to forego. Some of them have been often urged to give up liquor, but on the whole have preferred to use it. Now their fellow citizens combine to prevent them from procuring their chosen beverage. It is an attempt to change by force the habits of freemen, after having failed to persuade them by reason. The force is not applied in only a single act, but by a prolonged repression. The hundred and twenty-five thousand are to have their appetite disappointed many, many times, some of them daily or even several times a day. No reflections on the majesty of the law will make them coöperate in coercing themselves, or look without indignation on the hundred and fifty-five thousand gentlemen who are applying the heroic treatment. To unite with their oppressors in any matters which require cordial concurrence will be, if not impossible, at least too disagreeable a task for men of average sensibility.

The prohibition majority, on the other hand, will feel themselves crowded from their originally benevolent attitude to one of hostility. For a time they may consider themselves triumphant and act accordingly.* Some of them are human enough

* "TO THE SALOON KEEPERS AND LIQUOR DEALERS OF IOWA :

Gentlemen—The temperance people of Iowa in State Convention assembled, this 27th day of July, 1882, desire to call your attention to

to be amused at their neighbors' waste of labor, thought and expense to get their accustomed drinks. Like wanton boys that ring door bells, and steal gates and signs, they are tickled at the annoyance they make. Many are really surprised at the immediate magic of the law. It seems to work of itself. The public standard of morality has been raised. There is no more license. Incidentally prohibitionists and their allies have risen into places of political trust and power. Why should they not rejoice? But after a time difficulties arise. One hundred thousand men wish to continue drinking liquor, a practice not against the law but obnoxious to prohibitionists as frustrating its purpose. Leaders arise among the malcontents, encouraged by pecuniary, social and political motives. A disposition to resist and evade the law provokes combination for its enforcement. Parleying and compromise are denounced. Discipline is established, and to a certain extent the community becomes two camps.

It is perhaps expected by prohibitionists that this general hostility will be only temporary because it seems so unreasonable. For most of those who drink liquor admit that it is no necessity of their life, however pleasant they may consider it, or healthful or necessary for their highest usefulness. They can find substitute drinks, nutritious or refreshing, warming or cooling, tonic or acid. The human body easily adapts itself to a new diet. It is hoped that the results of the law will be so plainly beneficial that all opposition will in time be overborne, and a better educated generation will as a whole be total abstainers and without desire to drink what it is unlawful to buy.

But this hope of Prohibitionists does not have solid ground to rest upon. Experience does not justify it. It is true that the progress of total abstinence in the United States has been remarkable, both in the numbers that have adopted it and for the change they have produced in public opinion as to alcoholic drinks. But if that progress had been likely to continue we might ask with surprise why its friends were not content to

certain facts . . . The decision is with you. We hold out to you the olive branch of peace, fair and honorable alike on this one supreme condition, that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages shall cease."

keep on with the means and methods that had been successful so far, until the expected reform had become complete. Prohibition was attempted, not from mere caprice nor from simple impatience at the earlier rate of progress, but because its advocates were convinced that their system would not be adopted more widely without resorting to constraint. Their conviction was probably sound. It is likely that for an indefinite period the number of men will continue large who will drink liquor, if they can get it, notwithstanding its evils and dangers, and in disregard of all the influences that teetotalers can exert. The processes of reform then known by experience did not have force enough to change the habits of the whole community.

By the new method of prohibition a little further change may be effected. As the intense feeling of teetotalers against liquor is manifested and the regular use of it becomes substantially impossible, it is reasonable to expect that some individuals, especially those of weak appetites and weak wills, may accept the principles of total abstinence. But most men, feeling that their choice of food and drink is not rightly subject to the constraint of government, are made more stubborn by a show of compulsion. What they thought proper to do before, they will be proud to do now whenever there is opportunity. The occasional chances which no law can be expected to prevent will enable them to cherish the appetite themselves and teach it to their successors. However extensive and agreeable their intercourse may in time become with the prohibition majority, a special tie of sympathy will bind the lovers of liquor by themselves, as the colored people of our Southern States have been united by the sense of common wrongs. Whether hoping that prohibitionists will grow weary of watching their neighbors, or hopeless that the law will ever be repealed, they will remain a discontented and numerous body just so long as prohibition is successful in closely limiting their supply of liquor. This hostile division will keep the community weak.

The party strife which attends an election is one of the perils of a free people. Through all the excitement, however, of a political campaign, it is a relief to think that it will soon be over and the hostile sides be friendly again. And if the

heat sometimes overstay a while, the sober men of the community appeal to the alienated combatants to let by-gones be by-gones, while they work together again for the suffering interests of business or the church. "The land needs rest." But a prohibitory campaign brings no such rest. The growth of good feeling would lead to toleration and break down the law. The State where prohibition is enforced under popular government will be divided and weakened by a perpetual political campaign and irreconcilable factions.

4. It is a further evil that successful prohibition will wear away reverence for the forms and the administration of law.

The demoralization which has followed every vigorous attempt at prohibition is attributed by some to its being resisted and nullified. But the trouble really lies in the law itself, as may be seen in other instances. The enforcement of passport laws in Europe or of game laws in England may inspire citizens with fear, but it intensifies disrespect for the law, and hence for the machinery and officers which sustain it. So to the freeman whose wish to purchase liquor is perpetually thwarted by a prohibitory law, it becomes an engine of oppression. His feelings may be realized by anti-slavery men who remember how they felt toward the oppressive Fugitive Slave Law. The friends of that law defended it as carrying out the will of the sovereign people, expressed in the sacred Constitution. It was the law of the land, accepted by both political parties. Men who disliked it were advised to conquer their prejudices; those who resisted it were denounced on the platform and condemned from the pulpit. It was enforced at the point of the bayonet. But, oh! how deeply it weakened the reverence for United States authority. Lawyers, private individuals and committees combined to counteract the operation of the law, to baffle its officers and evade its penalties. Tricks, dissembling and equivocations were applauded. Every failure in attempting to enforce it lighted up ten thousand faces with joy, and drew thanksgiving from cheerful, grateful hearts. Men who did not want to hurt a United States officer, would yet trip him up when chasing a runaway. To be a United States Marshal was no honor. Reverence for law and its administration and officers was sensibly weakened in the community.

So with the hundred and twenty-five thousand citizens of Iowa who now wish to purchase liquor. They have an interest in learning how the law may be evaded. It is their only way to get an occasional draft of "wine that maketh glad the heart of man." When they see a person prosecuted for selling, they recognize him, however sordid his character, as having incurred danger to supply a want they feel. The man who sells is in a certain sense their servant, their minister, their champion. His punishment will grieve them. A discrediting of the law, a reluctance of individuals to prosecute, a willingness on the part of magistrates to dismiss suits, miscarriage from any cause will be construed as a sign of coming freedom and therefore be hailed with joy. Those who indulge such feelings may not appreciate how they are weakening respect for righteous law, or they may consider their feelings justifiable notwithstanding. The friends of prohibition, too, in their natural indignation are liable to overlook the greatness of the moral harm caused in their vexed fellow citizens. It deserves however the most serious estimate as an evil sure to come with successful prohibition. Other laws may cross individuals, but prohibition irritates neighborhoods and communities, and thus weakens that general reverence for law which is the chief support of order in a free people.

5. A fifth objection to prohibition is the encouragement it would give to the misuse of government powers. The community which forcibly suppresses alcoholic drinks will sooner or later be agitated by attempts to suppress other articles. A benevolent object will always be proclaimed, and may be the real motive of many, but selfish interests will soon be at work, even if they are not the prime movers. When men deny the right of an individual to decide on his own food and drink, it will be natural for manufacturers and dealers to seek for legislation against substitutes for their wares. Farmers of England and of New England decry Chicago beef. Butter dealers are against oleomargarine. Sugar planters curse sorghum and glucose. A hue and cry can be raised on grounds of health and morals against even these articles—still more readily against tobacco, opium, chloral, alcoholic medicines, tea, coffee, or ice-water. In fact there is scarcely any-

thing which man enjoys but is obnoxious to somebody, and liable under some circumstances to be assailed by a crusade of force. By a little skillful management, interested (or disinterested) persons could persuade the majority who disapprove of any article to combine and pass a prohibitory law.* One year of the law might be long enough to repay and enrich its authors. Its repeal would hardly hinder other crusades, if one great law of the kind were kept in force as that for the suppression of liquor. In vain would reformers appeal to the old maxim that the world is governed best when governed least.

The disposition lately shown in our country to exalt the interests of the community above the rights of the individual is just occasion for alarm. Communism has its advocates and is making converts. For it is not a mere system of confiscation and plunder, though such may be its issue and some demagogues may have adopted it in that hope. But it has a philanthropic aim which dazzles its talented leaders. The most calm and prudent of them expect to operate through a process of prohibition. The letting of property and the loan of money on interest they declare to be privileges which have been abused: so also manufacturing and selling and other operations. They would therefore prohibit all private individuals from these employments and have the government undertake them without competition. The following would do for one of their prohibitory laws. "No one except government agents shall sell, or manufacture for sale, any article whatever." Such revolutionary views make slow progress here, for they meet on every side a spirit jealous of encroachment on individual rights. "Our liberties we prize and our rights we will maintain." "Inalienable rights" have been the golden shields of America.

The advocates of prohibition are inclined to depreciate and circumscribe rights. They ridicule "the so-called personal-lib-

* A law against oleomargarine has already passed the New York legislature, providing that "no person . . . shall manufacture out of any oleaginous substance . . . any article designed to take the place of butter or cheese, . . . or shall sell . . . the same as an article of food." But the Court of Appeals unanimously decided it unconstitutional, saying, June 16, 1885, "It invades rights, both of person and property, guaranteed by the Constitution."

erty claims." It is no violation of right, they say, to keep liquor from a man, for it is liquor that takes away a man's liberty. The communist takes up a similar strain, and uses their arguments, catch-words, and phrases for his own cause. He too has much to say of the welfare of society, and argues as follows: "Manufacturing has caused untold evil, making the haughty owners rich and hard-hearted and the workmen slavish and wretched. No one has a right to produce evil, and therefore no one has a right to manufacture. The right of the individual ceases where the right of society begins. No one can claim the right to manufacture or sell for his own support, for he can support himself by work on the government farms or in the public factories. 'The pursuit of happiness' is not a right against the will of the majority, and when the State has declared private manufacturing or trading unlawful, it is the duty of every honest man to obey and enforce the law. Society can make no compromise with rebels." Much of the above talk of communists is true in itself, and would justify communism if the like reasoning justified prohibition. Prohibition, where successful, will hold up to view a political process which the shrewdest communists will admire and teach their followers to imitate.

The machinery of free government is so constructed that excess of action at one part may derange others which at first sight appear quite detached. It is one of the great arts of the law maker and statesman in carrying out his good designs to observe a scrupulous regard to the rights of every individual. He who scoffs at claims of liberty is a dangerous leader.* No human government is expected to repress all wrongs, but when it becomes a trespasser itself, it sets a mischievous example. Better leave the individual with means to do some wrong than to oppress him even a little. Freedom is a noble thing.

* Statements like the following used to come from enemies of emancipation: "The social fabric rests upon the principle that the individual has not a right to demand that anything shall be done which society judges to be prejudicial to the common good."—*Rev. Dawson Burns, Basis of the Temperance Reform.*

"The first right of society is self-protection. Hence all this talk about 'natural rights,' and 'personal liberty,' and 'sumptuary laws' is sentimental nonsense."—*Iowa Correspondent of Chicago Advance, Dec. 4, 1884.*

and we may bear some evils with it rather than make its great blessings less secure. Great as are the evils of intemperance, the antidotes are many and powerful. To mix with them an element of oppression may poison widely our social relations and our political life.

The benefits likely to follow prohibition have been so freely published by its friends that they need not be repeated. Our review of the necessary means and result of enforcing it, goes to show that it costs too much. A free Christian people is entitled to more good at a lower price. Prohibition subverts the established order of nature that every freeman should be free to direct his own diet of drink as well as of meat. It aims to prevent multitudes of intelligent, moral, and temperate men from using their chosen drink except by consenting to a violation of civil law, and it makes it impossible for them to coöperate in punishing intemperance without interfering with their own lawful indulgence. This is not wise nor right. In depriving temperate men of alcoholic beverages it is a misuse of the powers of government, a breach of the good understanding which must prevail in a truly free State. Prohibition, as we have defined it, is not a temperance advance, but an unfortunate backward movement, returning again to obsolete and despotic methods of government at a time when speculators and communists want an apology for doing the same.

If our reasoning is right and prohibition is not desirable, the question may arise, What improvement, if any, can be made in temperance laws? None, we fear, for a long time. For after the oppressive element of prohibition is eliminated, its memory will remain for evil, and all effective legislation will for a while be discredited. The attempt to suppress the purchase of liquor has united all its users for self-defence under the leadership of the trade. When, however, that purpose is permanently disavowed, a discreet control will at length be resumed with the general approval. Regulations will vary as circumstances vary, and will be enforced with varying strictness. Probably no public drinking rooms will be allowed except in a few peculiar localities. The practice of delivering goods at customers' houses has in recent times become so common that it may be made obligatory on sellers of liquor. Re-

peated drunkenness will bring on the offender longer and longer periods of confinement, in asylums rather than in prison. Penalties will be inflicted for recklessness in drinking, as by men on duty, army officers, policemen, engineers, and legislators. Whatever guards may be adopted to protect men of diseased appetites against temptation, will be such as the users of liquor generally assent to. Where a saloon is left open, its customers will help to guard against some of its evils.

But laws will not be framed to accomplish what should be done by other agencies, if done at all. If the mass of men become total abstainers, it will be from their own conviction and choice, and reformers will study how to persuade them. Ministers will preach, and the Christian church will labor, against intemperance as long, as faithfully and as successfully as against Sabbath-breaking, covetousness, laziness, and falsehood.

ARTICLE VIII.—BISMARCK AND THE SOCIALISTS.

THE seventieth birthday of the German Chancellor has just been celebrated with imposing ceremonies throughout the Fatherland, and men all over the world are reviewing the wonderful career of this "man of blood and iron." Bismarck's success as a statesman will be measured not alone by his foreign policy—a one-man-power always has the advantage over its more democratic neighbors in this respect,—but also and perhaps more especially by his domestic. In the latter his attitude toward Socialism stands out from all the rest in interest and importance. The following pages are an attempt to sketch, as briefly as possible, the rise of the Socialism of politics in modern Germany; to show how the government came into collision with it; and to give some account of the present condition and probable outcome of the struggle.

Though the hard teachings of science have often been idealized by the dreamy and poetic Teuton, yet the peculiar tenets of social and political science have only become a factor in practical politics within the last few years. Twenty or thirty years ago these theories were little known or dreaded in Germany. During the last twenty years the lower classes have been brought into a sudden prominence. Baden and the Rhineland had long been the home of popular institutions; contact with France since the Revolution had sown new ideas of freedom. In the midst of this ferment Prussia and Austria became rivals for South Germany, and in 1866 Sadowa decided the dispute. The descendants of the men who had been sold to foreign governments to fight their battles, and whose social position was little above serfdom, began to feel that they had rights. Political power they now had acquired, for manhood suffrage was naturally attached to the manhood military service of the new German Empire; and men soon arose to teach them how to use it. All that was wanted to do away with the lingering remnants of feudalism, was that effective remedy against all petty tyranny and class legislation—agitation. And

this came. Lassalle, Marx, and others, had prepared the way. The platform and the press were brought into a use previously unknown; and thanks to the good common schools, everybody could read. The military operations of 1866, and especially of 1870 aided the movement. The pick of German youth had not been to school in France for nothing. The siege of Paris helped to sow broadcast the germs of new social and political doctrines. The men who had been told repeatedly by the highest civil and military authorities that they had saved the fatherland from its Gallic invaders, were thereby emboldened to claim a share in its government. What was manhood suffrage for, if not to be used; and how could it be used intelligently without freedom of discussion? This freedom, then, was taken for granted, and a flood of literature of a decidedly democratic tendency — pamphlets, journals, newspapers and what not — appeared after the Franco-Prussian war. The over-production and unnatural business activity, awakened by the war and stimulated by the French milliards, ended in 1874 in stagnation and "hard times." Meanwhile the unexpected prosperity of France after her crushing defeat made her an object of attention, not to say anxiety, at Berlin. The French milliards were spent, and yet an enormous army had to be kept up. Taxes, at no time light or equitably distributed, were increasing and pressing harder on an impoverished people. A tempting field for demagogues and political adventurers thus lay open. Everything played into the hands of a party eager for agitation and reform. The socialists, consequently, steadily increased in numbers and influence. Bismarck, who is taunted with having at first coquetted with Lassalle, now began to fear him and his party. The excitement, attending the attempts on the Emperor's life made by Hoedel and Nobeling, gave an opportunity that could be turned to good account; and the wily Chancellor seized it to humble this movement, and at the same time to make his imperial master (himself) more absolute than ever. A Reichstag not sufficiently docile was dissolved, and under the theatrical appeals of the Chancellor (the State in danger!) a new and more obedient one was returned; and October 19th, 1878, severe laws against the socialists were passed, and three days

later put into force. These "exceptional laws" (*Ausnahmegesetz*) are still operative, and give the police authority to suppress all meetings they think "dangerous," to search private houses for forbidden prints, and to confiscate all papers or pamphlets distasteful to the government.

With this begins a new period in the history of German Socialism. Hitherto, whatever absurd or dangerous doctrines it may have promulgated among the masses, it at all events, worked openly and above board. The means it had used—public meetings, newspapers, posters, etc.—were free to all. It appealed boldly to public opinion, it invited free discussion. If anybody had grievances, he aired and discussed them openly, as far as a jealous government and a proverbially meddling and officious police would permit. But in spite of petty annoyances, the new doctrines kept spreading, especially in what Bismarck has, perhaps, good reasons for regarding as hot-beds of mischief—the towns, cities, and large manufacturing districts. Accordingly, Bismarck resolved to suppress an agitation that, in his eyes, so disturbed the peace and unity of the empire. On the one hand he virtually abolished free speech and a free press, by the measure just referred to; and on the other, he has ever since been trying to take the wind out of the socialists' sails by passing laws protecting the "poor man." From this time on, the socialists were no longer recognized as a party; change of name, even, was useless. Nothing could save from the clutches of a law that forbade all meetings or unions, and suppressed all prints that, in the eyes of a zealous police, had "*in view the subversion of the existing order of State and society.*" With this ample power conferred on the police by this notoriously loose law, "the pig-sticking," as Bismarck is said to have called it, went on vigorously. Upwards of 40 societies immediately dissolved of themselves, and during the first month the law came into force, 270 executions took place, suppressing 135 unions (*Vereine*), 35 newspapers, and 100 non-periodical prints. Among these unions were 21 workmen's, 55 election, 36 singing, 4 theatrical, 10 educational, 2 newspaper, 6 mutual help, and 1 coöperative. Franz Mehring, from whose work on Social Democracy these figures are taken,—and he is no friend of the movement—

remarks: "In its dissolution socialism showed itself greater, stronger, and more wide-spread than it had ever appeared during its existence." Up to October 21st, 1879, exactly a year from the time the law came into force, there were suppressed, according to the *Vossische Zeitung*, 244 unions, 307 non-periodical prints, and 184 newspapers and periodicals. The number of persons banished from Berlin and suburbs up to the end of March, 1880, as "dangerous" in the judgment of the police, amounted to 105, on the confession of the Minister of the Interior.

These figures show the effect of the law in a general way, but examples will give a more vivid conception of the state of affairs; they will be few, short, and as typical as possible. Franz Duncker, an ex-member of the Reichstag, was fined 200 marks for writing in the *Volkszeitung*: "It is revolting to us that Prussia, that Prince Bismarck, the regenerator of German unity, should stand up for such a bill, a bill that will destroy anything but socialism. Certainly the decision lies with the Reichstag. Still the mere proposal is offensive to the German nation." The *Berliner Zeitung* said: "A fine of 1500 marks, inflicted on us by the Berlin Municipal Council on the second of this month, has taught us that it is not wise to find anything laughable in bills that emanate from the Imperial Chancellor, from the Prussian Government." These extracts were written before the bill became law. Surely no one in America will say that the Government was at the mercy of an unscrupulous press, as long as it could punish in this fashion and for such offences. But the bill became law; evil days were at hand. In the Chemnitz election for the Saxon Landtag, the socialist candidate was put through a regular course of police treatment. A public meeting he was to have addressed was forbidden; his posters and hand-bills were destroyed. These incendiary posters read thus:—"Electors! Give your votes to-day, Tuesday, Sept. 9th, to Karl Julius Vahlteich, Reichstag deputy for the fifteenth Saxon electoral division. Chemnitz, Sept. 9th, 1879. (Signed) The Committee for National Elections." The *Chemnitzer Nachrichten*, the only newspaper at his disposal, was suppressed; and the edition of the *Chemnitzer Tageblatt* that contained this "dan-

gerous" address was confiscated. Furthermore, all the handbills and voting papers bearing his name were seized by the police, and the firm that printed them had its license cancelled. Upwards of forty private houses were searched for forbidden papers; and in the words of the protest, afterwards laid before the Landtag, "terror was spread among the people" by the police. Twenty men were arrested in a restaurant, and on the suspicion that a political meeting was being held, were "strung together like a bundle of cigars" and marched to the police station. Again, a public meeting was to have been held in Munich, April 5th, 1880, at which Herr Sonnemann, of the Progress party, was to speak on the military bill then pending. This was forbidden on the ground that such a public meeting was contrary to the Socialist Law. A strictly party meeting, of a private nature, that was then called, was dissolved a few minutes after it opened by a policeman, with the remark that he saw Socialists present. Commenting on this in the Reichstag, Herr Bebel, a leading Socialist, said that if the presence of members of his party was enough to cause meetings to be dissolved, care would be taken that few meetings should be held without them, "so that you," addressing the National Liberals, who had voted for the bill, "shall find that it was a mistake to put hundreds of thousands of citizens beyond the pale of the law." This threat has since been carried into effect in many places, the Socialists somehow managing to obtain tickets.

Of the election for the second district of Hamburg, held April 27th, 1880, the *Hamburger Reform* said: "The police measures did the [Socialist] party more good than a legion of agitators. Schiller's saying held true here:

Zwang erbittert die Schwärmer nur, bekehrt sie nimmer.

The prohibition on collecting money, the arrest of the election committee, the confiscation of the handbills, contributed to enflame the fire smoldering under the ashes."*

Even members of the Reichstag speaking on the floor of the house have not been free from police interference. Bebel and

*In this paper I have used examples and occasionally taken a few sentences from an article of mine on "The German Socialists and the Reichstag" in the *Canadian Monthly* for January, 1881.

Liebknecht while trying to show before that body the injustice of the present "minor state of siege" (*kleinerer Belagerungszustand*) in Berlin, mentioned persons who had been proceeded against and treated with great severity. These persons were afterwards arrested for slandering the police, and Bebel and Liebknecht were summoned as witnesses against them. These few examples will suffice to show how annoying and irritating this law is; how far-reaching and fear-inspiring it is, may be imagined from the large discretionary powers it leaves in the hands of the police.

Let us now see how all this is looked upon by the German people, for one often hears the saying in Germany: nations are governed as they deserve to be. In the spring of 1880 a motion was made to renew the Socialist Law, which was only passed for two years in '78. This gave an opportunity, and the first one,* to discuss it in the house; for all along the press and public speech were of course muzzled. From the speeches then made we will take a few pithy, key-note sentences to show the various shades of German opinion on the subject. To estimate these rightly, however, we must bear in mind that the Germans are not a demonstrative or combative people, and so the intensity of the opposition here displayed by the minority means more than it would in most other nations. An English writer has said that "a German is pretty sure not to resent interference that an Englishman would find intolerable. He is accustomed to be taken care of from the cradle to the grave by a paternal police, . . . and he does not mind so much a little prying into the club which he frequents, or official warnings to the journal which he reads." In other words the Germans are, as a rule, peaceful, orderly, law-abiding citizens who attend to their own business and expect others to do the same. Notwithstanding this, the increase of bitterness during the two years the law was in force was quite marked. On the second reading of the bill proposing a renewal of the law, Bebel said, "If you make it impossible for the people to make known their complaints in a legal way, indifference is not the result but intense bitterness. We come naturally to the belief that nothing but force will help us." Towards the end of his

* The law has since been renewed and is still in force.

speech he pointed to the fact that "hitherto tumults have never arisen when our meetings were dissolved. Who can say whether this will now continue? he who will not hear must feel." Another Socialist, Kayser, closed a violent speech with the words: "Do you take us then for such ninnies that we shall cease to fight for our opinions? The birth-throes of the times are intensified instead of being lightened by these measures. Instead of the peaceful development of the national life you wish to bring about the violent opposition of the weak and oppressed."

The fourth of March, the day of the third reading of the bill, was the liveliest day of a lively session. The Socialist Liebknecht hoped nothing from the feeling of justice in the house, yet he wished to state openly "the crying injustice under which the party suffered." He denied that Hoedel and Nobeling were Socialists, though Bismarck encouraged that view to make political capital out of it. "The authors of revolutions are not those who outwardly cause them; so not the lower classes, but those who make revolutions necessary, i. e. governments." Notwithstanding violent thrusts wide of the mark, he often made keen hits. Is it any wonder that an almost absolute government should dislike discussions in which a common workman could speak thus: "But it is said that the terrorism which the socialists are guilty of must be put down! Now, what terrorism have we practiced on Eulenberg and Bismarck? These gentlemen must indeed have very sensitive nerves. To be sure, we have always spoken loudly and plainly, but you have the same example in England. Only think of the inflammatory speeches that even ministerial candidates have made [referring to Gladstone's famous Midlothian speeches]. And has England been thereby ruined? Nay, the contrary is the case; by this it is strengthened. You should learn a little from this; but you are too timorous, even about mere speeches." He ended his philippic with the words: "The consequences of your doings will not fail, but we wash our hands in innocence. Our party will not give up the struggle; it will continue to fight, come what will, to victory." The most violent speech of the session was that of Hasselmann, who began by declaring himself a "revolutionary socialist,"

and sat down with the words: "The time for parliamentary prattle is past, the time for action has come."

Besides the Socialists, a number of moderate men also opposed the measure. Of these Dr. Guenther of Nuremberg might be taken as a specimen. In an able speech, he proposed looking into the complaints of the Socialists to see how far they were just, remedying where possible, meeting agitation by agitation, interesting the masses in the question, and meanwhile putting down all excesses. These laws, he believed, would never crush out Socialism; *ideas cannot be fought by cannon* (*Gegen Ideen lässt sich nicht mit Kanonen kämpfen*).

The Government took little or no part in the discussion. Count Eulenberg, Minister of the Interior, naively said in closing the debate, that the law "was not directed against ideas but against the utterance of those ideas;" and ended by begging the house to trust the Government. Most of the members preserved an ominous silence, and in this too they were truly representing their constituents.* So by a majority of ninety-seven it was resolved to renew a law that still leaves German liberty at the mercy of the police.

One evening I was prompted by curiosity to visit a Socialist meeting, or as it was called, a Democratic union. The fact that I came from America was a sufficient passport. A young architect of Socialist leanings undertook to introduce me. After nightfall we, accordingly, went to the place of meeting, a great students' resort, and after some parleying, were led up three flights of stairs and through dimly lighted halls to a small door. Our guide here left us, and opening the door we entered a room thirty or forty feet long by about twenty wide, filled with small tables covered with beer-mugs in various stages of depletion. Around these tables were sitting a number of men smoking cigars and listening attentively to an individual whose hazy outline was scarcely visible in the dim light and clouds of smoke. He was in the middle of a speech when we entered. The orator, I soon learned, represented a district of Leipsic in the Saxon Landtag. He severely criticised this legislating against a party. When once the Govern-

* The lack of interest in politics is shown by the fact that some 40 per cent. of the electors abstain from voting altogether.

ment could successfully pass laws against a party that happened to be obnoxious to it, there was no reason why it should not make use of this precedent and put down any party that became hated or feared. No, every German should have the right to utter his opinions freely and fearlessly as long as he does not transgress any of the fundamental laws of the State; and the majority has no right to shut his mouth or that of any party in the minority by exceptional legislation. Such legislation tends to alienate the minds of the social democrats from the common interest, to isolate them, and make them brood over little differences rather than to take a healthy interest in the affairs of the State. Questions and phases of thought, that in the clear light of day go through a natural process of development, what is healthy and true surviving, the rest perishing from inherent weakness, have nothing dangerous in them, not at least till the Government tries to suppress them. Besides, it is unworthy of a great nation of over forty millions, to put down free speech on account of a comparative handful of 600,000.* In any case, there surely can be no danger in such a proportion. Lastly, it embitters the minds of the laboring classes against those treating them in such a cavalier fashion. They see plainly that they have not equal privileges with the rest. Such was the substance of a speech delivered in a calm but earnest manner by a rather elderly intelligent looking workman. Several other speakers followed, enlarging on what they considered special grievances. One a shoemaker, to judge by his appearance, asserted that the Socialist and Progress parties alone were saving Germany from political stagnation. The speakers and hearers were all evidently small tradespeople and mechanics. After having thus at length discussed politics and the national beverage, they dispersed, with a solemn protest against the present state of things.

After the bloody battles of Sadowa, Saarbrücken, Gravelotte, and Sedan, where officers and men showed great bravery and a dogged perseverance, whole regiments being mown down in their tracks, the German Empire was once again established in its ancient grandeur, and proudly took its place as a leading

*In the late elections the Socialists polled over 700,000 votes; in 1871 only 120,000.

power on the map of modern Europe. A generous enthusiasm now stirred German blood, even in exiles far from the fatherland. A national awakening, a political revival, a period of exceptional activity was now to be expected in Germany, as in Greece after Marathon, in England after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and in America after the Revolutionary War. A great deed had been done, German unity had at last been established at a fearful cost of blood and treasure; and Saxon shook hands with Prussian, South German with North German, brothers once more. As before remarked, a flood of literature of a new and popular kind appeared. The printing-presses for the masses were busy; men's minds were busy; a young nation was working off its surplus energy. It was a new world, with new problems, new issues, new measures, and new men—a period presenting many points of resemblance to the Reformation. In the latter religious questions were paramount; in the former economic, social, and political questions engross everybody's attention. May not contagion partially account for the revived interest in social studies, that is so evident throughout the civilized world?

We do not attempt to discuss these social theories here. They may be very wise or very foolish, as far as we are now concerned. Only perhaps it is well to bear in mind that they have been indulged in by thinkers, philanthropists, and patriots, of all ages, as well as by those who profess them from baser motives. We need only think of the societies founded by Pythagoras in the south of Italy; the longings of Plato for an ideal Republic; the *civitas solis* of the early Italian philosopher Campanella; the charming Utopia of gentle Thomas More who, as Green says, "turned from a world where fifteen hundred years of Christian teaching had produced social injustice, religious intolerance, and political tyranny to a 'no-where' in which the efforts of natural human virtue realized those ends of security, equality, brotherhood, and freedom for which the very institution of society seemed to have been framed;" Bacon's *New Atlantis* which was published, as the author tells us, "for the good of other nations," for the people of Atlantis "were in God's bosom, a land unknown;" and in our own day the "Socialists of the chair" in Germany, and

writers of acknowledged merit on social topics in England, France, and America. Men always have been devising schemes to remedy the social injustice they see around them. As long as these discussions were confined to the learned, and kept within ponderous tomes and college halls, no one objected; but when the arena was changed to the street and the workshop, and the pamphlet and newspaper took the place of the heavy treatise, then Bismarck became alarmed.* He became convinced that something had to be done; for the theory that Government "has no call to interfere in the social question" (Fred. Harrison), the theory of non-intervention, of the passive rôle of governments, is not popular in Germany where Socialists and Anti-Socialists unite in opposition to it. Two courses only were possible for the Government. It might go ahead, keeping life and property safe, putting down all violence and excess, and leaving its critics friendly or otherwise severely alone; or it might interfere and try to silence opposition by sheer force, at the same time, perhaps, removing just cause of complaint.

Had the Socialists been left alone and no official notice whatever taken of them, years, long years, would have passed before even the most sanguine among them could have hoped for a majority at Berlin; and all the while the movement would have been subjected to a most salutary fire of criticism, both from without and from within, tending on the one hand to clear away the dross and danger from its doctrines and increase and emphasize the jealousies and divisions already existing in a latent form among its heterogeneous members, and on the other to give this young nation just entering on a career of constitutional government and wanting above all things public interest in the affairs of the State, the best political schooling possible. Here is a small, divided, but exceedingly active party, doubting and questioning with all the rashness and impetuosity of youth, directing men's minds to this, that and the other principle of government and asking everywhere the why and the wherefore. The older parties

* On the freedom allowed Professors and *savants* generally in Germany, see an article of mine on "German Universities" in *Education* for Sept.-Oct. 1881.

were obliged to stand on the defensive and give the reasons for their political faith. Of danger no one thought but those who had political ends to serve; the downright apathy and deadness of political life, all who had the cause of constitutional government at heart, lamented. The Socialists, though enthusiastic and sincere in their convictions, could point to an agitation eminently free from violence and tumult, a characteristic, by the way, of all Teutonic nations. They have to contend against a large, wealthy, and, it may be added, bigoted government party, powerful bureaucratic machinery with loyal and zealous officials, great vested interests, and a tremendous mass of stolid indifference that in nine cases out of ten would have been turned against them when turned at all, thus putting down a movement believed to be dangerous by the best of all possible methods, the force of public opinion. But the military classes who at present tenaciously hold the reins of power at Berlin chose another course.

For procuring socialism a greater measure of sympathy among a people with any chivalrous sense of fair-play, not to speak of freedom, and for keeping it free from intestine dissensions, its weakness in prosperity, nothing could be better than these days of adversity and persecution. Liebknecht was not so far wrong when he said: "The worse the law, the better for me and my party. Militarism, legal insecurity, the experimenting here and there, the violent disorganization of State and society as it is managed by those in authority—all this hastens the process of dissolution, so that we could not wish it better." The result of this is to lessen the respect for law among a large proportion of a law-abiding people. It may kill off luke-warm adherents, but it intensifies and consolidates the opposition that remains. It drives the disease into the system, instead of effecting a cure. Russian nihilism serves as a solemn warning of what may be expected from this treatment. "To repress it," says an article in the *London Times*, "is to confer on it at once the adventitious force which belongs to martyrdom in all its forms: suppressed Socialism is the virus which engenders revolutionary ferment; whereas in the healthy atmosphere of free debate and legitimate political action the Socialism of one age becomes the Liberalism of the next, and

ranges itself in time among the ordinary forces of society." Lest I might be accused of exaggeration in these pages, I would fain make one more quotation concerning the Bismarckian policy. It is from the pen of M. de Laveleye, the Belgian Economist: "In the interior of the empire he [Bismarck] has founded, he cannot endure liberty. There, too, he draws back, and has recourse to the most violent compression. He dissolves all associations, he suppresses every newspaper that concerns itself with the interests of the workman, he breaks up even a glee-club. Books that were published under the old régime are now confiscated, including even the works of one whom he admires, and whom he would fain have made his friend, Ferdinand Lasalle. This compression *à outrance* is a detestable policy, and offers no warrant for durability. It is out of all harmony with the spirit of the times."

To have looked into their complaints and redressed flagrant evils, and such there undoubtedly were, would have weakened the whole movement and left it to a slow and inglorious death, or at most a sickly and harmless existence. Men, to be sure, would still have kept on discussing and even agitating; and for all we can see, will continue to do so till doomsday, in spite of Bismarck and all the policemen in Europe. There are questions that men must and will discuss, questions they have thought over patiently and earnestly, and concerning which they have arrived at deep-seated convictions, often more precious than life itself. To try to convert their fellowmen to these views becomes to certain natures a duty, a necessity. This they must do; the stake or the axe alone can stop them. "Here I stand, God help me, I cannot otherwise," is the language of every Luther, and thank God the world is full of Luthers. Reflection, conviction, and attempts to convert others, mark the three stages of all the great moral and social movements the world has seen. Where the government or the majority step in with drawn sword, and say, "No! this field of enquiry is closed to all discussion, and he who disobeys is doomed"—there defiance is met by defiance; all the nobler instincts in man are stirred to opposition. Wise and reverend heads may have settled it long ago; but each generation must lay its own doubts, solve its own difficulties. When force

in any form is used, the question then is no longer whether this theory or that be true. This issue has given place to one of liberty or slavery, of life or death. By this one act the point in dispute, in itself, may be, unimportant even frivolous, has been lifted from the arena of party warfare, and made *the one question* of the age and nation—perhaps of the whole human race. In the government of a people as in a steam-engine there is a safety-valve and it is free speech; and rulers, be they one, few, or many, that persist in sitting on the safety-valve are doomed to sudden destruction. In a free, enlightened country all talk of overthrowing the government by violence is ridiculous; for the government is the people. With the ballot-box open and fairly dealt with, men would be fools to express their opinions by the musket; and although Carlyle in a savage mood tells us that “men for the most part are fools,” they do not express their folly in this way. *Pour la populace, ce n'est pas par envie d'attaquer qu'elle se soulève, mais par impatience de souffrir.*

For the present, Bismarck has virtually closed the ballot-box, bribed and gagged the press, and inaugurated “a detestable policy, out of all harmony with the spirit of the times.” The German masses began to discuss political and economic questions. The German Government, on its own confession, feared the decision of the masses on these questions; and so like all powerful military States without a constitutional past, determined to make short work of this new foe, and with the usual weapons of despotic power. It has aimed a deadly blow at free speech and a free press, and has turned back the hand on the dial of European history by thus attempting to further the interests of Absolutism. It has put itself in antagonism to a natural social force we see working through all history. “The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church,” may be converted into a political maxim. The consequences are yet to come. The drama of history moves slowly, but the present generation may see the tragedy to the end. Bismarck's military training and arbitrary character have led him to try to solve delicate social problems by coarse measures of repression. The man who undertakes to put down discussion and stamp out heresy, theological or political, at this stage of the world's

progress, has his hands full. These theories are confessedly revolutionary and largely communistic; they may be pernicious, even hurtful and "dangerous" to "the existing order of State and society." Governments may look aghast at them, and thinking men may be uncertain and anxious as to the future; but when a Government attacks political heresy with the sword, and loose reasoning with the rifle and bayonet, the social student will watch the contest attentively, and statesmen—in this country we are all statesmen—may profit by the lessons to be learned from it. "The real ruler of Germany," says Mr. Thorold Rogers, "is giving another illustration of the fact that high generalship is rarely united with political wisdom." Mr. Frederick Harrison writes: "A 'social question' there is, and not all the policemen and soldiers in Europe will suffice to prevent that social question from making itself felt. Prince Bismarck may go 'pig-sticking' among his Social Democrats, and M. Grévy may have editors fined; but the social question will be in the front all the same." The situation may be roughly summed up thus: men must have free speech or become slaves; the Government must become an absolute despotism of the worst kind, or yield to the growing pressure; but to yield is hard, very hard, for a powerful military autocracy, and continued opposition leads but to increasing severity. For a free people there is but one alternative. The darkest pessimism alone could despair of the destiny of modern Germany. The experience of the race reiterates the moral that lies on the surface of this movement: "Ideas cannot be fought by cannon."

EDUCATIONAL TOPICS.

ARTICLE I.—YALE COLLEGE OR YALE UNIVERSITY?

YALE COLLEGE! It is a familiar name and it sounds well in a graduate's ear; a name of pleasant and tender associations of youth, of hope and of promise, of enlarging views, unfolding powers, entrance into new regions of knowledge, of youthful competitions and friendships often life-long, of acquaintance and intercourse with good and learned men and those who have afterwards made themselves famous, of memories of the living and the dead, of that long procession of illustrious and learned men reaching back nearly two centuries, in which we ourselves, who are graduates, have a place. Yale College as such is part of our identity. By that name it has gained its fame and influence and become venerable and is known throughout this country and foreign lands.

Yale University would be a new comer, a stranger, needing introduction and explanation. She might have her own graduates, who might vaunt themselves as superior to those of the College. But she is not our Alma Mater.

It may be said that this is sentiment; but it is that sentiment which is inspired by and inspires attachment to the College and has led to generous gifts to it. It is not true except in a literal, matter of fact sense that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet;" and if it would, who would wish to change the name? Americans do not usually sufficiently appreciate the motive power of association. Wordsworth felt the force of association when he wrote of the man, who, indifferent to it, "would botanize," pursue his scientific studies, "upon his mother's grave." The law itself recognizes, although in deference to higher claims it does not always regard *pretium affectionis*.

Yale College is the historic, the baptismal name, which should not be lightly changed, especially in mature years or old age. For a short period during infancy the College was called the Collegiate School, but in 1723 it was "known as Yale College," as it has been ever since; was so named in the act of that year

and has been so called in every act of legislation of the colony and of the State for one hundred and sixty-two years and is so designated in the constitution of the State. The name was conferred in honor of a great benefactor. The new name would contain his name but no memorial by implication of the time when the honor was conferred. It might have been with the new name.

The College has never been ostentatious or pretentious, but modest, sober, solid, relying on its intrinsic merits and the work and standing and achievements of its officers and professors and the lives and reputation of its graduates. A few years ago at a meeting of the alumni at New Haven, when a graduate of distinction said that Yale should blow her trumpet more, Dr. Woolsey replied: "In the first place we have no trumpet to blow and in the next place we have nobody to blow it." It is proper, perhaps, to except the athletic sports of the undergraduates, but the sound has unaccountably seemed sometimes not to come out of the larger end of the instrument. During the Beaconsfield ministry in England the title of Empress of India was added—perhaps well added—to that of Queen of Great Britain, because, as was alleged, the natives of India considered an Emperor as of higher rank and authority than a King or Queen, and it would be injurious to the prestige of the Queen to be thought inferior to the Emperor of Russia. But that was the impression of a semi-barbarous people. Throughout all Europe and among all English-speaking people Victoria is the Queen of England or Great Britain still, and as such equal in rank to any sovereign. The graduates of Yale College are not semi-barbarous and have at least learned not to attach importance to a distinction without a difference. The term University has in this country, as the name of an institution of learning, no substantial, real difference from that of College. The term College is the less ambitious, simpler, more modest name. That is all.

Harvard University, or the University of Harvard, was chartered in 1650 as Harvard College, and retained that name in the State Constitution of Massachusetts of 1780, and the President and Fellows of Harvard College has continued to be its corporate name, but as early as 1683, Cranfield, Governor of New Hampshire, wrote to Sir Lionel Jenkins of "this college at Cambridge, which they call their University," and to the Lords' Committee of Privy Council of "the University of Cambridge."*

* Palfrey's Hist. of N. E., vol. iii, 413, 414, note.

of University as applied to the College imports no particular advance nor elevation. William and Mary's College, Yale College, Dartmouth College, King's (now Columbia), and Queen's (now Rutgers), Colleges, and the College of New Jersey were all chartered as Colleges in colonial times and have retained that name until the present time. The name of University indicates no superiority in Harvard to these, nor to Amherst, nor to Williams, nor to Bowdoin, or higher rank. The University of the City of New York does not stand higher for its name than Columbia College or the College of New Jersey. Within a few years the Medical and Law Schools at Albany have been connected nominally by statute with Union College at Schenectady, and the name of the college has been changed to Union University. We once asked a Professor of Union whether the college derived any advantage from the change. He replied none, except that it had a better claim on the Albanians. For an University or a "full University," whatever more if anything that phrase imports, the name Yale College is appropriate and entirely adequate.

There seems to have been an impression that the College has jumped into "a full University," because there has been an experimental trial for a year (the scheme was only adopted by the corporation for a year) of a large increase of elective studies, arranged in courses, but with a regular curriculum for Freshman and Sophomore years and a reduced curriculum for Junior and Senior years; and because after this trial of a year the plan has been generally approved by the Academical faculty—whose judgment is entitled to much weight—and has been likely to be and is continued. The elective courses are not entirely optional inasmuch as the student is required to select from among them enough to complete, with the required studies, fifteen public exercises a week. Elective studies have been pursued in the College to some extent for more than sixty years, the number being increased from time to time, but never so largely as the last year. The difference is in degree and orderly arrangement and prosecution and infringement on the curriculum and forms no reason for a change in the name of the College.

The plan is unique. After the first flush and charm of novelty to both professors and students have passed and the experience and observation of some years, its merits and defects, if any, as a system of liberal education (we are expressing no opinion of it), will be better known. The Committee of the Alumni in their

last annual report say that only a scanty course, "too short," in chemistry has been provided. We do not find it named in the curriculum detailed in the annual catalogue. Yet the College had had a gift of \$50,000 for a new chemical laboratory. We make no criticism but state these facts only.

Some of the advocates and we suppose promoters of the new system appear to think that the College is not yet "a full University," for they would carry this system of elective studies as far back as Freshman year, thus making the College like a technical school or a congeries of professional schools, with a preparatory department. To such extension strong objections present themselves. A technical school, however admirable, and the Sheffield Scientific School is certainly admirable for the purposes for which it was established, is not in our opinion a safe model for the Academical department or an Academical College. Such a school is mainly professional. Its graduates generally have no other professional education.

Another objection to such extension is that the tendency of a special course of studies is narrowing and not liberalizing and that a liberal education is needed to counteract that tendency. This is true of the legal, medical, and other professions.

That great philosophic statesman, Edmund Burke, speaking of Mr. Grenville says: "He was bred to the law, which is in my opinion one of the first and noblest of human sciences,—a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion."* Again he says of the study of the law, "this study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt to attack, ready in defence, full of resources."† The praise and the just limitation may be accepted. The same may perhaps be illustrated by the prejudice of the medical and clerical professions against each other and one or both against the legal profession, with many happy exceptions.

The College, as declared by its original charter, was founded for public purposes. It is an eleemosynary institution in fact and in law.‡ The wishes and tastes of the students are not therefore the controlling consideration, though within due limits, not incon-

* Speech on Am. taxation. Works, Bost. ed., 1860, vol. 2, pp. 37-8.

† Speech on conciliation with America, Id. p. 125.

‡ 4 Wheat. 640, 1 Blackst. Com. 471, Aug. and Ames on Corps., Sec. 39.

sistent with the objects of the foundation and college, they may be properly regarded. By its terms of admission the College invites boys of fifteen years of age, if properly qualified, to come under its instruction and owes them a duty to provide a suitable course of instruction for them, not to be satisfied by striking a mathematical average.

We only touch on the subject as connected with our question. We may be asked what is a liberal education. It is a large and generous, certainly not a special or professional, education; an education in the liberal arts and the sciences wherein the student is taught something well of whatever every well educated gentleman should know. Nothing is more sophistical than to call superficial what is only not complete.

The graduate department has sometimes been regarded and spoken of as the culmination of the University, but without it the College has long been an University. Until lately that graduate department was very much like what the late Professor John Hooker Ashmun of Massachusetts, in a toast on his admission to the bar, wittily said were a young lawyer's prospects, "a contingent remainder with no particular estate to support it." We trust that it will receive a generous support and bring new honors of scholarship to the College. It has now nine fellowships with incomes from \$250 to \$600.

As a seat of instruction in the different branches of knowledge and liberal education, as a school or college, having faculties in the arts and sciences, theology, law and medicine, the College has long been an University.* There is no reason why on account of a change in the course of study, there should be a change of name. Yale College is a name of honor and glory.

There can be no such change without a change of the charter. The charter is well enough as it stands. The people of Connecticut consecrated it in their Constitution and secured it against acts of legislation that it might be permanent. It is now protected not only by the Constitution of the State but by that of the United States. It should be carefully guarded like a muniment of title and its identity preserved. The Corporation should not consent to—the Legislature should not make—any change without pressing necessity. Not every alteration would affect this identity or security, but an alteration needlessly and lightly made may encourage others which will bring in undesigned

* See Webster's Dict. *in verbo*.

interpretations, as has been already attempted, or cause agitation for other alterations. Another has already been proposed. The State and the Corporation have already generously consented to the substitution of six graduates chosen by the Alumni for the six senior senators as members of the Corporation. Let that suffice. If the Alumni have failed (which we do not intimate), or shall fail to make choice of suitable persons, that is their fault, not to be imputed to the charter.

At a meeting of the Alumni of the College, at New Haven, in June, 1885, "the standing committee of the Alumni association" were on motion of Professor S. E. Baldwin, and after a short and we presume hasty discussion, "instructed to inquire and report to the next meeting of the Alumni the advisability of substituting the words Yale University for Yale College in signing their official reports." It will be seen that the resolution is one of inquiry only. The standing committee, as it is called, is a committee of a professor from each department and school of the College and the Peabody Museum, annually chosen to make a report or statement of the progress and condition of the departments at the close of the coming College year. Their report or statement as published and distributed among the Alumni is never signed. Whether it is signed or how it is signed, if signed, when it is deposited, if deposited, in the Archives of the association is wholly immaterial.* But if the description, the Committee of Yale University, should be used the description would not be true. The Committee is a Committee of "The Alumni Association of Yale College," of which every graduate is a member. The proposal of the resolution looks like a device (we do not say that it is) to minimize the opposition and to obtain a decision of an immaterial question and then to claim that it is a decision of a larger and more important question; or else to obtain or make a report going beyond the question submitted. It is not so open and frank as the proposal made on behalf of part of one of the youngest classes (that of 1878), not to disturb the clerical members of the Corporation but only to increase the number of those chosen by the Alumni to a number sufficient to out-vote them, the Governor and Lieut.-Governor, also civilians,

* How utterly immaterial it is appears from the title of the Statement or Report, "Yale College in 1883," or 1884, or 1885, "Some Statements respecting the late progress and present condition of the departments of the University," etc., the legal name of the College being properly used but the College treated as a University, as it is.

being in reserve; or at least to obtain such an increase as would practically shift the majority; and to ask so many of the clerical members to consent to this as may be necessary to effect a change. Such alteration would not only destroy the security for the Christian character of the College contemplated and provided in the original charter but would also upset the settlement of 1792. The Corporation of Harvard consists of seven members only, the President, five fellows, and the Treasurer, none of whom is elected by the graduates but all by the Corporation.

In a report of the proceedings published in one of the daily newspapers * at the time, it is stated that the mover of the resolution said, "it has been a matter of discussion among the Yale Corporation during the recent meetings, whether the time had not arrived when Yale College should be known as Yale University, and with a view of settling this question," he introduced the resolution. Is this quite respectful to the members of the Corporation? The gentlemen of the corporation have discussed the question of a change of the name of the College but left it unsettled. Let us refer it to our Committee and settle it for them and they can act accordingly. Neither the Committee nor the Alumni can settle it. When the act for the election of members of the Corporation by the Alumni first went into operation, the Corporation made known an order, that any professor who should accept the office of a member of the Corporation should be deemed to have resigned his professorship. Do not the reason and spirit of this order prohibit professors from assuming to exercise the functions of their superiors? The Alumni cannot settle the question. Plainly not a small fraction of them, three or four hundred, almost exclusively graduates from the academical department only, coming together for no such purpose. According to the last Triennial the number of living graduates of the Academical department alone was more than 4300 (4393). To this should be added the other graduates, who have not been also graduates of that department. Subject to such deduction as this, or the having received degrees in more than one department or school, may require, which it is not convenient now to make, and which does not affect our argument, the whole number of living graduates was 6,443, to which are to be added 230 living who have received honorary degrees from Yale College, all interested in the name of Yale College, who have derived honor

* *New Haven Daily Palladium*, June 24, 1885.

from it and with few exceptions rejoiced in it and would not willingly we believe cast away the honored and venerable name. What the Alumni want is the thing,—real, and well assured progress,—not a high sounding name.

The proposal should not be entertained. Both the Corporation and the Legislature, acting upon their independent responsibilities must give their separate consent in order to a change of name. In our judgment neither should consent. Let the charter, which has proved so wise and worked so well, stand. A well known fable tells us, that a camel finding an opening in a tent asked leave to put in his nose, and leave being granted drew in his whole body. Without reference now to particular alterations in the charter and with full confidence in the friendship of the great body of the Alumni to the College and its Constitution, we would say that we cannot help thinking with the Arab or other owner of the tent into which the camel stalked (in his case it was too late), Beware of the camel's nose.

WM. BLISS, 51 William st.

ARTICLE II.—THE CLERICAL ELEMENT IN THE YALE CORPORATION.*

To the Editor of the New Englander :

THE pending discussion with reference to the management of the affairs of Yale College has a special interest to all the true friends of the Institution. As an Alumnus, I have followed the drift of it in the hope that measures would be proposed whereby its present highly prosperous condition might be still further improved. In this hope however I have been disappointed. For as nearly as I can understand the wishes of those who have pleaded for "broader principles" of administration, nothing definite in the line of what is called "progress" has as yet been suggested except this, that one at least of the existing vacancies in the clerical part of the Corporation be filled with a minister from outside of State and denominational lines. To those who remember former discussions, this appears doubtless to be a very modest proposal. For, some four or five years ago, the talk of

* A more full discussion of this subject may be expected in future numbers of the NEW ENGLANDER. Meanwhile a place is accorded to this unimpassioned expression of the view of the subject which is taken by a prominent graduate of the College.—ED. NEW ENGLANDER.

certain reformers, through newspaper column and pamphlet, was in substance something like this,—“ You gentlemen of the clergy have done well in founding Yale College, and managing it up to date. You have given it a standing at the front of American literary institutions. But now *we* propose that you step down and out, for we are going to take the reins into our own hands.” In the same strain, many things were spoken in whisper, as for example this, “ as soon as Drs. Bacon and Woolsey are off the stage some radical move will be made.” And the question was asked privately, “ What use can be made of Battell Chapel when it ceases to be used for religious services ?” According to these views, the very wisdom and success of the Connecticut ministers in building up so grand an Institution as Yale College was to issue in their being voted an obstructive superfluity, very much as Christianity itself after it has elevated and purified our whole personal and social life is branded by certain advanced thinkers as an outgrown superstition.

The present discussion however has, on the whole, been conducted in good temper and with a respectful regard to the Christian traditions of the College ; and the principal question now in debate, as I have already intimated, seems to be,—Shall the clerical members of the Corporation, constituting a self-perpetuating portion of the body, at the approaching election for filling vacancies, depart from the uniform and undeviating usage which has prevailed for one hundred and eighty-five years, by going outside of State and denominational lines ? After a careful consideration of this question, I see many reasons for answering it in the negative. If I were a member of that body, which I am not, as neither am I connected in any way with the administration of the affairs of the College, I could not, consistently with my strong convictions, be instrumental in introducing the new departure asked for. The following are some of my reasons :

1. *The provisions of the Charter.* I know that a gentleman of high legal standing has publicly taken the ground that the Charter interposes no obstacle in the way of the proposed change. With great respect for Professor Baldwin, I would say, that on reading his argument, at the time of its publication, I was not convinced of the soundness of his conclusion, and told him so. Other men equally learned in the law with himself have reviewed his argument and expressed their decided dissent from his view of the case. While, therefore, the old interpretation of the charter and the practice under the charter have prevailed without

question for one hundred and fifty years, the clergy in whose hands has been placed the keeping of a sacred trust, cannot be expected to inaugurate a revolution at the call of a single voice, —especially as the proposal which has been made seems to have brought out a quick and full defence of the ancient usage.

2. But aside from all dispute in respect to the Charter, it is pleaded that *many of the Alumni* have a strong desire for this change, and that, although they possess no jurisdiction in the premises, yet some respect is due to their wishes and feelings, so as to conciliate their continued attachment to and support of the College. This consideration certainly ought to weigh with the clerical members of the Corporation, and doubtless will have all the weight which it deserves. But what if it should be found, when trial is made, that a very large number of other Alumni are *opposed* to the proposed new departure, and remonstrate against it as revolutionary and unsafe? Will it not be felt that it is best to keep to the old paths till at least the demand for a change becomes more general? And even then, the Alumni could not reasonably claim to control the action of the clerical Fellows. These Fellows constituted the entire Corporation for nearly a hundred years subsequent to the founding of the College, and now after several intermediate changes it has come about, that by the free voluntary act of these Fellows, the Alumni have the privilege of filling by vote six seats in the Board of the Corporation. It would seem that this generous concession ought to be sufficient to silence all claims on the part of the Alumni to dictate to the clerical Fellows whom *they* shall elect to fill vacancies in their own number.

And in this connection, it may be stated, that the Alumni in their action within their own sphere have expressed no preference that vacancies in the Corporation be filled from outside of State lines. The place of Governor Washburn of Massachusetts was filled by the choice of Mr. Kingsbury, a Connecticut man. And in the last two elections by the Alumni, in each case a very large vote being cast, the choice fell upon Connecticut men. If these examples have any significance as touching the subject, they show that the Alumni as a body are indifferent to the question in itself considered, whether the vacancies shall be filled with ministers of Connecticut, or otherwise. If Connecticut men are good enough for one class of Fellows, they certainly are good enough for the other class.

3. The change proposed is not necessary to give a *national*

and catholic character to the Institution. It possesses that character already, although primarily it belongs to Connecticut. I know not to what exactly Senator Hoar referred, when at a recent Alumni meeting, he called Yale "the national College," as distinguished from other institutions of its class. He probably had in mind the fact that to a larger extent than other colleges, it draws its students from the different sections of the National Union. But it is national in other respects. Gentlemen from other States and of national reputation and position sit upon its Board of Control. Chief Justice Waite, Senator Wm. M. Evarts of New York and Representative W. W. Phelps of New Jersey are numbered among its Fellows.

The spirit of the Institution is also broadly catholic. The clerical majority in the Corporation is continually self-prompted to show that it is not exclusive or sectarian, for the very reason that it is denominational, and understands that it is liable to be charged on that account with being narrow. Illiberality would be likely to creep in whenever, and as soon as, *the representatives of different sects* began, as the policy of the College authorities or of the graduates, to be elected into it. Then would begin the strife of each sect for the ascendancy. Under the present policy, the question of sect is eliminated, and there is nothing for the Corporation to do but to study and promote the welfare of the College.

It is worthy of notice also, that the students represent all shades of religious preference. Apart from all plotting or design, three different Christian denominations are also in fact represented by the non-clerical Fellows, and at least fifteen of the regular instructors have other than Congregational connections. The plea therefore that the ministers must in filling vacancies go out of the State and out of their own denomination in order to stamp upon the Institution the mark of nationality and of catholicity, has little or no force in it, certainly not enough to warrant the introduction of a precedent of doubtful propriety and tendency.

4. Under the system which undeviating usage has sanctioned, all *the demands for rational and safe progress* can be as fully met as under the proposed change. The Faculty and the Corporation, as now constituted, work in perfect harmony,—a consideration second to no other in its relation to the growing prosperity of the College. And then, although the Fellows elected by the State and the Alumni are less in number than the clerical Fellows, they have an equal voice with them in the con-

stitution of the Prudential Committee, by which all measures of importance are thoroughly canvassed and approved before presentation to the full Board,—this Committee usually consisting of three ministers and three laymen with the President. And it will be remembered by the Alumni who were present at the last Commencement, that in his after dinner speech, Gov. Harrison emphasized the fact that during his long connection with the Corporation,—some thirteen years,—he had never known a division of the body upon any question where the ministers voted upon one side and the lay members upon the other.

Connecticut ministers have from the first settlement of the colony been the foremost promoters of education and have stood far in advance of other professions as educators. And from among their number, I know not how many have held and are now holding positions as presidents and professors in the colleges of our country. Call a meeting in any town or city in the State for the improvement of the schools, or call a county or State Convention for the purpose of giving a new impulse to the cause of education, and the ministers are there leading the van. We are persuaded that no better material can be found for making faithful guardians of our College, with an intelligent spirit of progress in them, than can be found among this class of men within our own territorial borders. A corporation, composed of ten such men, having for their colleagues the two chief executive officers of the State and six of the choicest men directly elected by the Alumni, is likely to constitute a body to whom the management of the College may with entire confidence be committed.

But it has been urged, that the ratio of graduates of Yale among the Congregational ministers of Connecticut has greatly decreased of late years, and one of two evils is to be apprehended as a result. The first is that the necessity of selecting a Fellow from a small number of such ministers will bring into the Corporation incompetent men. The alternative is, that the control of the Corporation will pass into the hands of men who are not graduates of Yale.

This plea, if honestly made, is “a smelling of the battle afar off.” To be forewarned however is to be forearmed, and when the exigency arrives it is to be hoped that all due preparation will be made to avert a catastrophe. Just now however it would certainly seem that out of a little less than four hundred Congregational ministers in Connecticut, of whom some one hundred

and thirty are Yale Alumni, ten men might be found competent to discharge this important trust. On the supposition that one-third of them only are available as fit candidates for the place, in respect to age and culture and business capacity, the College would not be very likely to be in any immediate danger. The whole number of Congregational ministers in the State has been absolutely if not relatively increasing steadily from the foundation of the College, when it was only seventy, and the prospect of a diminution is at this present writing not greatly alarming.

The alternative apprehension that, if the present system is continued, it will necessitate the giving of the control of the Corporation into the hands of non-graduates of Yale may be quieted by the consideration already adduced. There is however in the plea an intimation that vacancies must be filled exclusively from among those who have received their Bachelor's degree at the hands of the President of the College. I endorse the policy,—“Yale Alumni for Yale College”—as a general principle. But to make it strictly exclusive is unworthy of the Institution as related to the great republic of letters. Look over the list of the Professors and Instructors from the first, and this exclusive principle, had it prevailed, would blot out many a brilliant luminary from the Yale firmament. Scan the last annual Catalogue. Would not the high standing of Yale be sensibly lowered, if we should eliminate from the list of Instructors in the Academical as well as in the other departments, such scholarly and honorable names as Harris, Whitney, Phelps, Fisher, Brush, Johnson, Brewer, Robinson, Knapp, Seymour, and Ladd? Yale men are of course to be preferred. But if circumstances point to a man having a peculiar fitness for a position, as Corporator or Instructor, a law or principle which would exclude him would be exceedingly narrow and foolish. The first ten Fellows of the College were of course not graduates of Yale. The same is true of the next nine. Rev. Jared Eliot, elected in 1730, was an Alumnus of the Class of 1706. Since that year, out of the ninety-four ministers who have held this office, nineteen, or about one in five, did not receive their Bachelor's degree at Yale. And yet no charge has ever been made against any one of them, that, as foster-children, they did not serve their *alma mater* as affectionately and faithfully as if they had been, so to speak, of her own flesh and blood. Therefore even if ministers, not Alumni, are occasionally elected as Fellows, in the future as they have

been in the past, there is no reason for alarm lest the College, for this reason, should be dishonored or retarded in its growth.

And this course of thought leads me to say further, that it is incumbent on the friends of Yale to subsidize by legitimate methods all good influences that make for the progress of the Institution. We want all the aid which non-graduates are willing to render. We should not drive off and discourage such aid by a rallying cry born of exclusiveness. A policy of this character would be shamed by the names of such men as Peabody and Sheffield, and Farnam, and Marquand, and Buckingham, and Chittenden, and Maratt, and Joseph Battell, and English, and Dodge,—and Elihu Yale himself. Such names of benefactors teach us that, in some cases, at least, the interests of the College are as dear to men not included in the roll of the Alumni, as to the Alumni themselves, and are as safe in their hands.

5. The change proposed would be quite likely to introduce an element of *instability* into the Corporation, and consequently into the administration. Indeed, already the election of Fellows by the Alumni, conducted as it has of late been with all the electioneering machinery common to political campaigns, bodes no good to the Institution, and many are calling for its abolition. And now to attempt to bring to bear a mighty electioneering pressure upon the clerical Fellows, whenever a vacancy is to be filled, in favor of this or that candidate outside of the old territorial limits, or of the ministerial profession, is an effort to set things entirely adrift. It matters not so much that the men to be chosen are Congregational ministers of Connecticut, as that their character and profession *are fixed*, and that they are likely to be in the future, as they have been in the past, educated, conscientious, practical men, who, though progressive, are not usually given to hasty experiments or rash ventures. These qualities mean everything in the eyes of those especially who have money to give to the cause of education. A few years ago, when there was such an outcry against "clericalism" in the Corporation, a gentleman, whose religious views would be regarded as heretical by Congregationalists, was making his will in which Yale College was designated as the residuary legatee of his estate. The outcry referred to made him hesitate, for the clerical element had commended itself to his mind as that especially which promised stability to the management. The clamor having subsided and the danger of a change passed by, the will was completed and

the College will realize a large endowment from it. Thus it is seen, that what is especially wanted in the administration of the affairs of the Institution is a stability that shall inspire full confidence. A bad precedent may entail irreparable disaster.

As germane to this thought, it may be called to mind, that when, thirteen years ago, the policy was inaugurated of the election of six Corporators by the Alumni instead of their being supplied from the State Senate, it was anticipated and perhaps predicted, that the Alumni, being thus brought into closer relations to the College management, would be more liberal in their gifts to the Institution. Possibly some instance has escaped notice in which this anticipation has been realized. But inquiry has brought no case to light in which there is any evidence that gifts to the College would not just as readily have been made under the old system of senatorial assignment.

My conclusion is therefore that under the circumstances it cannot reasonably be expected or demanded of the clerical Fellows that, in filling the vacancies in their number, they should go aside from the established usage. So many considerations of expediency forbid it, and the propriety of such a course is so doubtful, that there is good reason to fear that if they should yield to a temporary outcry they would prove themselves more incompetent for the discharge of their trust than they are charged with being by their bitterest opponents. In saying this, I do not assert that the present system of management is stereotyped for all time. If the necessity of a change of any kind ever comes, let it be met in a way correspondent with the dignity of the College. Reforms cannot be judiciously effected at the mere instance of newspaper correspondents or anonymous critics. Efforts to carry measures, however plausible, by the rallying cry of partizanship, ought to be reprobated by every true friend of Yale. When the exigency arises, let the Corporation rather take counsel of the wise men among her Alumni,—of accomplished jurists upon questions of law,—of successful educators upon questions pertaining to the curriculum, and of well-proved business men upon financial questions. After thorough and careful deliberation, they will then be prepared intelligently to enter upon such new departures as may seem necessary to the continued growth and prosperity of the College.

ALUMNUS.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

AMERICAN MEN OF LETTERS: PROFESSOR BEERS' LIFE OF NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS.*—Willis deserved a biography. He is not indeed a heroic figure, but any account of American men of letters would be quite incomplete without him. He was "for about fifteen years the most popular magazinist in America." He had then a brilliant reputation as a poet and as a sketchy, dashing writer. His biographer has handled the variegated specimen with skill without spoiling or soiling its delicate colors.

What there was really worthy in Willis has been brought out in this book better than ever before, and his character rises in our esteem, so that even the blackguard charges of Marryat and Maginn as to his toadyism to the English gentry abroad are done away, or put in a more charitable light, and we are taught to view him as the amiably ambitious fop rather than the servile sycophant "who loves a lord." He could play the man well enough, and had he held himself firmly up to the best there was in him, he might have made a more enduring mark on American literature.

It was unfortunate that Willis acquired his fame so early—even in college days when a corner of the grim "Boston Recorder" blossomed with his "Absalom" and similar poems. That same smoothness and elegant commonplace was fatal all the way through. He never studied. He never went deep enough to be great in anything. He caught the graceful playfulness of Irving's style but it was spent in play of words without thoughts. As a story-teller he had now and then a touch of Hawthorne's weirdness and wild fancy but not his psychologic insight and moral power. As a chatty writer of fashionable literature "blending gayety and sentiment" he was the forerunner of such brilliant society writers as James and Howells, though lacking their realistic vigor. He was an imitator of Byron, and, though he penned a few poems of sentiment that have survived him, never saw the dawn of Wordsworth or Tennyson. He struck a little way into the heart sometimes but was evidently chiefly interested "in the set of a coat and cut of a beard."

* *American Men of Letters. Nathaniel Parker Willis.* By HENRY A. BEERS. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1885.

"Have you heard of Philip Slingsby—
Slingsby of the manly chest?
How he slew the snapping turtle
In the regions of the west?"

But these "Slingsby papers," "Inklings," "Letters from under a Bridge," and careless witty chat of the "Mirror" and "Home Journal" have done something to unlimber American writing and make it natural, vital, and humane. Professor Beers' remarks upon the only power there was in Willis—his free, graceful style—and his defence of style, are worthy of attention:

"These 'Inklings' do not penetrate to the stratum of real character, of strong passion, and of the interplay of motives and moral relations in which all vital fiction has its roots. Their plots are commonly slight, their persons sketchy, their incidents not seldom improbable, their coloring sometimes too high. As transcripts of actual life such stories as 'Pedlar Karl,' 'the Cherokee's Threat,' and 'Tom Fane and I,' with the easy optimism of their conclusions and their cheerful avoidance of all the responsibilities imposed upon the dwellers of this work-a-day world, are of course misleading and false. Their air is the air of every day, but their happenings are those of the wildest romance. Their charm—and they have for many old-fashioned readers a quite decided charm—does not lie in truth to life, but in the vivacious movement of the narrative, the glimpses of scenery by the way, the alternations of sentiment and gayety, neither very profound, but each for the time sincere and passing quickly into one another; and finally in the style, always graceful, and in passages really exquisite. It has recently been announced that style is 'increasingly unimportant,' but can this be true? Not surely, unless fiction is to become hereafter a branch of social science and valuable only for its accurate report of life. It will then be the novelist's duty to obliterate himself in his message, and any intrusion of his personality between the reader and the subject will be an impertinence. But it is hard to believe that the personal element is to lose its place in fiction and be banished to the realm of autobiography and lyric poetry. Style may be a purely external part of an artist's equipment, but it is a necessary part all the same. A bad man or a weak man may have it, but it does not make it any the less indispensable for the good man intending literature."

We do not think that style is "a purely external part of an artist's equipment" and hold it to be something deeper; but we thank our author for his spirited apology. His book is itself an example of charming style. The interest never flags. Professor Lounsbury, in his racy life of Cooper, had the advantage of a more substantial subject, but both have written readable and admirable biographies.

HUMAN PSYCHOLOGY.*—This brief treatise is the result of a commendable effort to produce a text-book covering the whole

* *Human Psychology, An Introduction to Philosophy.* By Rev. E. JAMES, A.M. W. B. Hardy, Oakland, Cal. In two Divisions. 1884 and 1885.

ground of the mental phenomena treated under the heads of Intellect, Feeling, and Will, and at the same time introducing the pupil to some of the principal writers in philosophy and to certain opinions cited from their works. In the Preface the author expresses his just dissatisfaction with the attempts hitherto made by writers in English to construct a summary of Psychology. The arrangement of the material is somewhat peculiar. In Part I, Space, Time, and Causation are treated immediately after Sensation and Consciousness; an Historical Sketch of some twenty pages, in which a brief account of as many authors is presented, precedes the discussion of Memory, Association, and Imagination, in Part II.; Judgment, Concept, Reasoning, and Induction compose Part III.; and the First Division closes with remarks on the lower animals and the nature of mind. The Second Division treats of Feeling and Will.

The method of the author leads him to bring together a considerable number of sentences cited from various writers upon each topic; and with these sentences he expresses his agreement, often, however, under limitation,—or else uses them as a point of starting by way of antagonizing them and presenting his own views. This method may have its advantages. It may familiarize the pupil with a number of names, and also serve to present the truth to him from several different aspects as expressed in several different forms. It is a method, however, which is somewhat expensive of valuable space and which belongs rather to the essay than the text-book. Moreover, in some cases it results in leaving an appearance of obscurity with respect to the precise form in which the author would have stated the views he designs to commend. It is a way of instruction almost the opposite of that which Sully—for example—adopts in his recently published “*Outlines of Psychology*.” The latter scarcely ever refers to the opinions of others, or their sayings, outside of the notes in fine print.

Mr. Janes has been diligent and fairly comprehensive in his reading, candid and generous in his treatment of those whom he opposes, and duly impressed with the difficulties of his task. He has consulted authors who prefer to approach the study of mind from the physiological or experimental point of view as well as those who allow a large admixture of metaphysical theory to shape the scientific treatment of Psychology. His discrimination in choosing the better one among several opinions, is generally good.

PARADISE FOUND,* is the title of a book by President Warren which, in six parts of several chapters each, elaborates the proposition that the primitive Eden was situated at the North Pole. After the site of this place, to which the Biblical narrative has given so much of historic interest, has wandered from the East to the Westward over nearly the whole globe, it is not really surprising to see it turned toward the North. The author is probably right, however, in speaking of his effort as a "fresh hypothesis." This hypothesis is ostensibly tested and confirmed by geogony, geography, geology, paleontology in every form, etc. The favorite theory of Dr. Warren as to the ancient ideas on cosmology is introduced in this connection and made to do valiant service. And, finally, the various bearings of the alleged discovery on literature, philosophy, and religion, are discussed. Probably a quotation from the last passage in the volume will give a sufficiently clear conception of the spirit and style with which the investigation is conducted: "Our treatise opened with a pathetic picture,—it must close with another. Long-lost Eden is found; but its gates are barred against us. Now, as at the beginning of our exile, a sword turns every way to keep the Way of the Tree of Life. Sadder yet, it is Eden no longer. Even could some new Columbus penetrate to the secret centre of this Wonderland of the Ages, he could but hurriedly kneel amid a frozen desolation and, dumb with a nameless awe, let fall a few hot tears above the buried and desolated hearthstone of Humanity's earliest and loveliest home."

Having ourselves little hope of ever reaching the spot or of being convinced that this "fresh hypothesis" is any more tenable than the most improbable of other preceding hypotheses concerning the site of Eden, we have no difficulty in restraining all feelings resembling those which must have moved the writer of this passage. Let them believe the hypothesis who can.

EIGHT STUDIES OF THE LORD'S DAY.†—This volume was first printed a few months ago for private circulation. The name of the author was withheld, that no personal bias might affect the judgment of those who should read it. It has met with such

* *Paradise Found. The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole. A Study of the Prehistoric World.* By WILLIAM F. WARREN, S.T.D., LL.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1885.

† *Eight Studies of the Lord's Day.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

high commendation from many and competent sources, that the publishers have been induced to print it for general circulation.

The book is fresh and original in its treatment of its familiar theme. The author does not attempt to present all that may be said for or against the authority of the Lord's day. Taking it as an existing institution, he discusses its distinguishing characteristics, traces it back to the Apostolic age, and presents the facts connected with its first observance. Here, confronting the Jewish Sabbath marking the close of each week, he presents a careful study of *the week*, with the evidence that it was not a natural but an arbitrary division of time. There follows a discussion of the primeval sacred day, and then of the Mosaic Sabbath and of the Sabbatic system of Israel. The distinction is then shown between the permanent and transient elements of the ancient institution. Intimations are found in the Jewish ordinances of a prospective change of the sacred day from the last to the first of the week, while the succession of weeks is maintained. The author then shows in the terms of the fourth commandment a recognition of and provision for the permanent and essential elements of the institution, and concludes with a discussion of the place and use of the institution in the Christian Church.

Such is a meagre outline of the course of reasoning and illustrations which the author pursues in this very interesting volume. His line of thought is almost wholly biblical. His style is scholarly and attractive, and while there is no parade of learning the writer is evidently not ignorant of the results of recent researches and discoveries, so far as they bear upon the question in hand.

We especially commend the book to those who like the author himself, feeling the force of the reasoning by which Dr. Hessey in his Bampton lectures attempts to show the distinctness of the Sabbath of the Jews and the Lord's Day, do also feel that Dr. Hessey and those who follow him fail to establish, on a basis which can bind the conscience, an observance so vital to the church as the Christian Sabbath.

BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS.*—These essays are the by-play of an industrious and enterprising life. They attest the intellectual fertility as well as catholicity and kindliness of the author's

* *Biographical Essays.* By F. MAX MÜLLER, A.M., Member of the French Institute. New York: Chas Scribner's Sons. 1884. [Published by agreement of the author.]

sympathies. Many who did not find access to the Public Addresses or Review Articles which are the originals of these essays will be glad to find them in this permanent form.

The first is an address delivered at Bristol, England, in 1883, commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rājāh Rāmmohun Roy, the founder in 1830 of the Brāma Somāj, the society which has initiated the modern theistic reform movement in India. Rāmmohun Roy went to England partly in the interest of this religious movement and remaining three years died there in 1883. He was buried at Bristol where over his grave his friends and followers in India have erected a monument with an inscription indicating the work he did. The address is weighty as being the utterance of the one who is perhaps better able to speak of this apostle of theism and of his work than any other English speaking man. The second essay is a somewhat elaborate account of Keshub Chunder Sen, the successor of Rāmmohun Roy as leader of the Brāma Somāj and founder of The New Dispensation. It is the tribute of a personal friend and admirer and yet not a blind advocate. He defends Mr. Sen, and some will think unsuccessfully, against the charge of arrogance and irreverence in his claim to inspiration, but at the same time does not endorse the wisdom of some of his movements. The third essay is a brief sketch of another of the friends of the theistic Reform in India, Dagāmanda Sarasvatī, who was born in 1827—eleven years before Chunder Sen. He was the founder of the Arya-Somāj, a branch of the theistic movement, which retained a more conservative attitude towards the claim of the Vedas to inspiration. These three essays furnish as good an account of the theistic movement in India and of its chief representatives as one is likely to find within the same limits. The fourth and fifth essays contain an interesting account of two young Buddhist priests and scholars from Japan, who were sent to England by the monastery at Kioto, with which they were connected, for the purpose of studying English and of learning to read and expound the old Buddhist Scriptures in their original language. They were pupils of the author in this study. The sixth essay is republished from the *Contemporary Review* of August, 1878, and is a worthy tribute to the memory of Julius Mohl, oriental scholar and professor of Persian in the French Institute at Paris. The last is a loving tribute, translated from the *Deutsche Rundschau*, to his friend Charles Kingsley.

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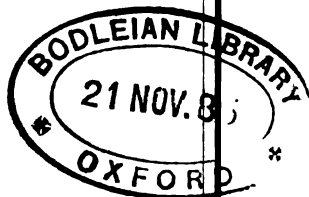
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On the 1st of January, 1886, the NEW ENGLANDER will enter on its forty-fourth year. Important changes will be made in the Review, which the proprietor takes this occasion to announce. It will appear hereafter once a month instead of once in two months as at present. In connection with this change, a renewed effort will be made to impart an increased timeliness and freshness to its contents. In addition to the discussion of topics pertaining to Theology and Politics, Literature and Science, which has always been the function of the NEW ENGLANDER, special attention will be given to college government and college education, and, in particular, to questions in relation to Yale College which are of marked interest at present to its graduates. With regard to the tone and character of the articles to be furnished on these various subjects, the NEW ENGLANDER will adhere to the established rule of independent, non-partisan utterance, which is expressed in its motto. The spirit which was stamped upon this Review by Bacon, Thompson, Bushnell, Dutton and others who have passed away, and by Woolsey and his associates among the living, will continue to characterize it. While we have no

“new departure” to proclaim in theology, we shall hereafter, as in the past, defend the essentials of the evangelical faith, at the same time that we faithfully uphold the rights of private judgment and scholarly investigation. New books of importance will be promptly reviewed. Among the special contributors on whose aid the editor is permitted to count are President Porter, Professors Harris, Fisher, Dwight, Brastow, Russell, Ladd, Peck, and Seymour, besides other writers, both laymen and clergymen, from whom contributions are expected.

The **NEW ENGLANDER** for 1886 will be published, as heretofore, in New Haven, Connecticut. Price, Three Dollars per annum. Single numbers, 30 cents.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
OF THE
GRADUATES OF YALE COLLEGE
WITH
ANNALS OF THE COLLEGE HISTORY

From October, 1701, to May, 1745,

BY FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M. A.

Published by MESSRS. HENRY HOLT & Co., New York.

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The work includes Biographical Sketches of all the Graduates of Yale College under its first charter, or until May, 1745,—483 in number. These sketches are based upon material collected in former years by the Hon. Ralph D. Smyth, supplemented by later investigations; besides the usual biographical information, a bibliographical account of all publications by the graduates commemorated is included.

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NEW ENGLANDER:

THE YALE REVIEW.

No. CLXXXIX.

NOVEMBER, 1885.

ARTICLE I.—GOVERNMENT BY PARTY.

II. THE PARTY AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

THE South accepted the results of the war it had provoked as men of courage always accept the inevitable, with uncomplaining and entire submission. It could not with dignity have done otherwise. The appeal to arms is the *ultima ratio* of peoples as much as of any king. To have revivied at the polls, where it was admitted only by the magnanimity of its conquerors, the issues it had risked and lost on the battle-field, would have been a violation of its parole of honor. In any case, whatever aggressiveness of temper was left to it must have yielded in the reaction of an exhausting effort and the lassitude that belongs to lost causes. So the constituency which had dictated the policy of the State for forty years disappeared for the time from the political arena, to give place to the new one of enfranchised slaves, who, counted before as the brute basis of Southern representation, were now counted as an active section of the victorious party.

The situation of the northern wing of the Democracy was a good deal more complicated without being practically different.

In spite of the open disloyalty of some of its leaders and the disaffection of many more, it had furnished its full portion of the host which saved the country ; in other words, the Democrats joined the Republicans for all the purposes which made the Republican party what it was. Discredited by ancient complicities, mutilated by the war, excluded from the possibility of speedy return to power, and destitute of any principles of its own applicable to the state of affairs, it still kept its footing everywhere with a bold front and in some constituencies its old supremacy ; a signal proof of the persistence of political feelings and habit, and the almost indestructible quality of party organization among a free people. But in all national affairs its policy like that of the South, was distinctly one of acquiescence, abstention, and expectancy.

This left the Republican party in undivided and unobstructed possession of the power of the State, the first instance in our history of government without an effective opposition. The only constraint put upon it was the necessities and logic of the situation ; the strength of its own convictions, the inevitable consequences of a triumphant policy. In these circumstances the 13th Amendment to the Constitution was submitted for ratification on the 1st of February, 1864, the 14th on the 16th of June, 1866, and the ratification of the 15th and last was published on the 30th of March, 1870. With the exception of the first clause of Art. XIV. these great instruments, like the Decalogue, are a series of prohibitions. They declare all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction citizens thereof, but they do not directly confer freedom, or the suffrage, or the right to equal representation, upon any man. They say simply that there shall be no slavery, no unequal representation by which any State profits, and no abridgment of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. All these are negations, but they stand for what is perhaps the greatest achievement of political construction in the annals of any people. And they are the work of the Republican party. In ten years it had taken the government, conquered, and reclaimed a revolted population, extinguished slavery, and given its final form to the constituency ; that is, it had completed

the definitions of the first great era of our history, had brought out into the light of day and assured for all time the fundamental and sovereign principle of our polity.

With performance of this magnificent description behind it, with the resolute majority, the organization, the discipline and the *momentum* it brought out of the war and the years that wound up the work of the war, the Republican party entered the new era of tranquil politics with what looked like an overwhelming superiority and an inalienable possession of power. It did not seem possible that any inattention of the masses, any perversity or blundering of the leaders, could wear out its capital or put the government within reach of an opposition so exhausted and broken up, so disheartened and submissive. Who could have foreseen that in this very discomfiture and acquiescence lay the real peril ; that no reverse at the polls or mere ejection from office could be more fatal to the ruling majority than the conversion of the minority to its way of thinking, the practical agreement of all men upon the ideas which, while in dispute, had given it distinctive character and reason of being. Absurd as it would have sounded at the time to say so, the very victory which seemed to secure its hold upon power was the signal that its mandate was exhausted and its mission fulfilled. There was nothing more left for it to do for there were now none of its requisitions which anybody resisted, no part of its doctrine not incorporated in the constitution of the State and the common property of the people. Its theoretical and moral identity had vanished in universal assents.

It followed that what we may call the psychological condition of the party, rather than its prestige or its power, became the controlling factor of the political situation. Left, like the opposition, without any distinctive principle of its own, it was left without any motive of action ; convinced that it had nothing more to do, it relinquished all purpose of doing anything. There still remained to it the party organization and the possession of the government. But the integrating principle, the powerful unanimity which had held it together, was gone. The structure stood for years apparently as animate and vigorous as ever ; in spite of recent reverses is still standing ; only

the functional unity was wanting, and when it went, the counter-evolution, that is—the long process of dissolution—set in. Men who have been held for years by intense convictions and stern purpose will be held long after by sheer reminiscence and the force of habit, but the bonds are looser and lighter and daily become more so. The vitality of the whole organism was fatally impaired, its tone lowered, its cohesion relaxed. Within the precincts of the party itself an abundance of material was set free for indefinite dispersion or for transfer to other bodies. It was all in vain that the leaders tightened the girths and plied the astringents of party discipline; in the absence of any constraining motive the laxity was incurable and progressive. Decomposition of old tissue, absorption of the material into other organisms, this had been the fate of the Whig and Federal parties, it had nearly been that of the Democracy, when left without an available policy by hopeless defeats. It is the impending fate of the Republican party, whose policy has gone out of its keeping on the flood-tide of victory, unless it finds another worth believing in and fighting for.

At the same time, as the parties and sections of parties went out of politics one after the other, the victors and the vanquished alike, men everywhere returned by a common impulse to the long neglected field of private affairs and business enterprise, where party distinctions disappear and a people finds its real meeting-ground and reunion. It was perfectly right as it was of urgent necessity that they should do. Politics, that is the doings of government and the care of the State, are not the proper business of any civilized community; they are the art of providing the conditions which enable business to be transacted. We cannot spend our lives in wrangling at the polls or putting one another to death to get the opportunity of living. The State is there precisely for the purpose of getting it for us; it is intolerable that its inefficiency or disorders should impose the very burdens it was meant to remove and get in the way of the very interests it was meant to promote. Mr. Bagehot has noticed the reproach against us as a nation, that we are not "specially addicted to politics," but not the explanation, that we are addicted to the thousand higher ends for which politics furnish, or are intended to furnish, the com-

mon means. We are capable of putting the entire resources of the country into them when any public emergency requires it, but not of leaving them there when the emergency has passed. So while the South betook itself to the desolate task of clearing away its ruins and setting up again in new conditions a dislocated society, the North, elated with the consciousness of victorious and inexhaustible power, with that indefinable sense of "massed combination" which is the support and inspiration of all private enterprise, beat its swords into ploughshares and its spears into pruning-hooks all over the land. It has had its reverses and made its blunders as in the precipitations of the war, and for much the same reason that it was taken unawares by the surprises of a situation it had itself created; but on the whole nothing has been more admirable in its history than the way it went about its work. It has even floated on the rising tide of its prosperity the stranded craft of the South, and we may say that the United States is to-day the greatest producing power in the world, as in 1865 it was the first of destructive powers.

The misfortune was that this immense development of industrial energies, along with the cessation of all hearty political activity, brought about a rapid and general decline of political intelligence. A function abandoned means the atrophy of an organ. I suppose the American people has never done so little real thinking in matters of public concern, or shown so little real capacity to think as since the first administration of Grant. We went unheedingly, as for that matter all great populations are apt to go, out of one phase of social evolution into another. To this day we have hardly begun to realize that the settlement of the questions as to the political relations of persons and of classes which had divided us from the foundation of the State and which still obstruct the progress of all other civilized societies, was an historical event of the first rank, whose effect was to unmask the nation in its genuine character as an industrial community and to set it free for its proper work. No one saw at the time, or saw clearly and fully, that the very conditions of life had been changed for 50,000,000 of people, or that the revolution in their affairs created a new situation and raised a new problem in politics,

full of false lights for the wisest administrators and of powerful solvents for the toughest materials of party organization. At the moment when everybody was absorbed in his own share of inflowing prosperity, a thousand rival enterprises clamoring for immunities or support at the hands of the State, drew men together from the opposite poles of party allegiance into the strangest alliances. To the political apathy left by the war was added without warning the disarray, the confusion worse confounded, brought by the myriad distractions of returning peace.

Thus everything contributed to *faire le vide* around the government on the eve of new emergencies ; to give it over to whatever employment of public power its own interest and its unexpected opportunities suggested. Down to the close of the war it had been held to its appointed work, as in a vice, between two opposing forces, the unrelaxing pressure of the popular will behind it and the military power of the rebellion. Whatever personal cupidities or ambitions the newly elected representatives had taken into office with them—and how many they were appeared in the scandalous fortunes and ruined reputations of the time—were held asunder and prevented from coalescing into an interest of the governing class against the people, by the tremendous constraints of the situation. The only policy possible to it was one of disinterested concern for the safety of the commonwealth, the only object for which power could be used the overthrow of the enemy. But when one upon the other the rebellion collapsed and the supporting party fell away, when all aggressive opposition ceased around it, all impulsion died out within, and the intermingling people went back in mass to the absorbing pursuits of peace, the government escaped into the open like an elastic body freed from compression. The instincts natural to men everywhere who are entrusted with an unguarded power, flowed together and came to the front. What the effect was upon the governing body itself we shall have occasion to consider farther on. What first concerns us in the nature of the power abandoned in this way to its keeping, and exactly how far it was available for interested purposes in the new situation of affairs.

Now public power, the power of the State, consists of the material forces furnished by the people to its agents to be used for the benefit of the people. This is the abstract general theory expressed in the constitution of all political societies, but like other notions of the sort it acquires practical efficiency only upon reduction to distinct definitions which determine exactly how the power is to be furnished to the government, and how having been furnished it is to be employed. Thus to say that it is to be furnished by the people amounts to saying that it is to be furnished by the whole people and not by a particular part of it ; but this is a barren truism until methods of collecting the power have been adopted which secure every part from contributing more or less than the uniform proportion for all. In the absence of such binding definitions and fixed methods the government may easily impose the heaviest burdens and confer the most desirable privileges, it may punish its adversaries, reward its friends and strengthen its position, by drawing more than the quota from one portion of the constituents, and less from another. So on the other hand the truism that the power must be used for the common benefit of the people, comes to nothing practically until the method and specific object of using it have been precisely settled ; for it may be as easily applied to the benefit or injury of a class, as created at the expense of one. All the abuses of government may be summed up as discriminations and inequalities either in the creation or in the employment of power ; all the progress of political society as the better definition of the way in which power is to be created or employed. So far as the definitions in force are inadequate or inexact there will be a residuum of power, and remaining opportunities for the use of it, available to the government for its own purposes.

As has been sufficiently shown, this process of political evolution had gone farther with the American people than with any other. For a hundred years it had been coming into agreements which imposed definitions of the most restrictive character upon the power of the State, until in the end it had secured the political equality of all the constituents, so that no man's life, or liberty, or toil could be taken, no man's franchises invaded, rather than another's ; or favored with larger

immunities and privileges than another's. So far as the person of the constituent and the extent of the constituency were concerned, all possibility of discriminations profitable to the government had ceased; it could no longer strengthen its position by helping or hurting anybody because upon all these points the people had fully made up its mind. To take the obvious illustrations first, it could not multiply and reward its friends by admission to the ranks of an aristocracy; nor could it reduce its enemies to slavery as any old tyrant would have done, or drive them into exile as Louis XIV. did or disfranchise them, as for a moment it was itself tempted to do at the close of the Rebellion. Certain necessary precautions of the sort were actually taken, of which curious traces still survive in the law, but all as temporary measures of war without prejudice to the abiding definitions. Barbarisms like these, whether in the creation or the use of power, are far behind us, and to that extent the government is less free to act in its own behalf than it was before. What is more pertinent and interesting is that a whole set of instrumentalities still in full play in other communities is not available here. Thus, unlike a British ministry, the administration cannot overcome a hostile majority in the upper House by creating new senators, for the right of equal representation is secured to all the States; or, what is still closer to the purpose, overcome one in the lower House by creating new constituencies, for the constituency is complete. English statesmen of our time are perhaps as great a race of public men as the world has seen, but a very large part of the power they dispose of in their party strifes arises from some inequality in the constituency, the presence of a great body of subjects degraded below their fellows by exclusion from the suffrage, and who are expected to deliver their votes for the ministers who procure for them the right of voting. In this way the liberties of Englishmen have regularly grown for fifty years as an incident of parliamentary debate, every new Reform Bill representing a strait of one or other of the rival parties. But an American ministry has no power to increase its majority and intimidate its enemies by enfranchising anybody, because everybody, except the women, has got the franchise. The Republicans shot the last bolt in the 15th Amendment to the Constitution.

Of all the powers of the State therefore, there remains but one imperfectly defined and available for partizan or personal uses, namely the money power. There are clustered all the surviving abuses of our system, there alone is the necessity for reforms, that is, for further definitions of public power. But now to appreciate the immense latitude and the opportunities for interested action still left to our representatives, we must never forget that money has come to be the equivalent and substitute for most other things, and that in a society like ours power is furnished for all purposes whatever exclusively in the form of money. We no longer send up, as in ruder times we should have had to do, a portion of our number or of our substance to fill the armies and offices of the government, to build its forts, and navies, and palaces, to fight its battles and do its work; we contribute the equivalent of all these things, and with this equivalent the government hires or buys in the open market the men, the labor, and the material it requires. There are a thousand advantages about this. Money as the common medium of exchange admits of the most varied uses and the widest distribution both when the people pays it in and when the government pays it out. If we were to make direct contribution of power in the form in which it is to be finally used, say 100,000 men, or so much labor, or so much building material, nearly the whole burden would take effect where it fell; but the equivalent of these things may be so distributed among the population that each individual will pay something like his proportional part of the whole. Or were the government obliged to handle men, labor and material without an equivalent, it could in no way adjust its requisitions to prospective necessities or actual expenditure to specific cases. Whatever was lacking could not be promptly provided, whatever was left over would be wasted or lost. We may say that absolutely the only form in which power can be created at the cost, and applied for the benefit, of the whole people, is the form of money.

But the very properties which fit money for these nice and varied uses, its persistent uniformity of substance and value, its divisibility and portability, facilitate the careless or unscrupulous employment of it. There is no material or form of

force admitting of such easy manipulation and of so many disguises as the common medium which may be converted at will into them all. A requisition for 100,000 men cannot be made in the dark, or its effects, whether in raising them or in the employment made of them, concealed from anybody. It will be plain at once where the burden of providing them falls and who is benefitted or hurt by the work they are set to do. But a requisition for \$100,000,000 can be divided up among the contributors so minutely and in so many ways, it can be exchanged for such a multitude of other things, that the most acute observer may be puzzled about it and the attention of the public completely disconcerted.

This however is far from being the whole of the matter. Money as the equivalent and substitute for other things has been in use among peoples of all degrees of civilization. In later times we have brought to perfection a wonderful substitute for money itself, the promise to pay money by and by. In this way any one of us in the measure of his credit is able to add to the purchasing power of the wealth he actually possesses that of the wealth he is expected to acquire later on; while the government, which has a continuous identity and a long credit, is able to utilize at once the prospective wealth of the entire nation. In a single transaction it can amass an immense purchasing power at a given moment and at the same time distribute the burden of it, not only in space but in time, not only among the contemporary population which is directly concerned and may be supposed to have its eyes open, but among its successors who can't help themselves and for whom nobody cares. Granted to the government, what in fact is never wanting, an ample credit, it is difficult to imagine power in a shape more unprotected and unhampered, easier of creation, freer from all strictness of accountability, than this. And this is the shape, which wherever it comes from or whithersoever it goes, sooner or later it must assume.

Thus at that very point of transition where it most needs watching, and by virtue of those very conditions which perfect its processes and increase its efficiency, public power has grown diffuse, evasive and occult. As the scope and the magnitude of its transactions increase, as greater drafts are made upon the

people and a greater amount of work done, it retires from the public gaze to operate mysteriously in a fog of endless and unintelligible detail. When we say therefore that none of the powers of the State are now left to the discretion of its trustees and agents but the power to raise and to expend money, we must add at the same time that this last has gone far to absorb all the others in its inscrutable functions, and that the government has at once a more potent instrument and a larger immunity for mischief than it had before. It can store up unsuspected reserves of power, and liberate its reserves for unsuspected purposes, in silence and the dark, with nobody perhaps very much the wiser for it.

This description applies to the functions of all civilized States of our time. Whatever the collective strength of the community may be it becomes available for public purposes only upon conversion into the universal medium of exchange, and is actually availed of only upon conversion over again into the requisite forms of material force; so that the doings of government anywhere have about them all the complications and abstruseness of financing upon its largest scale. But the description does not cover the quite extraordinary conditions in which this power was abandoned to the safe keeping of our government at the close of the civil war.

ARTICLE II.—CURRENT THEOLOGY.

THE word current used in connection with theology may properly be accepted as signifying theological views at present held, or theological discussions at present going on and giving anything like tangible or accepted results. In this sense current theology is like current prices, or prices at present holding in trade. If, however, it is taken as indicating some vital change or progress in theological truth, then we are called upon to address ourselves to the problem how far truth can ever change or become progressive in the sense of leaving past truths as an error or an outgrown baby-cart. Looking at current theology in that light is very much like talking about "current honesty," as if honesty could ever change its essential character or vary its essential relations. Honesty is honesty always, and no age nor so-called progress can make it anything else.

To guard against confusion therefore, it is well to seek in the outset a definition of theology itself. But here we come at once into difficulty. As well seek to define love. We know that love is a final fact in men's experience—the foundation of all that is noblest, most sacred, most blest in life. But who shall define it! Who shall define Theology? Is it a science, or on the other hand a mere experience? Or a final bar of appeal in faith? Or a fixed truth whose applications vary, yet which in itself is a certain, unvarying quantity? If we look carefully we shall find that it has all of these characteristics in combination. It is formulas, classifications, data furnishing stated results,—like all science; thus giving a character that enters as a fundamental condition into realms of thought, duty, and moral and spiritual surroundings. It affirms that God's claims upon us necessitate a ready acknowledgment and heeding ere we can righteously meet our end in life. It says that the gift of God in Jesus sealing his life with the death of the cross is a gift of healing, mercy, pardon, new divine life begotten in the soul and bringing us into divine order and

divine possibilities—in a word into union with God, never reached in any other way. “For truly our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ” is its formula. And all the highest, noblest development of character has been in that direction, conditioned on these data, since the day Jesus cried out, “It is finished,” and gave up the ghost. No current theology can go back of all thus involved and unchangeable as a working, scientific fact in the universe, and yet be true. It cannot change this working divine order in Jesus which moves with as much certainty as Newton’s law of gravitation or as the chemical law that so much oxygen and hydrogen give us water.

Or again, the deepest experiences built up upon the fact of consciousness of sin, of an undone condition of things in man’s moral nature before God, and all the hopes, and joys, and blessings which have come through the life lived in the crucified Saviour for sin—lives that have found their most blessed inspiration in this experience of “God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself”—promises, comforts, victories over temptations, stays in sorrow, courage in meeting the oppositions and assaults of wrong—conscience toned up and made at peace with itself and God through the working of this gift—a new-born sense of power and of divine quickening in the soul,—all this *experience* of a Christian life is a working out of the same theologic science we have met, that God’s claims as Jesus reveals and emphasizes them bring highest good to the soul that hears. Neither can any current theology change or improve upon *that* order.

Again, this scientific order having *Theos* or God for its unchanging law and end, and culminating in the experience secured through the new life in Jesus begotten in the soul as the God-lived life, and thus a theologic experience and a theologic order because its relations to God are thus fundamental and fixed as the working out of the highest order of things,—this progress according to one unchangeable law, namely, progress as the truth is in Jesus so that men are blessed in no other way in all the wider capabilities of their souls,—and the crowning fact of a life fitted for something more than time and sense—this development of truth signifying relations and

facts centering in God has a realm distinctively its own, and that realm is *faith*. It is a realm signifying a sway of the whole being by facts and influences other than either physical or merely intellectual, even that which remains satisfied only when it hearkens to the one word—*God*. It means that this response, deriving its power to act from the higher influences centering in God as God is in Christ, and Christ in us the hope of glory, is an utterance of the soul which no laws, facts, theories otherwise, can invalidate or improve upon. It is *faith* as the sweetest yet sublimest of all voices speaking the soul's love, hope, joy, and peace—the soul's destiny. It is fitted to be heard and will be heard. It is another characteristic of theology—a God-derived voice speaking to and in the soul, and no current theology of this or any other age can go behind it; for it is itself the unchanged voicing of the divine order that changes not, and it must thus ever continue at once past and current, in ready, needed use among men from age to age.

Or yet once again, all this voicing of God in the soul, with faith as the language and experience as a test, and the quickening, creative law of God as a scientific fact, signifies a fitting-in or adaptation of needs, and remedies, and means, and ends, whereby as the resultant of it all, the truth making us free through faith in Christ, becomes the great, the overshadowing reality which measures progress, laws social and civil, human life and destiny, and the unchanging order we call Right and Wrong. And all this complementing and supplementing, this filling out and carrying out, this kingdom of heaven set up in the heart and in the earth, and working outward more and more according to laws not man-derived but God-given, and moving steadily on from age to age, above men's passions, above the din of earth's conflicts, gradually making the kingdoms of this world to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ—this truth of man made free in Christ is an all-embracing system which enters into the very constitution of things and which we can no more change than we can change the course of history or revoke seed-time and harvest. No current theology coming in can annul that system. It is the divine, the right order. It is *true* theology. And as this system also finds its ultimate source and appeal in those facts and revela-

tions of which the Bible is the unfolding and setting forth, so all its outreach and scope blessing and subduing the world to Christ, constitute, with the Bible as the centre, the operations and precedents of Christian faith, which thus in turn have a representative value future ages may not abrogate. Of this value theology stands as the counterpart or exponent.

And so, if we may not altogether in exhaustive terms define theology, we yet know it *by certain characteristics, varying yet combined, and signifying the highest outworking of divine forces on earth, with God in Jesus as the centre.* When for instance Paul speaks of filling up the sufferings of Christ, we may indeed come into varying relations to the truth thus taught, but it cannot be itself a varying truth, accommodating it's nature to new discoveries, new thought, but it remains an unchanging law taking hold of the one grand offering and suffering of Jesus to bring many sons unto glory, and making that divine Sacrifice for sin the unchanging type of the faith which overcomes the world and in the Spirit of the crucified master blesses it by self-denying and ministering love.

Must we not say, therefore, that there is such a thing as theology with a fixed basis grounded in truth—a basis which cannot be altered or changed?

And here, try it by Christian experience once more. Christian lives have never reached such sublime heights, nay, freedom of conscience and of man has never worked in so untrammelled a manner or flowed forth in such beneficent streams as where the so-called "old-fashioned Christian truths" have held control of the human heart, and where man has felt himself lost without the saving blood of Christ applied to his soul. Utterances and systems founded most on that basis have held highest and longest sway in successive ages. But have men and women wept and prayed and repented, and lived and joyed and sorrowed and died, on a false basis in these things? Has the outworking of their faith been essentially false? Is it reserved for some new age to give us a new theology as the substantial ground of our hopes? What kind of a God would that be which thus led men along error's paths unto Himself? No, let us not cast out the accumulated Christian experience of the ages in this way.

In point of fact, successive generations are largely repeating in some minor form from time to time the experiences of preceding ages in all these different problems. The distinguished professor, whose position in the chair of ecclesiastical history in New Haven, and whose research and accuracy of thought have won him honor and authority everywhere, once remarked in the class-room that hearing the modern discussions in the religious world around seemed to him like listening to the echoes of the same struggles as he found them in the theological discussions of the past—that in earlier controversies he found the counterparts of modern doubts and theories, which all seemed so new to many. As a ready illustration of the professor's statement we have a Pelagius early teaching that neither sin nor virtue is inherent in man at birth but develops itself through voluntary imitation of wrong example, especially that of Adam, and that different steps and stages exist in the divine education of humanity where the habits of sin grew strong, the law coming first, then the Gospel. Does not this utterance of the fifth century, which the profoundest Christian consciousness then and ever since has repudiated, have a sound not unlike modern voicings with which we are familiar, that man's nature is not so much vitiated, undone, fallen, as held in bondage to its lower, its animal self, that this bondage becomes the ground-work of sin, that Christ's mission is to lead men away from this bondage, lift them out of their lower associations to a completer humanity?

We meet here *dogma*. Well, dogma may be a human statement of a truth more than human, even divine in its relations. So far the dogma may fail, as such a fallible human utterance, while it may still set forth the truth in its grandeur and essence to the satisfaction of the Christian consciousness and the requirements in that respect of the truth itself. Its statement may thus be inadequate and something that can be improved upon by subsequent Christian experience from age to age, not by making it an essentially false and incomplete statement, but by rounding it out and thus counterbalancing it may be, its inequalities,—by restoring more equilibrium to it. It may be too intellectual a presentation, whereas the soul of the truth involved may elude all intellectual formulas—just as we have

seen love does, and our analysis has shown, faith also does. The heart of Christ can be *felt* beating against the believer's heart, but it cannot be grasped as a thought. Thought will furnish the words for faith to tell that love in human speech, but deeper, richer, more tender than all thought will be the throbbing, throbbing, throbbing of the divine love still in all its untold strength and tenderness. Possibly this is why to so many devout believers to-day it seems an untoward attempt on the part of other believers to seek for new formulas of doctrine, formulas confounding faith, making awry the experience of the past, and putting the Bible out of accord with this new experience—untoward, because distinctively modern intellectual statements and developments are made to take the place of this heart response revealing truth according to our needs, not our strength of brain. What then? Shall we not have intellectual statements? Most assuredly yes. The intellectual statement is like the condenser turning the steam again into water and reserving it for future use; but the condenser, for all that, does not make the steam, does not control it. The intellectual statement shows the whole man—heart and brain, alike informed by the faith that voices God to him and sets forth in definite, abiding shape the facts, working and condition of that experience. But it does not create the faith—does not give the law to the experience. That law was before the dogma, and the dogma, though the natural voicing of the faith, may partially fail. Thus men will pray Calvinism when they refuse to preach or even accept it. What the system as dogma or statement fails to bring out, the theology as an experience in it substantiates to consciousness, namely, the overruling, gracious, inscrutable will of God, which, whether we will or no, works for righteousness and makes all our designs fit in there or nowhere, and saves in its own way whom it chooses.

Let us then be just and generous. It is not a fatal sign of degeneracy if dogmatic presentation does not hold the same relative place to-day as a hundred or two hundred years ago. The seventeenth century especially, was a creed-making age; giving the orderly arranging and setting forth of that which faith had been sharing and building up under the new Bible-

era of the Reformation. It was a formative era, and foundations had to be laid accordingly. If many, as we have seen, deem attempts at recasting those creeds virtually an explaining away of sound faith and a bringing in of ambiguity in its place under the name of advanced thinking, is it altogether to be wondered at? We may not feel the propriety of forcing assent to a creed upon each disciple coming into the church—possibly current theology might substitute a little less of human statements and a little more of heart-relations in this respect; but putting a new creed in place of the old and yet calling it substantially the same as the old, while the new is conceived or at least serves as a sort of indefinite compromise with those who reject the old, is like recasting the Declaration of Independence in the interest of greater harmony between opposing political parties while calling it substantially the same old utterance of Independence Hall, and is hardly in the interest of a due regard paid to the Christian consciousness of the past, formulated in definite shape and serving to perpetuate a heritage of faith. Then, too, as there is a genius for translation like that in Wickliffe's day, when the Bible took form accordingly in a new language which was itself just taking on a national character as the vehicle of the new English-speaking popular life and order coming into existence—the foundation work then done serving to control all after translations—so there seems to be a creed-making genius like that already indicated as belonging distinctively to the seventeenth century. It is a fair question therefore, whether the thinking and characteristics of our age, an age along distinctively naturalistic lines and especially marked by humanitarian activities in philanthropy, morals, and reform, have such a genius or indicate any such improvement upon the metaphysical and psychological thinking of the past as, even in the light of modern research and discoveries, to afford the conditions of a more helpful, more correct theological formulating of old beliefs than we already have; and if not, then it certainly is not yet time for a creed *de novo*, or for new beliefs on the ruins of the old, for those ruins do not yet exist.

There may be, however, new phases of Christian experience growing out of newly adjusted relations of facts and theories

through new developments in natural science or new social and civil orderings and corresponding wider religious experiences. Conceptions of God from the old governmental standpoint with legal obstacles to be removed, the whole established on the basis of old civil institutions, and the explanation of the Atonement on that basis, are hardly commensurate with men's consciousness to-day, for there are different constituents entering into the whole order of society and furnishing new groundwork for illustration. The construction of society not in the interest of kings but of the individuals composing society, is the increasing tendency to-day in civil affairs. This too, in turn, is but the result of the Gospel which teaches that we are neither bond nor free, Jew, Scythian, nor Greek, but one in Christ Jesus. Each individual soul thus stands the representative of every other human soul in the working out of the genius of the Gospel.

Ethical relations are also more prominent in all human orderings than formerly—have more moment in civil and political affairs. Suppose we come to look at God's relations to man through Christ more distinctively in this ethical light, with the individual in the foreground instead of governments by kings, as formerly,—at the Atonement as having for one of its primal ends the securing or upholding of that order whose other name is "Ought," or a "right sensibility," as Dr. Bushnell would express it—would not the gain be corresponding and permanent?

The problem thus confronting us is one of *adaptation* rather than reconstruction—of concentration in newer quarters instead of a casting out the past. We need not fear new statements, nor run after them. We need not shun old theology, nor out of jealous care for it refuse to use it in the light of present facts and surroundings. In Anselm's "*Cur Deus-Homo*," God, robbed of his honor by the disobedience of man, a lost honor, a due which no repentance and no future obedience could pay back, can be satisfied only by that which shall measure that honor, namely, at once obedience and that which is an offset to the sin of disobedience. Christ, *Deus-Homo*, obeys (but that is not satisfaction, for he owes obedience any way), and as God, gives his life, which is of infinite worth, so

that slaying him is the sin of sins, and the life he thus voluntarily gives up is more than the offset of the old sin. This then, more than pays the old debt, satisfies God's honor, and constitutes a reward set over to the sinner's account. Such is the "Satisfaction Theory," Anselm's contribution to the theories of the Atonement. It was wrought out in the light then shared. It was developed through the commercial transactions then held as conceptions of redemption from sin. But did it not also flood the world with a glorious truth, even this, that all God stands for,—his goodness, love, truth, the working out of his will through all the order of his creation, in a word, *Himself*, must be met by an offering commensurate with all thus involved, ere pardoning love can operate? Ever since then that conception has been a broadening, strengthening, uplifting principle in men's faith. And cannot that old conception, grounded in the eternal fitness of meeting all the requirements of the divine honor, find fresh emphasis in the light of present facts and circumstances, such as show us how ethical relations but lend added meaning to the love of God and demand the satisfying of his own ethical nature—the source of all correct ethics—ere his love can avail to save? In this way there can be built up a current theology which neither reconstructs nor supersedes, but serves, under new light, as a broadening and more adequate illustration of the old.

We are now prepared to trace somewhat the more recent representative developments of Christian thought and feeling, or in other words the current phases of theology.

Accordingly—

First. The characteristic features of the subjects thought through having become fixed, *they have largely lost their fresh interest as living issues in relation to living needs, and are thus mainly historical questions.* That in them which is vital passes rather into assumed, applied truth, than continues as disputed questions around which controversy centers. The form of statement may thus change to some degree, taking on less technical and more modern language. So the Trinity is probably held more universally than ever, but so also more as a practical truth entering into every part of Christian living, an inspiring, informing fact, rather than as dogmatic or doc-

trinal statement in the interest of intellectual development. The doctrine of Justification by Faith is another such truth. In that phrasing it is chiefly historical and does not enter largely into pulpit treatment or theological discussions in a dialectic sense except as a distinctively historical question. But as a living truth entering into and constituting part of the deepest Christian experience it has lost none of its power. The doctrine of total depravity may not be accepted in that bald statement of it, with all the *theologicum odium* clinging to that statement; there is too much the guise of controversy clinging to such a presentation. The truth as a great fundamental fact underlying it, however, and signifying a dependency of human guilt upon sinful human nature, has been thought through; that truth is still current theology, though its treatment is more in the ways of practical application as is the habit of the world to-day. But were it not for the historical background behind it of theologic development which, if dwelt upon now must also be mainly historical in its presentation, we should again have to go over the whole discussion, with probably not dissimilar results to those already handed down. The need of such reformulating has been met by the first formulating, and thus is not a need. So much has been gained with room for other fields of inquiry.

Disputed questions as to "free will," "irresistible grace," and so on, may or may not have been thought through. Their mutual dependency upon each other may not, and hence they may not be facts that can properly be said to be fixed in Christian living; but so far as they are such at all, their presentation under old statements and old forms of development must be chiefly historical and thus not immediately effective.

Take the system of Calvinism once more, in its distinctive feature before referred to, namely, God's sovereign, inscrutable, holy will, and man's dependance whether he will or no upon that will. That fact the system has thought through as a fundamental truth for all time. The process may have been unduly rigid in its supra- and infra-lapsarian discriminations or decrees efficient and permissive, and in like terms having still the old ring about them; but it struck the solid rock of truth for all that. The adjustments of the dependence of man upon

that will through his own responsible agency may have been the peculiar contribution of Arminius to the investigation, resulting in a correlated although apparently contradictory truth on the other side—which truth in turn may itself in its essential characteristics have thus been thought through—though in all its relations the adjustments may even yet be incomplete and left for future times more satisfactorily to consider. But what has thus been gotten would have had still to be wrought out had not these men lived, whereas we may now say it is eternally gotten. “Calvinism as it existed,” says Froude in his celebrated essay on Calvinism, “and as it took root for a century and a half after him, was not a system of opinion but an attempt to make the will of God, as revealed in the Bible an authoritative guide for social as well as personal direction.” This is the effect traced by Froude on the secular side. In the spiritual realm the exaltation thus given to God’s sovereignty has become a fountain sending its streams in living beneficence into every part of Christ’s kingdom to-day. But even in this feature of it, the system was not merely speculative philosophy. “Calvin,” as Fisher’s *History of the Reformation* aptly observes, “was not a speculative philosopher who thought out a necessitarian theory and defended it for the reason that he thought it capable of being logically established. It is true that the key-note in his system was a profound exaltation of God. Nothing could be admitted that seemed to clash in the least with His universal control, or to cast a shade upon His omniscience and omnipotence. But the direct grounds or sources of his doctrine were practical.” And we may add, that because it is not preached in dogmatic shape to-day does not prove that it is a fountain beginning to run dry. To preach it in that way would be to make it a historical question alone, and to take it largely out of its practical bearings at that, placing it out of relations to the very surroundings which gave it force and made it fit in as a practical question with the needs of its own time.

Again—

Second. Tracing still farther some of the modern phases of theologic thought, we note that critical investigations have emphasized questions belonging to the *Beginnings*. This is a

characteristic likewise of the age at large. *Certitude* is the aim—certitude also that can be reduced to the formulas of natural science. Because this materialistic result is not secured in spiritual realms, we are told, not that the religious nature in man is not an inherent part of him—"an indestructible consciousness" which "is the very basis of our intelligence" (see concessions by Herbert Spencer in his criticism on *Positivism in the Nineteenth Century*, July 1884, also in his *First Principles*), but that his faith simply pauses helpless before the Unknown. The race cries out after but cannot find its God. We know that there is an Infinite but cannot know *It*—as we know that there is a finite force yet can only know it itself by its manifestations or phenomena. Thus Certitude is made to give us Negation as the answering reality to man's inherent nature; that is, thirsty lips seek for water yet may not know that which quenches their thirst! So we meet the Agnostic, that representative of final knowledge who only knows that he doesn't know except the relations of things he can never know!

In mental philosophy this system of verification gives us a Schelling and a Hegel, who, first postulating the reality of their own being—of the thinking being with the idea involved in the thinking, next make that reality the answering part of the All-Soul filling all things, nature or the non-Ego being one part of the working of this All-Soul and self or the Ego the other—and then this grand superstructure of the ideal One and All, this identity of Subject and Object, of self and the external world, they term the Philosophy of the Absolute beyond which we cannot go and which certifies no personality to our longing gaze and the outeries of the soul. True, the methods of development on the part of these two contemporaries sharply differ, that with Hegel signifying Absolute Idealism, which, through logical processes is to repeat in thought the act of creation and thus think the thought of God who can become known in no other way—that with Schelling signifying Absolute Identity of the idea with the external world, both together constituting one whole which in turn is to be apprehended by a special intellectual intuition granted to gifted minds and itself a manifestation of the Absolute—an inspiring thought and one lifting us up to infinite heights of

communion with God, if only the door were not ruthlessly shut against all entrance when we arrive there and despairing silence did not brood on all around! But though the methods thus differ, yet the non-Ego from an idea has passed into the extreme of All-Fact with both all the same,—both give to a speculative universe life, thought, force—the earth by its own evolving becoming animate and organic. With both all nature is resolved into an absolute whole which is ever part of us yet beyond us.

Still, as we trace the origin of this philosophy of the Absolute we see that it stood for a real, a God-world, as against that excessive idealism which had come to regard the world as but a reflection rather than a fact. To this turning afresh to God in nature as well as to God in thought, Schelling contributed his mystic pantheism and was hailed as the new leader of Christian theism. If as philosophy it resulted in going over into an impersonal Absolute (an extreme ever dominating the whole theory to-day), it is not the only time philosophy has failed to give satisfaction in matters of faith with the *experience* of faith left out.

Current theology however by addressing itself so largely as it does to this problem of God *and* the world, spirit *and* nature, even though not seldom it may seem to make faith too much a matter of intellectual discrimination and verification, may nevertheless be said to be holding the age to the reality of the Unseen and pointing to the Absolute not as an unknown impersonality but as one who in Jesus Christ has incarnated in human life and destiny the loving, holy will of Him "in whom we live, move, and have our being"—God himself who, working through the Gospel of Christ, is ever revealing himself to human experience and human thought alike as one who can be *certified* to the human consciousness. Christianity thus gives fresh evidence that it is not outside of the course of events, but is equipped in God's own might for this as well as other needs of the age.

In this same connection we meet with the "Higher Criticism"—criticism, we are given to understand, pertaining not merely to purity of the text but distinctively to historical and literary investigations concerning the questions of origin and

composition, and all other surrounding circumstances entering into the explanation and make-up of the books of the Old Testament. Possibly, in keeping with its fondness for hypothesis it may yet come to be known as The *Hyper-Criticism*. But let us not cavil. We are not called upon to hug a superstition. Whatever solid facts the new criticism gives us we may accept, even if we find that, as it claims, the institution of the Mosaic code contained in the Pentateuch must be placed so late as the time of Ezra. But the claim has not been thus definitely substantiated, and we may safely let the investigation go on as a question of scholarship—on both sides of which Christian scholarship is ranged—content meanwhile to rest in the fact that a law which could so readily install itself in the Jewish canon under Ezra, a thousand years after the period hitherto allotted to its institution, must have had some accredited and long honored character and authority still to be accounted for. At the present stage of the discussion it is hardly correct, however, to say that we find in the movement any new theology established or involved, especially when, as in Robertson Smith's *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, the Holy Ghost is insisted on as the essential, the enlightening, the promised guide in it all.

But again,

Third and finally. Tracing yet one more specific feature of modern theologic thought, we behold in the leading Christian movements and thinking going on around us, *large and increasing place given to the Personal Christ or to Christ as a personal power in the believer's heart.* By this we are not to understand the *historical* Christ merely—Christ looked at as a historical fact in his own day and since; that is more distinctively an intellectual tracing of facts, of cause and effect, and must ever hold a distinctive place as such in the study and apprehension of the Christian system. But this is more: it is emphasizing the Saviour as in his own person the divine power present in men's lives—the other, nobler part of themselves. It is in keeping also with the spirit of the age otherwise, being but another way of stating what has already been referred to, namely, that the age is not so much doctrinal and metaphysical as practical,—along the plane of the humanities. Realiz-

ing the Saviour himself in his own loving personality, in his contact with human living, and not knowing him simply through what others may say *about* him—it is this entering into Jesus' own nature which is peculiarly characteristic of Christian life at the present time. It may be that here is to start the new impulse to be given to theologic thought and investigation in the future. If so, it would materially explain so-called "new departures," which to a large number seem but a giving up of old truths authenticated through ages of Christian experience and grounded in the Bible,—more particularly as pertaining to speculations in Eschatology. As explained in the accredited organ of those identified with such views (see article in *Andover Review* for January last, and headed: "Influence of the Pulpit upon Theology"), this new impulse would mean (to quote from that article), "the fulness of the doctrine of Christ, especially as represented in his personal relations to the believing soul," and the setting forth the relation of his atonement not merely to law but "also to life"—allowing to his death a "manifest and complete connection with the life of the race." It is claimed in the article that the interest in the question thus raised is not purely speculative, but that the "same moral sense"—to quote still farther—"which in its time protested against the theology of a limited atonement, is to-day in protest against the limited application of the atonement." The gist of the objection here made and as stated a little earlier in the article is that to affirm the universality of the atonement as an advance upon previous conceptions, while at the same time denying that "the soul which is to meet Christ in judgment might first have the opportunity of knowing him as a Saviour, is inconsistent." The burden of these claims is thus the need of a more thorough understanding of the relation of Christ as a personal Saviour to all,—to those who have and those who have not heard of him. They and similar views are more fully elaborated in the series of current editorial articles in the same *Review*, and which are headed "Progressive Theology." So far as they signify a reverent inquiry into the nature of the relation sustained by Jesus to the human soul everywhere, as the saving love of God brought to bear upon a sinful world, it will not

do to meet them by affirming that they are destructive of essential truth, particularly if the developments thus far of that truth have not reached definitely to the consideration of such questions. If the result reached in the wider application thus called for involves processes necessitating a hope which in some way is connected with conclusions distinct from those indicated in the Bible and is not limited to the Saviour's salvation brought to bear in this life, then it certainly would be a result counter to the general current of Christian belief on the subject hitherto, and might well be mistrusted and rejected. Yet even then, possibly, in the spirit of this personal loyalty to a personal Christ, so characteristic of the age and reaching out into so many ramifications of brotherhood, the whole subject of Eschatology needs to be thought out as never before.

And here a question of fair interpretation may come up. There does indeed seem a fatal defect in the whole of this "new departure," or Progressive Theology as it prefers to call itself, concerning the application of the atonement to souls everywhere before they are judged, an application affording the opportunity if not here then hereafter, of knowing and accepting or rejecting him—that it not only is, in point of fact, extra Biblical, above what is written, to say no more, but that one to whom Christ had been presented here might in keeping with it claim hereafter that the wider scope of vision in a future world gave new meaning to the mission of the Gospel, a mission not comprehended in the flesh—that had it been comprehended it would have been accepted; and that therefore the application of the atonement was not complete in this life because of this narrow range of sight. Now it is just here that the theory of the new departure opens the door in what appears a manner fatal to itself. It admits too much. It affords opportunity for one who in this life rejected Christ to come to the Judgment-seat hereafter with the plea, "I would not have done it had I known: it is not fair to condemn me on that basis." It thus does *not* leave this world the seed and harvest-time for spiritual character, but introduces new and uncertain adjustments beyond if not really antagonistic to the Bible, and makes room for the question fairly to arise whether one engaged in balancing such specula-

tive questions touching future probation can bring the Gospel to bear with all the urgent solemnity of a message sent from above to sinful and dying men to "repent" and become "reconciled to God" before whom they are to be judged for the deeds done in the body.

Still, an objection apparently valid may not really be so. That which our construction fastens to a theory is not of necessity its real interpretation, much less that of its promulgators. To rush hastily therefore, and pronounce it a new and false Gospel thus given to us, because it seems to prove too much and to leave the application of the Gospel itself hopelessly wide and indefinite, may be going too far. It is only fair to say in the same connection that objections similar to the one just made, are by the writer of the series referred to not accepted as valid, although they are admitted as having great weight. We find it also virtually conceded (see editorial, in the same series, on *Eschatology*, *Andover Review*, August last) that the Bible does not settle the question in favor of the new theory advanced—nor, for that matter, against it—and that we are therefore left "to our conceptions of the significance and scope of the Gospel." "Conclusions," it adds, "will differ as fundamental conceptions of the Gospel differ."

Turning to the same editorial we read :

"Whether or not any knowledge of God besides that given by the Gospel is decisive, there can be no question that the Gospel does determine the destiny of all to whom it is made known. . . . Wherever the Gospel is proclaimed Christ is already testing men."

After amplifying these positions somewhat, the passage continues :

"For this reason the Gospel is urgent with men. It gives them no promise of to-morrow."

And so the argument goes on, as an inductive one, to show on the basis of character and destiny, that those to whom the Gospel comes and who will not accept it are in a lost and hopeless condition. It hardly looks therefore, like a giving over the old Gospel of Repentance and Faith in this life, though as a theology of guess with reference to those who do not know Christ it may be anything but satisfactory.

But at best, as regards the whole question of the Judgment and its issues, "now we see through a glass darkly." There is no hope out of Christ: let us hold fast there. But if the *Christ-spirit* be in any one, though the outer conditions—conditions of hearing of him and so on—are wanting, what then? That devout minds are inquiring here need not surely, so long as they do not preach another Gospel than Christ Jesus and him crucified, and salvation through his name alone, *especially if they are earnest in their calls to repentance*, cause us either to reject their fellowship as Anti-Christian or seek to throw aside the theology of the fathers. Personal loyalty to the personal Christ as God in the world reconciling it unto himself and nailing the handwriting of all dead systems to the Cross, will still save us.

Three articles also appearing in current numbers of the *Andover Review* (February, March, and May), on "Reformation Theology," are worthy of note here. Space forbids such full consideration as they deserve. It is enough that they point to the same awakening of Christian thought to Christ himself, and the centering of all theology in his person as already indicated. The theology of the Reformation, it claims, was concerned with the salvation of the sinner rather than with the Saviour himself—was Soteriology rather than Christology. Everything was looked at through that coloring. It was the Augustinian conception of sin and its consequences that thus prevailed. In the early history of the Church before Augustine, faith and thought were fixed more on the mysterious nature of Christ and on kindred questions of a more purely theological character. The question is then raised whether a needed reaction is not about to set in back again to the divine personality present in Jesus and imparting itself as the creative, life-giving power of God unto the race. This would not lose sight of or belittle his justifying work but would center it in the incarnate God, the God-man, the Logos or the Light and Life of men, the beginning and end of all things.

This idea is specifically set forth in the article as follows :

"The logical effect of construing the person of Christ and the facts of Christianity from the standpoint of sin is serious. The Christian religion and Christ himself become an after-thought, an appendix to a

finished volume. . . . Yet in truth it cannot but be otherwise than that the Incarnation has a metaphysical basis, a foundation in the infinite being of God and in the divine idea of creation more stable and more original than the religious life either of the fallen human race or of the primeval family. . . . The idea of the God-man antedates the inception and the development of the cosmos. . . . The Christ is the only true conception of the physical and moral world. So the New Testament teaches. Hence theological science cannot but fail satisfactorily to answer the main question of Christianity so long as its founder is resolved into a contingency."

Such statements as these may seem wild ; yet as indicating the prominence given and increasingly given to Christ in his own personal worth as the soul, aim, and measure of all life, they can hardly be gainsaid.

If then, modern theologic thought is turning especially to the personal Saviour in all his divine and human sympathy as the ideal life for all who hunger for it, we may believe that as never before God in Christ is the spirit of the highest life in the soul and that the age is only in increasing degree living God's life and thinking God's thoughts. We have also seen how ethical relations, looked at in the light of individual rights and obligations rather than that of governmental distinctions and commercial transactions, such as marked Christian civilization and illustrated Christian thinking of old, but tend to add fresh meaning to the love of God revealed through the Cross and to put new emphasis upon that mercy and truth which sent Jesus and constituted him the light of the world. All this would signify not the doing away with theology but centering it more and more in the holy life exemplified and secured by Jesus. Thus theology is still the outgrowth and representative of Christian thought and experience—an embodiment finding from age to age greater unity and completeness as the outward development of truth. It helps us know Christ better. It sets more fully before us his relations to the great moral facts of the universe. It shows us how the Christian living of long ago apprehended him. It gives us a language of faith—not a language dead but one still spoken. It enters into human affairs as a component, creative part, and in its modern characteristics is not a segment detached from the past but is one with the past in all the rich inheritance of faith

which the past has handed down and which still serves to guide the present and inspire the future. As Jesus also *wrought* as well as taught, meeting mankind at the threshold of their needs and standing with and for them in the hour of their dying—himself “the way, the truth, and the life,” so theology, no longer wrapped in the garb of the recluse, or seeking in gloomy cells to work out the problem of life and destiny, but clad in the garments of practical activity and in contact with pulsating humanity, is carrying on the Redeemer’s work among men, and the Saviour *lived* is the potent force signifying more and more the love of God shed abroad in the heart and the kingdom of God set up in the world.

ARTICLE III.—WITCHCRAFT IN CONNECTICUT.

1647-1697.

THE historian, Lecky, has devoted some exceedingly interesting pages of his *History of Rationalism* to the decadence, nay, to the virtual extinction of the belief in Witchcraft. It may be possible that the change has been one of name and form, rather than of substance. The superstition is no longer crude, except in isolated communities. English soil is no longer blighted by the unholy orgies of a witch's Sabbath. English folk to-day do not generally believe that the Devil may still carry about in his pocket blank formulas for contracts, or that his victims may still shrivel up their foes with glances of the evil eye. Yet, in that little corner of the world which proudly defines itself by the epithet "Enlightened," impostors gain disciples by the pretense of familiarity with the spiritual world, clairvoyant quacks flourish and negro "Voodoo" seers find their best customers among their former masters, or, more properly, mistresses. The wonders of psychology and of muscular action have not become so familiar to us that we can afford to sneer at the Puritan's affright before psychic and physiological mysteries. The age of Darwin and Huxley sees aggressive Spiritualism numbering its adherents by hundreds of thousands in England and the United States, and a leading clergyman of Brooklyn (for the Rev. Mr. Talmage surely merits that title), gravely informs his hearers at a Friday evening lecture that Satan is the prince of the powers of the air, that the atmosphere is full of demonic spirits, and that a recent series of horrible murders along the shores of Long Island Sound must be attributed to their influence.

The panic of 1692 was not an event peculiar to Massachusetts, or to New England, any more than the "Popish Plot" terror of 1741 was necessarily indigenous to the colony of New York. Anywhere in the Christian world the refined cruelties of neighborhood gossip, joined to the manifestations of "nervous force," so inexplicable at that time, produced similar

results. But let it be remembered that the New England Puritans were the first of Englishmen to disregard accusations of witchcraft, and that the typical colonies of Puritan New Haven, Separatist Plymouth, and Independent Rhode Island, never knew a conviction for witchcraft within their borders. A bevy of mischievous, wanton girls, and a scheming parson have brought upon the colony of Massachusetts an ill-report beyond the measure of its deserts. "New England Witches," in the common parlance, generally means "Salem Witches." It is yet a fortunate circumstance if the additional reproach of "burning witches" is not also heaped upon the Puritan scape-goat, even though the probable truth is that South Carolina alone condemned suspected wizards to a fiery ordeal. Drake's words are :* "About this period (1712), in the colony of South Carolina, some suspected of witchcraft were seized upon by a sort of ruffianly Vigilance Committee, and condemned to be burnt, and were actually roasted by fire, although we do not learn that the injuries thus inflicted proved fatal. The parties so tortured, or their friends, brought action in the regular courts for the recovery of damages, but the jury gave them nothing." This happened nearly a score of years after the last witch had been suspended from a Massachusetts gallows. The last execution of a witch in Connecticut preceded it by more than half a century.

Doubtless a larger number of people suffered in Massachusetts for the fictitious crime of "Familiarity with y^e Devill" than in any other of the thirteen colonies, but the majority of the victims were sacrificed at one time and place to an uncontrollable popular frenzy. Prior to that time it is historic fact that public instances of this delusion had occurred most frequently in the colony of Connecticut. The colonial records may be, and probably are, deficient; but, so far as our present knowledge can go, either eight or nine persons were hung for witchcraft in Connecticut before 1692, while only six suffered in Massachusetts. The last witch-trials in Connecticut, which terminated fatally, were in 1662-3, thirty years before the Salem Reign of Terror; although that event was accompanied by a number of accusations in Connecticut also. But little in-

* *Annals of Witchcraft*, p. 215.

formation upon this subject can be derived from the histories of Connecticut. Dr. Trumbull, whose work is the best that we have for the colonial period, speaks of witchcraft in the preface only, in these words:* "It may possibly be thought a great neglect, or matter of partiality, that no account is given of witchcraft in Connecticut. The only reason is that, after the most careful researches, no indictment of any person for that crime, nor any process relative to that affair can be found. The minute in Goff's journal, published by Governor Hutchinson, relative to the execution of Ann Coles, and an obscure tradition that one or two persons were executed at Stratford is all the information that can be found relative to that unhappy affair." Dr. Trumbull, writing in 1799, may be excused for not discovering the traces of witch-trials in Connecticut and New Haven Records, which were then in MSS., but a reference to his copy of the *Magnalia Christi Americana* ought to have taught him more than he apparently ever knew. Where could the "careful researches," of which he speaks, have been expended? Hollister, who is, after Trumbull, the most prominent historian of the State, volunteers some information that is both scanty and spurious. Even so recent and trustworthy a writer as W. F. Poole† is misinformed about the number of executions in New England before 1692, has apparently never heard of several of the Connecticut trials, and is unable to state details accurately. Since histories fail us, recourse must be had to the materials whence histories ought to be made, to the Colonial Records of Connecticut and New Haven. The archives of the latter colony which, upon this topic are devoid of any fatal interest, are found to be as copious as those of Connecticut are scanty. Most important of all these ancient pages is an unprinted volume of Connecticut Records, which was found, in 1861, in the possession of a private family in New York, by the Hon. Chas. J. Hoadly, the Connecticut State Librarian. The book contains the records of the "Particular Court" from 1649 to 1663, the very court before which a number of the trials took place.‡

* vol. 1, p. viii.

† *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, ii. 133.

‡ Extracts from this volume have already appeared in a series of contributions by the Hon. Porter C. Bliss to the columns of a New Haven

Witchcraft was of course a capital crime in both New Haven and Connecticut. Among the twelve offences specified in the Connecticut Code of Laws of 1642, as worthy of the extreme penalty, the second was that of "Being a witch, having or consulting a familiar spirit." In 1655 Governor Eaton prepared a code for New Haven, after an examination of the "New booke of lawes in y^e Massachusetts Colony," and of a "Small booke of lawes newly come from England, which is said to be Mr. Cottons."* The second of the "Capitall Lawes" read as follows: "If any person be a witch, he or she shall be put to death." The law is sustained by three Scripture quotations, the same ones that are also appended to the aforesaid Connecticut law. They are all excerpts from the Mosaic code. The law itself is a paraphrase of the first text, Exod. xxii. 18: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." The next selection, from Levit. xx. 27, orders that a witch shall be stoned to death. Lastly, the verses of Deut. xviii. 10-11 forbid the children of Israel to entertain any that use divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. The introduction to Drake's *Annals* (page xxvi.) states that New Haven Colony was the first one to be disturbed by witches. No vestige of real proof of this assertion appears there, or elsewhere, and Dr. Bacon must be justified in the assertion that there never was a condemnation, or an execution for witchcraft within the bounds of the New Haven jurisdiction.† As the reader will perceive, the New Haven Court, in cases of witchcraft, let its moderation be known unto all men. The earliest evidence of the existence of witches in Connecticut is in Winthrop's *Journal*.‡ Under the date of March, 1644, he says, "One of Windsor arraigned and executed for a witch."

daily paper, during the summer of 1883. To these articles I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness. Reference will be made as occasion calls for it, to numerous local histories, and especially to the works of those literary Titans, the Mathers.

Thanks are due to Mr. C. J. Hoadly for advice and assistance, and especially to Dr. Gustavus Eliot, of New Haven, for efficient aid in the tedious labor of examining ancient records.

* *Col. Rec.*, ii. 147, 576.

† See *Historical Discourses*.

‡ Vol. ii. 874.

Mr. Savage, the learned editor, subjoins a note, stating that the "One of Windsor" was probably named Johnson. A search in the colonial records brings to light no trace of a trial for witchcraft in 1647. At the General Court for the twenty-first of August, 1646, one Mary Jonson was sentenced to be whipped for "Theuery," once at Hartford and once at Wethersfield. This person was probably the same Mary Jonson against whom, Dec. 7th, 1648, the jury finds the bill of indictment that, "by her owne confession shee is guilty of familiarity with the Devill." The circumstances of her crimes, trial, and execution, Cotton Mather describes in his chapter of horrors.* He thought that her confession was attended "with such convictive circumstances that it could not be slighted." It seemed that she had work laid upon her which moved her to discontent, and she acquired the habit of wishing "the devil to take this and that, and the devil to do that and t'other thing;" whereupon it happened that the devil began to appear and to do whatever she wished. "Her master sending her to drive out the Hogs that sometimes broke into their field, a Devil would scowre the Hogs away, and make her laugh to see how he scared them. She confessed that she had murdered a Child, and had committed uncleanness both with men and with Devils." . . . "The famous Mr. Stone labored hard to convert her from the devil to God." She became very penitent, and "dy'd in a frame extreamly to the satisfaction" of the spectators. Her execution probably took place in 1649, for not until May 21st, 1650, is there a record of the bill of charges for her imprisonment. It is ordered that Will. Rescew, the jailer, shall be paid out of her estate. It cannot be positively determined whether this Mary Jonson of 1648-9, and Winthrop's "One of Windsor," in 1747, are identical or not. The absence of allusion in the *Connecticut Records*, and Winthrop's carelessness in assigning dates, uphold the opinion that Mary Jonson was really the first sufferer. But Winthrop was sick through the winter of 1648-9, and died in the ensuing spring. The last entries in his Journal were dated only a few weeks after her trial. Would he have known of her execution? Furthermore, his record for March, 1647, is jotted down in his

* *Magnalia*, Bk. VI., p. 456. Hartford ed. of 1858.

usual, brief, straight-forward manner. But the paragraphs that he certainly did write in the winter of 1648-9 are prolix, and entirely devoted to a recital of remarkable Providences, such as an old man, feeling the hand of death upon him, might naturally dwell upon, to the exclusion of public affairs. The question must remain obscure. In these same years 1649-50, the Mohegan sachem, Uncas, deemed himself in danger from the bedevilments of hostile Indians, and besought his English friends "that hee might be righted therein." The Commissioners of the United Colonies advised that Connecticut should appoint a committee of examination. The issue of the matter is unknown. Indians were generally supposed to be on too familiar terms with the Devil, and the Puritans would probably be loath to scrutinize closely the powowings of the red men. It was expedient, of course, for the rulers of Connecticut to pay some attention, if only of a formal sort, to the wishes of their wily Mohegan ally.

Close upon the spectacle of Mary Jonson's "satisfactory" penitence at her execution followed the indictments of John and Joanna Carrington of Wethersfield. The indictments of husband and wife, *mutatis mutandis*, are precisely similar. "A perticular Court in Hartford uppon the tryall of John Carrington and his wife. 20th of Feb. 1654. Magistrates, Edw. Hopkins, Esqr. Governor, John Haynes, Esqr. Deputy, Mr. Wells, Mr. Woollcott, Mr. Webster, Mr. Cullick, Mr. Clarke." Here follow the names of the jury, headed by Mr. Phelps and Mr. "Tailcoat." John Carrington, of Wethersfield, Carpenter, is accused of having "Intertained ffamiliarity with Sathan, the Great Enemye of God and Mankinde," by whose help supernatural works have been done. "Therefore according to the laws of God, and of this Commonwealth, John Carrington deserves to die." The jury approved the indictment on the 6th of March. Although the official records probably contain no proof of the Carrington's final fate, it is asserted that a diary, belonging to the library of the late George Brinley of Hartford, bears witness to the hanging of the two unfortunates.*

But no sooner was the Old Serpent well-scotched in one place than he leaped up in another, as vigorous and venomous

* Referred to by Messrs. Bliss and Hoadly.

as ever. The Hartford magistrates from 1649 to 1651 waged a constant warfare with "Sathan the Great Enemye." For the 15th of May, in the latter year, there is the following entry: "The Governor, Mr. Cullick, and Mr. Clarke are desired to goe downe to Stratford to keep Courte uppon the tryall of Goody Bassett for her life, and, if the Governor cannot goe, then Mr. Wells is to goe in his roome." The *Connecticut Records* are not known to contain any further information concerning the result of this notable journey. But that Goody Bassett was convicted of witchcraft is stated in the New Haven records. During the progress of the libel suit of Staples vs. Ludlow, allusions were made to "Goodwife Bassett when she was condemned," and to "the other witch at the other towne who discovered" all whom she knew to be witches, a revelation that would probably be made only by one whose doom had been fixed. Her execution is the reasonable inference. Before 1652, therefore, four, and perhaps five persons had been hung, under the sanction of Connecticut laws, for the "impossible crime." The next disturbance engaged the attention of the New Haven Colony and proved to be a tragi-comedy. If the subject had not once been so serious a matter, the account of Mrs. Elizabeth Godman's various trials would excite nothing but amusement.* It is a rare picture of neighborhood gossip among the "very first families" of New Haven in the middle of the seventeenth century. In the light of to-day, Mrs. Godman appears to better advantage than most of the other participants in the affair. She was an inmate of the family of Dept. Gov. Stephen Goodyear. Her disposition was probably none of the sweetest. She was talkative and quick-tempered, and hence could not fail to create enemies, especially among her own sex. The first known allusion to her is probably the statement that, in 1642, the quarrel between Mrs. Stolyon, the trader, and Mr. Eliz. Godman is referred to the arbitration of Messrs. Goodyear and Gregson. "Mr." is, of course, a clerical error for "Mrs." Mrs. Godman, moreover, had formed the uncanny habit of talking aloud, or muttering to herself, an usage then universally recognized as the invariable practice of witches. She had been independent enough

* *Col. Rec.*, ii. 29-36, 151-2.

to think that the recent executions in Connecticut for witchcraft might not be judicious, and had alarmed the worthy Rev. Mr. Hooke, teacher of the church, by saying openly that witches ought not to be provoked, but should be brought into the Church. Mrs. Godman was evidently a Radical, and destined to get into trouble. Sympathy with witches would surely justify suspicions against herself. The trouble began by a quarrel with her neighbor, Mrs. Atwater, wife of the Colonial Treasurer. Mr. Goodyear lived on Chapel st., midway between Church and College streets; and Mr. Joshua Atwater dwelt diagonally opposite the present New Haven House, on the corner where college boys now love to congregate. Mrs. Atwater was surprised that the intricacies of her pocket could not conceal the presence of "figgs" from Mrs. Godman, and the latter's explanation that she had smelt them was deemed inadequate. Further, on the same evening of the miracle of the "figgs," Mrs. Godman, being at the house "cutt a sopp and put in pann;" Betty Brewster, watching her with fear, and saying to the maid that Mistress Elizabeth was "aboute her workes of darkness" was put that night "in a most misserable case." She heard a dreadful noise and fell into a profuse "sweate," and "in ye morning she looked as one yt had bine allmost dead." In short, it appears that Betty had suffered from an ague. However to Betty and to Betty's friends, it was plain that Mrs. Godman and the Devil were leagued against her. Mrs. Atwater was excited and "forwarned Mrs. Godman of her house." The story started around the little community and lost nothing on the way. Mrs. Godman showed herself a woman of wisdom as well as spirit. She did not wait to be thrust behind bolts and bars, but boldly summoned before the magistrates Mr. and Mrs. Goodyear, Rev. Mr. Hooke and his wife, Mrs. Bishop, wife of the Colonial Secretary, Mrs. Atwater, and several others, some of them no less prominent members of the community, and complained of them all that they suspected her for a witch. The sagacity of her course was evident when it appeared how much alone in the village she stood. The plaintiff was more truly the defendant than the accused persons were. The report of the first hearing of the case, May 21st, 1653, was en-

titled by Secretary Bishop, "The examination of Eliz. Godman." The most prominent figure among the defendants was the Rev. Mr. Hooke, afterwards Court Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. This learned divine testified at length. He had first suspected Mrs. Godman when he heard of her doings at Mrs. Atwater's house. He described her disposition as "malignant" and instanced her defense of witches elsewhere. He recited some of her froward speeches. She had said "If they accuse me for a witch I'll have them to the Governor, I'll trounce them." Witches are with difficulty thrust away from houses where they do mischief, and Mrs. Godman could not be kept from Mr. Hooke's boy when he was sick, "which was in a very strange manner." Mrs. Hooke pushed her from "ye boye," but Mrs. Godman turned again and said that she would look upon him. Mrs. Godman suggested that Mr. Hooke's son had "turned his braines with sliding;" but the doctor was at hand to say that he "had never mett with the like." As a clincher, Mr. Hooke deposed that, at the time, he had dreamed about witches. It seemed mysterious to him that Mrs. Godman knew immediately what was done at church meeting about Delaware Bay, or about Mr. Cheever, although she herself was absent; and Jane Hooke, and Time, Mr. Hooke's Indian servant, confirmed the assertion. The reverend gentleman closed with a choice titbit of scandal. Mrs. Godman, not satisfied with her probable diabolical connections, had cast favorable glances upon Secretary James Bishop, and when Mr. Bishop married one of Mr. Goodyear's daughters, Mrs. Godman was troubled. No sooner were the parties contracted than Mrs. Bishop was affected with strange "fits," "which hath continued," and none of her children have lived. Who but Mrs. Godman could have done this? Thus far the whilom chaplain to the Lord Protector! Both Mr. and Mrs. Goodyear had accused her to her face of being a witch, and had been horror-struck when Mrs. Godman met the charge with ridicule. She had even ventured to assert that these fits were hereditary in the Lamberton family, and that one who was unwell was not necessarily bewitched.* Hannah Lamberton and her sister

* The Lamberton girls were Mrs. Goodyear's daughters, by a former husband.

lived with the Goodyears. One day, the girls, anxious to subserve the cause of public morality, climbed into the garret to a place where they could overlook Mrs. Godman as she lay in bed. Both of the damsels were sure that they saw a devilish apparition in the bed with Mrs. Godman, but they were immediately frightened away by the woman's threats. "About two days after, Hanah's fitts began and one night, especially, she had a dreadful fitt, and was pinched, and heard a hedious noise, and was in a strang manner sweating and burning and sometime cold and full of paine so that she shrieked out."

Verily, the uses of "malaria" have been numerous and vast. There was a succession of examinations and depositions through the summer. To some of them even Mr. Davenport lent his august presence. If the bubbling mass of gossip and spite gave signs of cooling, hands to stir the fire were not wanting. In June, Goodwife Thorpe had a fearsome story to tell. She had refused to sell Mrs. Godman some chickens. As the witch, with a jocular remark, walked away, Goody Thorpe had looked after her fearfully, and had said within herself, "If this woman is naught as folks suspect, maybe she will smite my chickens." Sure enough, soon after, a chicken died and was found to be "consumed in ye gizzard to water and wormes and divers others of them dropped," a sure proof of bedevilment. The topic so engrossed the public interest, that Mr. Davenport delivered himself from the pulpit upon the subject of witches. He insinuated his opinion of the actual case by saying that "a froward, discontented frame of spirit was a subject fitt for y^e Devill to worke upon." At the Court of Magistrates for the Jurisdiction, August 4th, 1653, all the evidence was reviewed. After some back-talk from Mrs. Godman, the following story was related to cap the climax of her misdeeds. "One night Mr. Goodyear said something in the exposition of a chapter, which she (being present) liked not, but said it was against her. As soone as Mr. Goodyear had done duties, she flung out of the roome in a discontented way, and cast a fierce look upon Mr. Goodyear, as she went out. Immediately Mr. Goodyear (tho' well before) fell into a swond." After kindly pointing out to Mrs. Godman that she was a notorious liar, the Court summed up as follows: The defendants are not guilty,

but "Mrs. Godman's carriage doth render her justly suspicious of witchcraft, which she herself in so many words confesseth, therefore the Court wisheth her to looke to her carriage hereafter, for, if further prooffe come, these passages will not be forgotten." She was therefore charged not "to goe in an offensive way to folkes houses in a rayling manner, as it seemes she hath done, but that she keepe her place, and medle with her owne buisnes." It was a mild conclusion after all the ague-stricken girls, enchanted chickens, and "swonding" magistrates, and must have cost the pack of gossips many a wag of the head. The final phrases show that Governor Eaton understood the cause of all the trouble, and was judicious enough to distinguish between a cross-grained temper and possession by a devil. The New Haven Court deserves the more credit for its forbearance, because it was withstanding the force of contemporaneous example.

In the neighboring town of Fairfield, the keen scent of Roger Ludlow had just unearthed a witch, and brought her to the gallows. Nothing is known of the fate of Goody Knapp beyond what was revealed in the suit of Thomas Staples, of Fairfield, against Roger Ludlow for defamation. It was the twenty-ninth of May, 1654, and the dignified magistrates of the colony were assembled at New Haven for their usual spring session. The action was brought before this Court, because Ludlow, a refugee from Connecticut on account of his mutinous acts, had taken shelter in New Haven until he could embark for Virginia. Governor Eaton presided. With him sat Deputy Governor Goodyear, and Magistrates Newman, Fowler, and Leete, of New Haven, Milford, and Guilford, respectively. John Banks, attorney for Thos. Staples, charged Ludlow with slander in reporting to sundry persons, to Mr. and Mrs. Davenport among others, that Goody Staples was a witch and a liar, and that Goody Knapp had disclosed to Ludlow Mrs. Staples' alliance with Satan. It appears that Goody Knapp had been "cast by a jury and godly magistrates," and that the fatal evidence had been the discovery by a female jury of the mysterious witch marks upon her body. She was the victim of a group of malicious, gossiping women, more numerous and less scrupulous than the detractors of Mrs. Godman in

New Haven. Mr. Ludlow stands forth, in unenviable fame, as a stealthy fomenter of the wretched plot.

On the day when Goody Knapp was condemned, seven of these harridans swarmed about her in prison, and tried to induce her to confess her own criminality, and to name her accomplices, or, as Madame Pell expressed it, "to lay open herself and make way for the minister to doe her good." Goody Knapp replied that, if she had any knowledge, she would reveal it to Mr. Ludlow or y^e minister, before she went out of the world. "Elizabeth Bruster's" curiosity could not wait so long, and she encouraged the witch by remarking, "The Divill will have you quick if you reveale it not till then." Goody Knapp bluntly explained their innuendoes. "Take heed the devill have not you, for know you not how soone you may be my companions. The truth is you would have me say that Goodwife Staples is a witch, but I have sinns enough to answer for allready, and I hope I shall not add to my condemnation. I know nothing by Goodwife Staples, and I hope she is an honest woman." The coterie cried out that they had named no names, and Goodman Lyon admonished the witch not to breed differences between neighbors. She retorted, "Goodman Lyon, hold your tongue! I have bine fished withal in private, more than you are aware of." After much ingenious urging, Goody Knapp said that an Indian had once offered to Mrs. Staples two Indian Gods, "little things, brighter than the light of day," and with the assurance that they would make the owner "rich, all one God." No evidence more incriminating than that could the female inquisitors obtain, altho' they labored zealously. Goody Knapp did not lack for company in her imprisonment. Criminals, then as now, were a public show; yet she did not receive the sympathy that is lavished on a modern murderer. At one time when Goodwife Gould was impressing upon her the usual moral lesson, Goody Knapp burst forth into weeping, saying, "Never, never was poor creature tempted as I am tempted; pray, pray for me." When Goody Knapp was hung, all Fairfield came to see. As soon as the victim had been cut down, Goodwife Staples went to the body and handled it very much. "Taking ye Lords name in her mouth," she said to Mrs. Lockwood, "These are no witches

teates. I have such myself, and so have you, if you search yourself." Madam Lockwood was not disposed to admit the soft impeachment, and answered, "No matter what they are! She had them, and she confessed she was a witch; that is sufficient." Goody Staples loudly proclaimed her skepticism, whereupon the whole chorus of goodwives and madams "cryed her down" until she yielded. Her faith finally overcame her rebellious reason. "As they were going to the grave, Goodwife Staples said that it was long before she could believe that this poor woman was a witch, or that there were any witches; till the word of God convinced her, which saith, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.'" Such is the mere outline of the amply-recorded story of Goody Knapp's last days. Such were the incidents which Roger Ludlow endeavored to wrest to Goody Staples' destruction. These events were rehearsed to the court, and, in addition, Mr. and Mrs. Davenport testified. They had been told by Ludlow that "Knapp's wife, the witch, at her execution, came down the ladder, and desired to speak with him alone, saying to him that Goodwife Staples was the witch of whom Goody Bassett, of Stratford, had spoken." Mr. Davenport answered that he believed the report to be "utterly untrue, and spoken out of malice." Both Mr. Davenport and his wife evinced a detestation of Ludlow. Mrs. Davenport accuses him of proneness to gossip. Mr. Davenport "utterly disliked his speech." Moreover, a dissension had arisen between Ludlow and Davenport, the former taxing the latter with breach of faith in reporting the story. Davenport affirmed in court that he was careful to make no unlawful promises, and that when he made a lawful promise, he was, thro' Christ's help, careful to keep it. After this Goodwife Staples was reasonably sure of a vindication. Perhaps New Haven's Court loved her for the enemies she had made. Yet Roger Ludlow, when offended, was without doubt, an unpleasant customer, and the Court swathed its adverse sentence in thickly-folded phrases. Finally, "seeing no cause to lay any blemish of a witch upon Goodwife Staples," they judge that Mr. Ludlow hath done her wrong; and order him to pay to Thomas Staples, "by way of fine for reparation of his wife's name, tenn pounds," and five pounds costs. The next autumn

Ludlow was mulcted in the sum of ten pounds more for imputing falsehood to Mrs. Staples.

The history of this lawsuit serves a good purpose in displaying the narrowness and vindictiveness of Roger Ludlow. There is nothing to explain why Mrs. Staples had incurred the enmity of her Fairfield gossips, but it is plain that Roger Ludlow persecuted her and tried to compass her ruin, because she would not acknowledge the guilt of Goody Knapp. All these events happened while Roger Ludlow was throwing off the authority of Connecticut, levying an army of his own, and assuming airs of supreme authority. Since he ruled his enemies with such a heavy hand, it is not surprising that he was careful to carry with him into Virginia the Fairfield Town Records. It is not surprising that a man of his abilities and ambitions, whom the latest edition of Bancroft describes as "unsurpassed in the knowledge of the law and of the rights of mankind," should have been forced to quit in disgrace both Massachusetts and Connecticut.*

The closely-crowding circumstances of the Godman, Knapp, and Staples affairs filled New Haven society with suspicion. The goodwives and dames, over their sewing, doubtless discussed the details carefully, and like their modern representatives, unravelled reputations while they closed up seams. The result of their labors was seen on the 3d of July, 1655. "Nicholas Bayly and his wife were told by the Court that sundry reasons (which were read) do render them both, but especially the woman, very suspicious in point of witchcraft; but, for matters of that nature, the Court intends not to proceed at this time."†

The couple appeared several times before the magistrate and were finally encouraged to remove from the colony, apparently not so much on account of witchcraft, as for Goody Bayly's "lying malice and filthy speeches." Even the dignified Court unbent so far as to tell her that she had acted "as one possessed with y^e verrey Devill." Meanwhile the unlucky Mrs. Godman had again become the subject of village scandal and legal complaint. Mr. Goodyear, with whom she lived, had fully joined the hue and cry against her, and, after a "great dis-

* Rec., ii. 77-8, 123.

† Town Rec., ii. 209.

turbance in his family in the night," had warned her to provide another dwelling-place for herself. He did not accord much respect to Mrs. Godman's excuse. She was hunting for two grapes which she had dropped and with which she feared that the mice might play. Even the doors of the neighborhood prayer-meeting had been closed against her. Goody Thorpe, whose chickens had formerly been "consumed in ye gisard," had been perplexed by Satanic phenomena among her cows. Those animals had sweated strangely and cast their calves. Having in one case sought God earnestly to resist the evil spirit, she was gratified by the recovery of the beast. "About a week after she went by Mr. Goodyear's, and there was Elizabeth Godman pulling cherries in the streete. She said, 'How doth Goody Thorp? I am beholden to Goody Thorp; she would have had me to the gallows for a few chickens.' Also she gnashed and grinned with her teeth in a strang manner."

To these facial gymnastics, Elizabeth confessed. Allen Ball's wife deposed that she had refused Mrs. Godman some buttermilk, and had said, "Begone, I care not for your company." Mrs. Godman rejoined, "What, it will do your Piggs no good." Soon after, all but one died. Goodman Allen Ball himself, who was Mr. Davenport's farmer, had tied a calf to a great post. No sooner did Mrs. Godman turn her evil eyes upon the animal, than "it rann away with the great post, as if it had bine a feather, and rann among Indian corne and pulled up two hills." Upon another similar occasion the unhappy brute scampered off with a huge rail, "and afterwards dyed."* Other neighbors added to the heap of grievances. In August the "Court ordered that she be committed to prison, there to abide the Court's pleasure, but, because the matter is of weight, and the crime whereof she is suspected, Capitall, therefore she is to answer it at the court of Magistrates in October next." On account of her failing health, she was released from jail in September, with a warning against offending her neighbors, and was forbidden to come to the "Contribution," as she had done. Satan was now let loose again, and many of the too-credulous villagers trembled. As might be expected, his infernal wrath lighted first upon Parson Hooke. Mrs. Godman

* Town Rec., ii. 218.

went there, strange to say, for a drink of beer, met with some denial, "and went away in a muttering, discontented manner." "Though the beere was good and fresh that night, yet the next morning, it was hott, soure, and ill-tasted; yea, so hott as the barrell was warme without side, and, when they opened the bung, it steemed forth. They brewed againe, and it was so also, and so continewed foure or five times one after another." It would seem as though the bedeviled beer might have made the cup of her transgressions run over, but the October Court declared that the evidence was not yet sufficient to take away her life, "though the suspitions be cleere and many, and she herself found to be full of lying." She was released with the same injunctions as formerly, "to forbear from goeing from house to house to give offence," and she pledged fifty pounds of her estate as security for her good behavior. So far as we know, she spent the rest of her days in quiet, though it could hardly have been in happiness. Death released her five years afterwards, October 9th, 1660.

If New Haven had retained trial by jury, its history might have been stained with witches' blood, but Magistrate Eaton was cool-headed and too good a lawyer to over-estimate "the verdict of the vicinage." One remarkable circumstance must have dictated the necessity of unusual caution and forbearance. The Common Law was not paramount in New Haven. The Mosaic Code, which was embodied in her Book of Laws, prescribed death by stoning, as the penalty for witchcraft. Let us hope that other considerations than that of the undoubted dearth of stones in the Quinnipiac's alluvial valley, would have deterred New Haven's Magistracy from the application of the utmost rigors of the law.

There is but one other mention of witchcraft upon the colonial records of New Haven. That one instance was treated in a cavalier manner that demonstrates the damaging effect of a bad reputation, rather than any subsidence of human credulity. Mr. Thomas Moulenor, in 1657, lost several pigs by some curious ailment which excited a suspicion in his mind that they had been bewitched. When the last one sickened, "he cut off its taylor and ear," and threw them upon the fire. He testified in court that this was "a meanes used in

England by some honest people to finde out witches." The "taylor and ear" not divulging so much as he expected, he put the "rest of the pigg on the fire until it was dead." After consulting the omens in this wholesale fashion, he sagely observed that "some of his neighbors were not very good," and made up his mind that one of them, Wm. Meaker by name, had practiced the black art upon the beasts. Wm. Meaker imitated Mrs. Godman and Thos. Staples by bringing, in June, an action against Mr. Moulénor for defamation. Now this same Mr. Moulénor had been an eye-sore to the saints of New Haven since the beginning. He was a man of some rank and property as his title shows, but his frequent quarrels display a captious temper, and it is certain that he was not friendly to the peculiar tenets of the New Haven polity. He was probably the Thomas Moulénor, who, so early as February, 1640, was accused of being drunk. He can be traced through the records by a line of evil deeds, affronting the Court, quarreling at Totoket, and refusing to come to the training, or to the watch. He filled up the measure of his iniquities by sending his servants to gather oysters on Sunday. The only service of a nature befitting his social position, which he is known to have performed, occurred in 1647, when he made the "King's Arms," which the town erected "in the highway by the sea-side," as a witness against the Dutch. In 1645, he had been put under bonds of one hundred pounds to insure his good behavior, and that was kept hanging over his head as an incentive to subordination.* His charge of witchery was scornfully ignored. He was reminded of the perilous state in which he lived, and there was a plain suggestion made that his room would be better than his company in the colony. Moulénor saw that no attention would be paid to his allegation of witchcraft, and, shortly after, withdrew the charge. With his lawsuits, which were continually recurring, we have no more to do.

After the treaty of Hartford in 1650, the Connecticut Colony gradually acquired peaceful control over the whole eastern portion of Long Island, excepting New Haven's possessions at Southold. The town of Easthampton, Long Island, introduced itself into the Connecticut sisterhood with a witch-trial. During the winter of 1657-58, a quarrel between two women in

* Rec., i. 153, 369.

the household of the famous Lion Gardiner resulted in charges of witchcraft.* One of the women lost a child and accused her fellow servant, Goodwife Garlick, of having killed it by magic spells. Capt. Gardiner testified that the plaintiff had been hired to nurse an Indian baby and, in so doing, had wilfully neglected her own child. Despite Gardiner's influence however, the Magistrates of the town of Easthampton were evidently puzzled by the testimony. At a town meeting, March 19th, 1654, it was voted that Thomas Baker and John Hand "should go into Keniticut for to bring us under their Government according to the terms as Southampton is; and also to carry Goodwife Garlick that she may be delivered up unto the authorities there, for the triall of the cause of witchcraft which she is suspected." Her trial was probably the staple of gossip at Hartford in May, 1658, but resulted in her acquittal. The Records say:—"There did not appear sufficient evidence to prove her guilty." With a curious sense of justice it was decided that the costs should be divided between Easthampton, Hartford, and Joseph Garlick, the husband of the accused woman. "Joseph Garlick shall pay her diet and ward at home and her transeptation both ways. Easthampton shall pay costs of their court, and the transportation of their messengers and witnesses. Connecticut will pay costs of trial at Hartford." The Court understood the principle of the division of labor and its advantages. A letter was written by Governor Winthrop to the authorities at Easthampton wherein he commended their christian care and prudence in making such strict inquiry into cases of possible witchcraft. He gave some excellent advice: "It is expected and desired by this Court that you should carry neighbourly and peaceably to Joseph Garlick and his wife, and that they should doe ye like to you." Such counsel, if followed, would have prevented all the witch-trials that ever took place.

Governor Winthrop was present at a General Court in June, 1659, when Mr. Wyllys was requested to "goe downe to Sea-Brook to assist ye Major in examininge the suspitions about witchery, and to act therein as may be requisite." "Ye Major"

* Drake's *Annals of Witchcraft*, p. 110. Prime's *Hist. of Long Island*, p. 89. Conn. Col. Rec., i. 572-8. Wood's *Hist. of Long Island*, p. 24.

was the celebrated John Mason. There is no known trace of the result of Mr. Wyllys' trip down the river, but it is more than likely that his journey was caused by the wiles of the Devil with Nicholas and Margaret Jennings. However this unlucky couple were not indicted until September 5, 1661, when Nicholas and Margaret Jennings, of Seabrook, were accused of having caused the death of several."*

On the 9th of October following, the prisoners were given the benefit of a doubt and were set free by a disagreement of the jury; "the major part thinking them guilty, and the rest strongly suspect it that they are guilty." By the 11th of March, 1663, the General Court of the Colony at Hartford had grown skeptical about this case. They disallowed the charges of the "Sea-Brook" constables for witnesses in the trial of the Jenningses, and furthermore recorded this ungracious comment. "They do not see cause to allow pay to witnesses for time and travaile, nor to any other upon such accounts for ye future." The Jennings couple probably deserve but little sympathy. They were a rascally pair. There can be no doubt that they are the Nicholas "Gennings and Margaret Poore, alias Bedforde" who in 1643 figured in New Haven as runaway servants, were whipped for lewdness, theft, and "divers other miscarryages" and were married by order of the Court.

The machinations of the great adversary at Saybrook were only a feint to distract attention from his dark devices elsewhere. There had been no fatal termination to a witch-trial since Goody Knapp's death in 1653. But in 1662, the wretched mania broke out afresh at Hartford. It ran its course to a fatal end, and the cause of all was a hystericky maiden, named Ann Cole. The circumstances of the affair prefigured the Salem excitement thirty years later. Of Ann Cole's principal victims, there are previous traces, showing some of them at least to have been persons of the baser sort.

In March, 1650, there is recorded the conviction of Nathaniel Greensmith for stealing. At a Particular Court in the spring of 1662,† the same individual sued a neighbor, William Eares

* Walker's *History of the First Church in Hartford*, p. 176. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, i. 338.

† For May 18th.

(Ayres), for damages on account of slander. What the burden of the slanderous reports was, may be inferred from the indictment of Nath'l Greensmith and Rebecca, his wife, on the 30th of the next December, for witchcraft. The immediate impulse to this action was communicated by Ann Cole's ravings. A letter written by the Rev. John Whiting, some time pastor of the church in Hartford, to Dr. Increase Mather, describes the damsel's afflictions.* Twenty years, however, intervened between the description, and the events themselves; for the letter bears the date "December 4, 1682."

It seems that the father of Ann was John Cole, "A carpenter and a godly man." Moreover, he was the next door neighbor to the Greensmiths. Ann Cole, being grown to womanhood, was "taken with strange fitts, wherein she (or rather the Devill, as 'tis judged), made use of her lips, and held a discourse." Her talk appeared to show that a company of devils were debating with each other through her mediation, how they might accomplish their various schemes of mischief upon one and another, but especially upon Ann herself. They planned "to afflict her body, spoile her name, hinder her marriage, etc., wherein the generall answer made among them was 'She runs to her Rock.'" But when her maunderings took the shape of a "Dutch-toned discourse," being expressed sometimes in English, and sometimes in Dutch, and sometimes in a language known only to the devils themselves, her affrighted parents and neighbors ran for the ministers. Clerical power alone could hope to exorcise the satanic influence of the Dutch vocables and gutturals. Parson Haynes hastened in with his pen and paper wherewith he wrote down, no doubt with fear and trembling, her impossible words. Mr. Stone marveled greatly that she should pronounce English words with such a correct Dutch accent, altho' she knew nothing (?) of the latter tongue. But the ministers were able to understand that the devils were reciting various deeds of darkness, and the names of several human participants were divulged. Several persons, including the Greensmiths, were at once arrested. Still Ann Cole's afflictions were no whit lessened. Some of her utterances

* *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. viii., 4th Series. This letter was the source of Cotton Mather's relation in the *Magnalia*.

were very awefull and amazing to the hearers," and she suffered "extremely violent bodily motions." These were the tricks of modern Spiritist mediums. "Very often, great disturbance was given in the public worship of God by her and two other women, who had also strange fitts. Once in speciall, on a day of prayer kept on that account, the motion and noise of the afflicted was so terrible that a godly person fainted under the appearance of it." Yet Mr. Whiting did not hesitate to give Mistress Ann a good character, as "a person esteemed pious, behaving herself, with a pleasant mixture of humility and faith under her heavy sufferings, professing that she knew nothing of those things that were spoken by her, but that her tongue was improved to express what was never in her mind." The Dutch family, from whose conversation she imitated her jargon, bore the name of Varleth. A letter is extant, dated at "Amsterdam, in New Netherlant, the 13th of X^r, 1662, and signed 'P. Stuyvesant.'"* It is addressed to the "Honorab^{le} debuty Governour, and Court of Magistracy att Hardfort."

Gov. John Winthrop was then tarrying in Europe, after the successful termination of his suit for a charter, and Dept. Gov. John Mason was at the helm in Connecticut. With the latter, therefore, Gov. Stuyvesant pleads in behalf of his "distressed sister-in-law, Judith Varleth, imprisoned, as we are informed, uppon pretend accusation of wicherye." The doughty Governor's name was probably powerful enough to secure Judith Varleth's escape, for her name does not appear in the records, but the English unfortunates were related to no governors. Rebecca Greensmith, according to Mr. Whiting's testimony, "a lewd, ignorant, and considerably aged woman," confessed that she and other persons named, were guilty. She admitted that she had had "familiarity with the devill," who came to her as a "deere, or faune, skipping about her." One devil had introduced himself in the form of a crow. She said that she had promised to go with the devil when he called, but denied making any covenant with him. "The devill told her that, at the merry-meeting on the next Christmas, the covenant should be

* Walker's *History of the First Church in Hartford*, p. 176, quoted from Mr. C. J. Hoadly.

drawn and subscribed." This confession doomed the two Greensmiths. The recovered volume of the Hartford Particular Court records contains the indictments against them, and the adverse verdict of the jury in both cases. But the prevalent excitement involved other victims. One week later, at a "Particular Court, Jan. 6th, 1662-3," Elizabeth Seager, wife of Richard Seager, and Mary Barnes, of Farmington, were called upon to answer similar accusations. Both submitted themselves to a jury of their peers; but while the former was acquitted, Mary Barnes was found guilty and was sent to Hartford jail to await, with the two Greensmiths, the impending doom. The only official notice of that fate is the following one:

"Quarter Court, Held at Hartford, }
March 5th, '62-3.

"Daniel Garrett is allowed for keeping Goodwife Barnes three weeks, twenty-one shillings besides her fees, which Goodman Barnes is to see discharged. And he is allowed six shillings a week for keeping Nathaniel Greensmith and his wife, besides their fees, which is to be paid out of Greensmith's estate."

Far away in the little village of Milford, Conn., the regicide General Goffe was, at this time, hiding from the royal vengeance. In the diary, with which he beguiled some of the heavy hours, Gov. Hutchinson afterwards read this entry: "Jan. 20, 1662. Three witches were condemned at Hartford. Feb. 24. After one of the witches was hanged, the maid got well." Much relief the execution gave to Ann Cole. As Mr. Whiting testified, "Ann Cole then had some abatement of her sorrows, joined the church, married a good man (Andrew Benton, of Milford), bore children, and lived a godly life."

The same writer says that most of the persons mentioned in her discourse made their escape into another part of the country. But their deliverance was wrought out of much danger, as can be seen by a paragraph in Increase Mather's "Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences." "There were some that had a mind to try whether the stories of witches not being able to sink under water were true, and accordingly, a man and woman, mentioned in Ann Cole's Dutch-toned dis-

course, had their hands and feet tied, and so were cast into the water, and they both apparently swam after the manner of a buoy, part under, part above the water. A bystander imagining that any person bound in that posture would be so borne up, offered himself for trial; but, being in the like manner gently laid on the water, he immediately sunk right down. This was no legal evidence against the suspected persons, nor were they proceeded against on any such account; however, doubting that an halter would choak them, though the water would not, they very fairly took their flight, not having been seen in that part of the world again." Here was a fine picture of experimental philosophy. The Hartford populace, the hoodlums of 1662, being desirous of putting a common theory to the test, treat the unlucky objects of village gossip to a free bath; and a benevolent Thomas Didymus, looking on with nervous remonstrance from the bankside, imperils his life in the unsuccessful effort to vindicate his doubts concerning the propriety of the operation. The names of the persons who were thus roughly entreated are not preserved, but it is likely that Wm. Ayres, whose former lawsuit has been mentioned, and his wife, were the sufferers. The records reveal that this couple fled from the colony at this time, and in such haste as to leave behind them not only their estate and personal effects, but even their son, who was forthwith apprenticed by the General Court. Goodwife Seager had escaped death, but she could not shake off the evil reputation that clung to her. In 1663, she again stood before Deputy Governor, and Major John Mason, to answer the charges of witchcraft, adultery, and blasphemy. She was convicted of adultery only, but, two years after, the indictment for witchcraft was renewed. This time she was found guilty, but the sentence was respited by the Governor, Winthrop, who was now at home again. She probably languished in confinement for a year; not until the following spring (May 18th, 1666), did the Court "discharge and set her free from farther suffering or imprisonment," on the ground of incompatibility between the verdict and the indictment. There was evidently a new spirit among those who ruled, but the force of popular superstition showed, otherwise, few signs of abatement. In February, 1665, John Brown, of

New Haven paid dearly for a little joke. He was arrested, and was "very seriously entreated" by the Court because he had frightened some of his weak-minded neighbors with astrological nonsense. He drew on paper a circle with some marks in it; talked about the lords of the fourth and second houses, looked sagely at the stars, chattered gibberish, and asked the awestruck spectators if they would like to see the Divill. He was taught that such jesting is not convenient.* John Brown had not gained a good name with the New Haven Magistrates. Two years before, he and his wife had been reprimanded by the Court for allowing "Dauncing, Cardplaying and unseemly Night-meetings at their house." There was probably some personal spite in the present charges against him. New Haven was, at that time, alive with the amenities of social intercourse. At the same Court Goody Tompson appeared, very much irritated because Hannah Finch had said of her, "If one should rake Hell and skin the Devill, one would not find such a liar." Verily, here was a Western boldness of metaphor! These women did not live in Leadville in 1879, but they were inhabitants of Puritan New Haven, two hundred years earlier. The pristine history of the village of Wethersfield was studded with misfortunes. Its foundation was laid in a quarrel with Hartford. Indian warfare brought sorrow to its homes. Dissensions in its Church twice caused its disruption, the semi-depopulation of the town, and the settlements of Stamford and of Hadley. To crown all, the town was especially cursed by the witchcraft delusion. A special order was issued, in 1670, by the Connecticut General Court, for the trial of Katherine Harrison of Wethersfield on the charge of witchcraft. In May she was convicted by a jury, but the court refused to inflict the sentence of death, and dismissed the supposititious criminal with a recommendation to remove from Wethersfield, "Which is that will tend most to her own safety, and the contentment of the people, who are her neighbors."† However, her judges did not forget thrift, and she was ordered to pay costs. She took refuge at once in Westchester, New York;

* Town Rec., iii. 60.

† Conn. Col. Rec., ii. 132. Judd's "Hadley," p. 233. Winthrop, ii. 374. O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, iv. 136.

but ill-report traveled almost as fast as she did, and, in July, the inhabitants of that town complained to the Court that Captain Wm. Panton was sheltering suspicious persons, one Katherine Harryson, who was recently come from Wethersfield, Connecticut. The Court decreed that she must return to Wethersfield. But that would have been a defiance of death, and she refused to go. In August, the people of Westchester again complained of her baleful presence, and she was summoned to trial in October. The upshot of the judicial investigation was that she was "found to be undeserving of complaint, and had liberty to live where she would." During the temporary occupation of New York by the Dutch in 1673, an accusation was brought against her before Governor Colve but was promptly and contemptuously dismissed. For several years thereafter the godly folk of Hartford and its vicinity rested from the manifestations of satanic subtlety and love for sinful souls. But, in 1683, in the midst of the oft-recurring dread of the coming sway of a Governor General, the wiseacres of the town wagged their heads doubtfully over new supernatural prodigies. The house of Nicholas Desborough was mysteriously stoned from every quarter by an invisible hand. Clods of earth and pieces of Indian corn were thrown through doors, windows and chimneys. A fire was kindled that did some little damage. Plainly, the Prince of the Powers of the air was again active in their midst. But when a chest of cloths that Desborough had detained from a neighbor was returned to its proper owner, the trouble ceased. And it is to be presumed that the wonder ceased also.

It was perhaps inevitable that the contagion of the Salem terror of 1692 should affect the colony of Connecticut, and should either meet or excite there, a similar panic. But the shadow of the grisly fear passed by Hartford and settled upon the town of Fairfield, the town where the infatuation had been most fatal forty years earlier. There the memory of Roger Ludlow was not even yet deprived of venom, and one of the imprisoned wretches was Mrs. Staples, probably the same who in her youth had incurred Ludlow's enmity, and had been shielded therefrom by New Haven justice. A gentleman, whom the records style "Col. Robt. Treat, Esqr., Govr.," himself a resident of the neighboring town of Milford, presided at

a "Speciall Generall Court held at Hartford, June 22, 1692."* As in the case of Catherine Harrison, a commission for a special court was issued :

"Whereas, there are at present in the county of Fayrefeild severall persons in durance upon capital crimes which are not soe capeable to be brought to a tryall at the usual Court of Assistants, by reason of the multiplicity of witnesses that may be concerned in the case, etc., this Court doe grant to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants to the number of seven at the least, a commission of oyer and terminer to keep a speciall court in Fayrefeild, the second Wednesday in December (probably a mistake for September) next, to hear and determine all such capitall cases and complaints, as shall be brought before the sayd Court."

A note in the Connecticut Records says that Mr. William L. Stone, while living in Hartford as the editor of "The Connecticut Mirror," discovered among the documents belonging to the Wyllys family, a manuscript roll, containing the proceedings of this Special Court. It assembled either on the fourteenth or the nineteenth of September. The individuals comprising the court were Gov. Treat, Dept Gov. William Jones, of New Haven, son-in-law of Theophilus Eaton, John Allyn, Secretary of the Colony ; Mr. Andrew Leete, the successor of Gov. William Leete in influence at Guilford ; Capt. John Burr, Mr. Wm. Pitkin, Capt. Moses Mansfield, also of New Haven. Both a petit jury and a grand jury were in attendance, the list of the latter including such names as Samuel Ward and Samuel Sherman. The occasion was evidently felt to be a serious one when such a concourse of dignitaries and chief men was assembled to sit in judgment. "At this court, Mercy Disborough, of Compo, in Fairfield, Goody Miller, Goodwife, alias Elizabeth Clawson, and Mrs. Staples were indicted for familiarity with Satan." The session of the court doubtless made holidays for Fairfield, for nearly the whole town must have taken some personal interest in the trials. The judges listened to the testimony of about two hundred witnesses.†

* *Conn. Col. Rec.*, pp. 76, 77, 79.

† Some of these were published by Mr. Stone in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, July 14th and 15th, 1820. They were copied into the *New York Spectator*, July 18th, and into the *Hartford Times and Weekly Advertiser*, August 8th, 1820.

In the course of the preliminary investigations by the village authorities, the efficacy of the water-ordeal had been tried. Four spectators testified that "Mercy Disborough, being bound hand and foot, and put into the water, swam like a cork, though one labored to press her down." The innocent water also refused to admit Elizabeth Clawson beneath its waves. Yet in spite, or perhaps in consequence, of the two hundred depositions, and in spite of the irrefutable proof of Mercy's, and of Goody Clawson's light specific gravity, the jury were unable to render a complete verdict. That they did practically reject the complaint against Goody Miller, and against Roger Ludlow's ancient foe, Mrs. Staples, appears from the record of "A Generall Court held at Hartford, Oct. 13, 1692. The Govr. haveing given an accot. how far they have proceeded against Elizabeth Clawson and Mercy Disborough, by reason that the jury could not agree to make a verdict, this Court desire the Governor to appoynt time for the sayd Court to meet againe as soone as may be, and that the jury be called together, and that they make a verdict upon the case, and the Court to put a finall issue thereto." In accordance with this vote the Court assembled a fortnight afterwards at Fairfield (Oct. 28, 1692). Additional testimony was taken and there was the usual examination of the bodies of two of the accused by a jury of their sister-gossips.* A formal acquittal was declared for Elizabeth Clawson, Goody Miller, and Mrs. Staples, but Mercy Disborough was found guilty according to the indictment. The jury were sent out to consider their verdict a second time, but reported again the same conclusion. The judges then ratified the finding of the jury and Gov. Robert Treat pronounced the sentence of death. "A memorial to the General Assembly in her behalf was drawn up with some ingenuity and ability, praying for a pardon, and setting forth weighty reasons why it ought to be granted." Unless there were two Mercy Disboroughs in Fairfield, it is likely that the prayer received assent and that the verdict was set aside. "The Probate Records of the town show that Mercy Disborough, widow of Thomas, was appointed with her son, in 1707, to administer upon her husband's estate."

* "A single deposition relating to this can be found in the Record-book of Crimes and Misdemeanors, *Conn. Archives*, vol. i., doc. 187."

Mr. William L. Stone made use of these incidents as the ground work of one of the more pretentious stories in his "Tales and Sketches," published in two volumes in New York in 1834. He depicted a ludicrously absurd plot. The scene was transferred to Guilford, and Mercy herself was transformed into a beautiful young girl, a veritable Priscilla, cruelly pursued with an accusation of witchcraft by a rich and lecherous old deacon, who had been rejected and foiled by the fair one. After the lovely unfortunate had been tied to the stake (*sic*)—and the attendants were kindling the fagots, a sudden attack upon the place was made by a party of Mohegans, led by Owaneco, son of Uncas, and by a young Englishman, Mercy's betrothed lover. The vindictive deacon fell prostrate with Owaneco's tomahawk in his brain, and the young lover cut his affianced bride from the stake and bore her safely away to the remote fastnesses of Litchfield County, where they lived happily ever after. The lamentable list of the unhappy martyrs to human credulity and superstition draws near its close. No lives were sacrificed after 1663. There is only the painful proof of continued suffering and of misguided excitement.

Probably the last indictment in the Connecticut Courts for the impossible crime occurred in Wallingford, in 1697.* A woman and her daughter, a girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, dwellers in that town, were accused of witchcraft by some children who pretended to possess powers of second-sight. As at Salem and Fairfield, the fears of the villagers soon amounted to a panic. Capt. Dan. Clark, as "Attorney in behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King," arraigned "Winnifrett Denham, Senr." (Fowler writes the name "Benom," Benham), and "Winnifrett Denham, Junr., both of Wallingford, for having familiarity with Sathan, the enemy of God and mankind, and by his aid, doing many preternaturall arts, by misteriously hurting the bodies and Goods of sundry persons, viz: of Jno. Moss, Junr., Joseph Roys and Ebenezer Clark, with divers others, to the great Damage and Disturbance of the public Peace," etc. Mrs. Denham's body was searched for the convicting marks, she was cast into the water, and the Wallingford minister pronounced her excommunicate. Fowler says that the town

* The authorities are Fowler's *Salem Witchcraft*, p. 886 (Boston, 1765), and Davis's *History of Wallingford and Meriden*, p. 412.

authorities bound the accused persons over to the Superior Court, and that they were tried and acquitted at Hartford in August, 1697, but that, when the complaints against them were renewed, they "fled into the New York Government." The historian of Wallingford, however, relates the more common version that the grand jury recorded upon the indictment the sensible verdict "*Ignoramus*," but says that there was much popular commotion and controversy. It is evident that after the fatal trials of 1662, a disbelief in the wisdom of executing capital sentences for witchcraft slowly pervaded the minds of the educated and thoughtful men in the colony, and gradually filtered down through the inferior strata of society. Hence would arise the large number of depositions at the great Fairfield trials in 1692, and the increasing discussion of which there are abundant signs, at each fresh accusation. It has been seen that official moderation upon the bench and in the executive seat was able to stave off the three death-sentences that were incurred during the last third of the seventeenth century. It may be observed also that this progressive sentiment was visible in Connecticut earlier than in Massachusetts, and was not deprived of effective strength, even in that year of terrors, 1692. The water ordeal at Wallingford was the last instance of that torture in Connecticut, perhaps in New England also; but Grace Sherwood was subjected to it in Virginia in 1712, fifteen years later. The laws against witchcraft stood in 1715, upon all the colonial statute-books, but so rapid had been the advance of opinion in New England, even by that time, those laws were there practically null. After 1697, many village-societies doubtless often whispered, or openly spoke, though with bated breath, of the evident presence of Satan in their midst, and many a friendless old woman crept along the highway, knowing that the community regarded her broomstick as an uncanny chariot, and her ill-fed cat as a demon, but no more was the majesty of law degraded by the arraignment of a witch before its tribunals. Modern superstitious belief in spiritual agencies, in changing its name and shape, has changed its habitat also. It seems inclined to desert the dwelling of the lowly, and to abide in the houses of the prosperous. It has developed a literature of its own, and can boast of many notable names, from Swedenborg to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.

While it has not entirely disappeared from the domain of criminal law, it appears there no longer under the revolting guise of "Familiarity with ye Devil," but as plain, unadorned "Swindling." The popular belief in witchcraft of the ancient and vulgar sort, has been slowly and imperceptibly relegated to that long line of dormant opinions, once dominant, now doubtfully averred, or laughingly denied. Its gruesome horrors serve to daunt unruly boys, or to furnish entertainment for the winter's evening by the crackling fire, from which the fascinated children, reluctantly, with fear-chilled skin, and wide-open eyes, slink away to bed. At the most, the life of some desolate individual is invested thereby with a generally harmless glamour. And the title itself of "Witch" has gradually become a term of semi-endearment, more likely to tint fair faces with the rose-color of pleasure than, as of yore, to blench them with terror.

The following schedule of indictments, verdicts, and executions, shows at a glance not only the progress of the witchcraft delusion in Connecticut, but also how official incredulity in the latter half of the 17th century steadily resisted the clamors of popular fear, even when they were heard from the jury-box.

1647.	Winthrop's "One of Windsor".....	Executed.)*
1648.	Mary Jonson, of Hartford or Wethersfield	Executed.
1651.	Mr. and Mrs. Carrington, of Wethersfield.....	Executed.
1651.	Goody Bassett, of Stratford.....	Executed.
1658.	Goody Knapp, of Fairfield.....	Executed.
1658.	Goody Garlick, of Easthampton, L. I.....	Acquitted.
1661.	Mr. and Mrs. Jennings, of Saybrook,	
	Freed by disagreement of jury.	
1662.	Mr. and Mrs. Greensmith, of Hartford.....	Executed.
1663.	Mary Barnes, of Farmington	Executed.
1668.	Mrs. Elizabeth Seager, of Hartford(?).....	Acquitted.
1668.	Mrs. Elizabeth Seager, (2d trial).....	Acquitted.
1665.	Mrs. Elizabeth Seager, (8d trial).Convicted, but freed by the court.	
1670.	Katherine Harrison, of Wethersfield,	
	Convicted, the court refused to sentence and dismissed the accused.	
1692.	Mrs. Staples, of Fairfield.....	Acquitted.
1692.	Goody Miller, of Fairfield.....	Acquitted.
1692.	Elizabeth Clawson, of Fairfield	Acquitted.
1692.	Mercy Disborough, of Fairfield,	
	Convicted, but probably pardoned by the General Court.	
1697.	Mrs. Denham and daughter, of Wallingford,	
	Acquitted, perhaps accused only before the Grand Jury.	

Summary: eight, possibly nine executions; three more verdicts of "Guilty," that were set aside; indictments, either twenty-one or twenty-two.

* Doubtful.

ARTICLE IV.—THE STATES GENERAL OF FRANCE.

III. THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE STATES GENERAL.

[Continued from page 705.]

WHILE no authoritative statement of the powers of the States General was ever made and the subject remained one in regard to which there was little harmony of opinion, the functions of the assembly were clearly defined and well understood. These may be conveniently treated under three heads, the voting of supplies, the decision of questions of State, and the presentation of grievances.

The feudal theory of government was characterized by a spirit of isolation, of living unto one's self, though a nominal allegiance might be paid to the fief of headship, to which was attached a royal line running back to the short-lived kingdoms that followed the breaking up of Charlemagne's empire, yet the King was only "first among equals," and the holders of neighboring fiefs were under no financial obligations to him. The fief was the political unit. Hence arose the maxim, one of the most significant connected with the early relations between King and subject, that the royal domain alone must suffice for all the needs of the sovereign. According to this principle, for the maintenance of his rights the King as suzerain might call out the nobles with their retainers to fight, might request the clergy to pray, might ask the good towns to send troops to serve under his banner; but outside of the revenues accruing from his own fief, or domain, he could not demand from any one a single penny.

In just this respect the feudal differed from the ancient idea. The ancient monarchy, with rare exceptions was ethnic and religious in its origin, patriarchal in its relation to its subjects. Theoretically at least the King was the incarnation of might, wisdom, virtue, paternal affections,—the natural protector of his people. Wiser than they and hence better able to counsel and act for the common weal, his by natural right was the property of all his subjects, to be taken and used, as he saw

fit, for the good of all. In the revolutions of the governments of antiquity forms were sometimes altered, and two or more were placed at the head of affairs instead of one; but the spirit of the relation between subject and State was not changed. The man is made for the State and to it he belongs, body, life, and property, was the universal principle. In this and in the might of the stronger lay the basis of the right of taxation. In theory, and often in practice, the amount demanded of the citizen knew no limit except the needs of the State, or the ruling power, and the extent of the citizen's means. But Feudalism by its bold assertion of the rights of the individual and local independence as opposed to the general interest and central authority, did away with this doctrine. When the monarchy began to emerge out of the declining feudal society, its place and powers were entirely undetermined. But evidently the relation of King to subject could not be any longer, as in the past, that of father to household, a reflection of the *patria potestas*. The subject was not now a unit in a compact political organism, but a vassal, owing fealty and service, both of which were in a measure voluntary. As vassal, it is true, he was also under a few financial obligations; but these were rendered only as grants or gifts by which the suzerainty of the King was recognized and symbolized, not as anything which could be claimed because of an inherent right to the whole or any portion of the subject's property. Herein is the origin of the principle, no financial burden may be imposed without the consent of those who are to meet it, which in the complex political life of to-day still remains firmly established, and is current in the maxim, "No taxation without representation." With the development of a court around the King, the necessity of paying troops for long wars, and all the other drains upon the royal treasury, the income from the royal domain was found insufficient. The King was forced to appeal to the nation for financial aid, on the ground of being its protector.

Hence it was, as pointed out in a previous article, that the reason of being of the representative bodies of Europe was the need of money on the part of the Crown. Hence the voting of supplies was the primary function of the States

General,—the earliest settled, the most regularly exercised, and the least called in question. The way in which the States General treated this shaped their career and determined their destiny. Though they in great measure formally resigned it in 1439, yet even afterwards not infrequently the regular taxes imposed by the Crown and the grants obtained from the provincial State both proved inadequate to meet the needs of the treasury, and recourse was had to the States General. So deeply grounded in the rank and file of the nation was the idea that it ought to regulate its own contribution toward the expenses of the government, that the Crown never levied any heavy tax, unauthorized by either the States General or the provincial assemblies, without a protest.

An inquiry into the amount, nature, and proportional distribution of the grants made by the States General at different times would bring out many facts having an important bearing upon the history of France, and would give a key to the inner development of the French nation. The scope of the present article, however, forbids extended discussion, and gives room only for the offering of a few generalizations upon the mode of voting supplies, the share of each of the three orders in the payment of grants, and the influence brought to bear upon the financial administration through the voting of supplies.

Regularly at or soon after the opening of a session of the States General the chancellor announced to the deputies that the treasury was sadly in need of funds. He was always able to give abundant and plausible reasons for the financial straits and never failed to promise that if liberal grants should be made there would be a thorough-going reform of abuses, and a full satisfying of the nation's desires. The estates then proceeded to discuss the matter, usually sitting separately. They rarely yielded at once to the wishes of the Crown. At first they had no voice in proposing the method by which the funds granted were to be raised. They simply voted, after full discussion, that the Crown might collect so much money, not specifying whether by customs duties, by direct taxation, or by grants from the lower bodies of State. The mode of collecting was left entirely to the discretion of the Crown. But the abuses and corruptions in the management of the

finances were so great and so manifest that ere long at the outset of the discussion about supplies the deputies began to institute inquiries into the use made of public moneys, the receipts and expenditures of the treasury. The revolution of 1356 had its origin in such a proceeding as this; for at the beginning of that memorable session the deputies had in view nothing more than the adjustment of the finances. After that date the State budget was always presented to the States General, either directly at a meeting of the three orders or indirectly through a special committee from them. Generally however the reports of the treasury were so garbled and the figures so obviously false, from a vain effort to cover up the stealings and delinquencies of the officers of the treasury, that the examination of them instead of satisfying only irritated the assembly. But sooner or later, whether willingly or unwillingly, the vote of supplies was passed, the court was satisfied, and the deputies found they had been frightened or wheedled into making a grant without any guaranty of its equivalent in concessions from the Crown. The deputies were too trustful, accepted too readily the word of a designing monarchy. Their lack of persistency in forcing the Crown to keep its promises did much to hasten the decline of the States General.

The apportionment of financial burdens between the three estates was grossly inequable. The privileged orders often held that service was their contribution to the common weal, that the paying of money was the duty only of the third estate. Yet generally from stress of circumstances, a few times from a feeling of patriotism, they made grants of funds. The clergy could not refuse to give, for the reason that many holders of benefices were appointed by the King and owed him a return prompted by gratitude. They all knew, moreover, that French monarchs were not above seizing ecclesiastical revenues on very slight pretexts. The nobility sometimes exchanged payment for service; on the whole however they contributed far less than the clergy. In the reign of King John the clergy and the nobility vied with each other and with the third estate in making sacrifices to ransom the royal captive and free the realm from the English. At the later

meetings of the States General sometimes a personal tax was voted which affected all regardless of rank, even to the princes of the royal family. The impost, however, to which the third estate alone was subject, always amounted to more than half the treasury receipts, and in grants for special objects the third estate generally paid nearly all. Thus in 1357 the deputies voted a fund of two hundred and fifty thousand francs, to buy from the English the evacuation of certain cities. Of this sum the clergy paid twenty-five thousand francs, the nobility sixteen and two-thirds thousand, while the remaining amount was contributed by the cities and towns. This disproportionate division of the contributions seems surprising until one remembers that it was their ability to pay that first gave to the deputies of the third estate a right to meet with the privileged orders in an assembly of the realm and vote on equal footing with them. The third estate therefore was always expected to bear the weight of financial burdens. Even if the money was to be raised by an *ad valorem* tax, the share of the third estate was proportionately the same as in the case of grants. For most of the clergy and the nobility were exempt from such taxes, and those that were not lived apart upon their own estates where it was very difficult to assess them or collect from them; in the end most of the amount thus raised came from the mercantile class. In the third estate itself the highest judiciary offices were free from the payment of imposts. In compensation for this exemption however they were subject to a special tax, apportioned according to income.

So great were the corruptions of the financial administration and so hopeless were all efforts to achieve reform without striking at the root of things, that several times the States General sought to gain control of the management of the finances. They petitioned that a permanent committee of deputies, acting with one appointed by the Crown, have entire charge of the collection and disbursement of revenues. Such a commission was appointed in 1356; the results of its work are well known. The Crown promised from time to time to appoint and empower others; but the promises were treated with the customary evasion. The legists introduced the principle of the Roman law that the right to levy taxes belongs to

the monarch alone, and the Crown as far as possible consistently acted upon it. Yet among the French people, the free vote of impost, no matter how often disregarded by the unscrupulous monarchy, was always held as a sacred right. It was more clearly understood and better established than any other principle of the French constitution except the Salic Law of Succession. Had the deputies of the States General previous to 1439 been able to grasp fully its significance or to understand the nature of the power through it reposed in their hands, they would doubtless have done much to hasten the advent of popular government in France.

Besides matters connected with the finances, from time to time there came before the States General questions of State, in the decision of which the Crown wished the support of the nation. The deputies were not appealed to from any desire of obtaining a carefully matured opinion or any expectation of accepting in good faith the result of their deliberations. The Crown had no thought of gathering a body it could not control, of raising up a power that would displace it. For the most part it simply tried to shift upon the States General the responsibility of decisions already formulated by itself, and in the strength of these to gain a vote of supplies ample enough to enable it to carry out fully its plans. Almost without exception, as before remarked, the deputies gave such answer as the Crown desired ; and having passed upon a public measure they could not well refuse the means of carrying it out.

The most important political decision of the States General was that rendered in 1317, which resulted in the establishing of the Salic Law of Succession as a fundamental principle of the French monarchy. Louis X. had died leaving a daughter. A few months after his death his wife gave birth to a son, who lived, however, but a week. Philip, a brother of the late King, claimed the throne ; but in opposition to him a league was formed with the avowed intention of crowning the princess. Philip, in the meantime acting as regent, appealed to the States General. Agreeably to his wishes, and largely through the influence of the lawyers, who brought to bear upon the question the maxims of the Roman Law, the assembly formally declared that no female could inherit the king-

ship. In accordance with this principle the succession to the French throne was settled down to the overthrow of the monarchy. Intimately connected with the question of succession was that of the regency. This was several times in particular cases left to the decision of the States General. No general principle however was laid down by them. More than once they made an attempt to determine the regency without success, because of collision with the plans of the Royal Council.

In 1369, seconding the desire of Charles V. the States General directed him to declare war against England. In 1420, this time terrified into submission, they sanctioned the disgraceful treaty between Charles VI. and Henry V. of England, by which the nation virtually passed under a foreign sway. But forty-eight years later, acting under the inspiration of Louis XI. they rejected the treaty of Conflans and proclaimed the principle of national unity. Important decisions moreover were rendered by the assembly in regard to the relations between the French King and the Pope. The quarrel between Philip IV. and Boniface was the occasion of the first meeting of the States General, in 1302. The deputies then firmly sustained the position of the King in regard to national independence. After that time the attitude of the Holy See toward the throne of France was one of jealous watchfulness and ill-concealed ambitious designs. The succeeding meetings of States General never abandoned the position taken in 1302. Sometimes, when appealed to, they gave a formal decision; but the later cahiers were full of protests and suggestions upon the subject.

What was the constitutional value of these decisions of the States General? None whatever without the sanction of royalty. In the exercise of a special authority conferred upon them by the Crown, the deputies after deliberation expressed an opinion which passed for the will of the nation, and which at a crisis made it more easy for the Crown to carry out its plans. They took up political questions not as an independent but as an advisory body. As representatives of the three estates, in passing decisions to suit the wishes of the Crown they pledged to it the support of the nation; and the nation paid handsomely for the privilege of giving advice. The

monarchy, for its own purposes, seemed to concede much to the opinion of the three orders, but in reality yielded nothing, while reaping at the same time a golden harvest.

The third clearly defined function exercised by the States General was the making and presenting of cahiers. According to some authorities this practice goes back as far as 1356; probably however the cahiers of that period were merely petitions on special points. It is not till 1468, at the States General of Tours, that mention is first made of the grievances of bailiwicks and a regular system of compilation and condensation. After that date no session failed to leave voluminous cahiers as an enduring memorial of its labors. The manner of drawing up cahiers and of bringing them before the Court was set forth in a former article; it now remains briefly to touch upon their general character and significance.

The political, moral and social condition of a people is reflected in its laws. These are framed to meet existing needs of the governing or of the governed, or both, and always imply facts, which led to their promulgation. No such picture of the striking features of the declining Roman civilization can be drawn from the literary writing of the period as from the code of Theodosius and Justinian's *Body of Civil Law*; while the laws of Manu give an insight not merely into the forms of political administration but also into the very life of the ancient Hindus, their worship, their social castes and observances, their occupations and recreations. A complete collection of the laws of any nation would give a truthful record of its efforts toward adjustment with its environment, as well as of its inner expansion or deterioration in power and the raising or lowering of its standard of morals. If it is to some extent true of all legal measures that they are an index to facts which reveal the standing and condition of the nation, we may expect to find in the cahiers of the States General much that is significant and important. For these are law in the rough, the first drafts as it were, containing a statement of each need with a proposed legal remedy. They have been too much overlooked by the writers on French history and manners. Without reserve or equivocation they point us to the real condition of affairs. Here are the complaints,

the troubles of every class and section of the people. Here are their ambitions and their jealousies, the haughty demand for ancient rights and the longing for deliverance from the sore burdens of oppression, the fearless exposing of corruption, bold vindications of the truth, eager desires for peace and protection, for fair laws and just execution of them, for education and the means of progress. Then, too, here are appeals to the honor of the Crown, that in its endeavors to make all happy it may not be led astray by crafty, self-interested advisers; petitions that it do not suffer other bodies of the State to hamper the influence of the nation's deputies; requests that it suffer the States General to meet at regular intervals and have a permanent organization. Here are glimpses too of a spirit of liberty and a recognition of the rights of men; of devoted patriotism and of narrow selfishness, of broad views of legislation and of the most bigoted partizanship. Truly, in the cahiers is a vast store of suggestive facts, for the student of history who would trace the outworking of historic principles in the relations of cause and effect; for the investigator in political science who would follow step by step the growth of political ideas in a nation and would fathom the problem of government; for the political economist who would examine into the natural laws connected with the production and distribution of wealth, especially the effects of the protective tariff and of monopolies upon the people; and for the student of ethics and manners, who would know the moral and social status of the French previous to 1614. The sway of passion and prejudice, the blindness of ignorance, the impulses to higher life and better conditions of development, the unfolding of moral and political conceptions, the very thoughts and feelings of the people, may be traced and studied in the cahiers without fear that one is receiving wrong impressions of things by beholding them through another's eyes. The mask is torn off, the condition of the nation stands revealed.

Of the measures suggested to the Crown by the States General many were sanctioned and became law. But those that seemed to trench on the royal prerogative or were inconvenient in point of execution were either passed without notice or ignored when granted. Some provisions, however, in which

the interests of the Crown were not in any way affected, became a part of the permanent body of law and remained in force until the Revolution. Several of the requests of the cahiers that received no sanction are worthy of particular mention. The demand for permission to meet regularly without special convocation often found expression in the cahiers of one, two or of all the orders. At nearly every session the estates asked that the ancient right of the free vote of supplies be always observed. Several times they desired that the right of making peace and war be placed in their hands. On the plea of preventing causes of grievance they requested an explicit recognition of the sovereignty of the assembly. The clergy and the third estate protested in the earlier time against the violence of the nobility, later against that of the King's officers. The nobility on the other hand, despairing of regaining their lost freedom, demanded that the third estate be excluded from all the higher offices of State. Notwithstanding the clashing of interests and lack of harmony frequently shown in the cahiers of the three orders, a feeling of national unity is manifested in an increasing spirit of opposition on the part of all to an alienation of any portion of the realm. The reforms suggested and reiterated with regard to the clergy indicate clearly enough the corruptions of that order, while the continual remonstrances against the abuses in the administration of justice reveal the state of the judiciary. The various plans proposed for the making over of the financial system show how deep-seated the evils were. The difficulties against which commerce and industry had to struggle may be inferred from the earnest protests against lines of custom houses in the interior of the country, against the insecurity of land and water routes, and against monopolies. Requests for improved and enlarged educational facilities were not infrequent, but had their origin almost wholly in the third estate. This order too was always urging that the two other orders be not able to bind it.

As regards the relative value of the cahiers of the three estates, those of the third show the most ability, the broadest views, and the most charitable spirit. For this reason, as previously remarked, they had the greatest influence. Next, at

least in fulness and completeness, came those of the clergy, which were strongly partizan, being tinged with an ecclesiastical coloring, especially in the religious wars. The cahiers of the nobility stand last in every respect. They are pervaded by a spirit of consistent selfishness, narrowness and perversity.

From this brief inquiry into the powers and functions of the States General, it is evident that constitutionally they had no right not delegated by the Crown except that of the free vote of supplies. As they gave this over into the hands of the King, they had no further reason of being, and so declined. Out of the vote of supplies their functions all directly or indirectly grew. Although they gained the initiative of legislation, they had not the authority themselves to make binding what they decreed nor the power to force the Crown to keep its promises. "To the States General belongs the request, to the King the decision, to the Parliament the registration," ran the maxim. They awoke to a realization of their proper mission when it was already too late to win back lost opportunities. They lacked energy to take full advantage of the concessions won, persistency in following out a line of policy, and political experience to enable them, even when opportunity was presented, to improve on the administration of the Crown. Could they have gained the one point of regularity of meetings, their history must have been far different. But France was not yet prepared for stable free institutions.

ARTICLE V.—PROF. LADD'S "DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE."

The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Two volumes, 8vo., pp. 761 and 765. By Professor GEO. T. LADD, D.D., Yale College. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

"I thought that if the Bible shrank from difficulties, if it needed some preliminary evidence to show that such difficulties ought not to be fairly met, if it had not a stronger evidence in itself than all the ingenuity of apologists could supply, it was not the book which I took it to be, it had not the power for which I had given it credit."—*Frederick Denison Maurice, Life*, vol. i. p. 494.

THIS sentiment finds deep response in the mind and heart of the writer of this article and may fitly introduce a review of Professor Ladd's *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*. Professor Ladd evidently believes that the Bible does not shrink from difficulties, and that present difficulties, supposed or not, as brought to light by modern criticism, "ought to be fairly met." Unless I greatly misapprehend his purpose the two volumes under review are the result of a scholarly and earnest endeavor to meet these difficulties. The course of argument throughout the entire book admits of being stated in a single sentence.

"Granting all that modern criticism can fairly claim, the Bible stands essentially unimpaired as containing and so revealing the Word of God to men; moreover by the aid of this criticism we attain to a more worthy conception of what the Bible really is, a conception which renders futile and harmless certain objections against the Bible which hitherto have by many been considered formidable."—*British Quarterly*, vol. lxxix. pp. 227, 228.

That the volumes are faultless will scarcely be expected by any intelligent reader or maker of books. Their very timeliness renders completeness impossible. They treat a vital theme, one at present in the process of being discussed under new conditions and with new means of analysis and verification. The present volumes are doubtless not regarded by their author as final text-books on the subject of which they treat but rather as valuable contributions to its current literature, to be used as helps toward further and we may hope final

treatment. It is not the purpose of this article to criticize by pointing out defects or to enumerate the points in which the writer, except for the purpose of argument, finds it impossible fully to agree with Professor Ladd, but rather to vindicate for him the claim already made and to justify the worthier conception of the Bible which his volumes aim to set forth.

The standpoint from which our author conducts his entire research is that of a Christian believer. "Let it be at once and frankly confessed," he says (Introduction, vol. i. p. 21) that "it is not proposed to inquire concerning the origin and nature of the Bible as though we were heathen, or even disbelievers in the fundamental verities of the Christian religion. This inquiry is one which can fitly and logically follow only when those verities have themselves been established and accepted." He does not attempt at the outset to make a complete enumeration of these "fundamental verities" which he himself regards as "established" and has "accepted." He enumerates three however which he states in the form of postulates and announces as especially influential. These are:

1st. "The reality of a self-revelation of God in redemption.

2d. The infallible authority of Jesus Christ upon matters included in the doctrine of salvation.

3d. The reality of those truths which underly the persistent and universal thoughts and feelings of the Christian consciousness" (Introduction, vol. i. p. 21).

A somewhat different and more succinct statement of these postulates occurs at p. 227.

"The spiritual being of God, the reality of the supernatural, the validity of divine self-revelation, the existence of spiritual potencies, the communion of God with man by inspiration, the final authority of Christ upon the ethico-religious matters which it was his mission to teach,—these are truths from the influence of which it is absurd to demand that biblical criticism shall set itself free."

He distinctly repudiates for himself all effort thus to set himself free and clearly shows the contrary bias by which those who make the attempt are necessarily warped. "The pretense of freedom from bias by these truths ill conceals the desperate bias from the false ethico-religious opinions which

lead to the denial of *such* truths. And," he adds, "the history of modern criticism has already shown what it will yet more clearly reveal, that a really candid and comprehensive examination of the phenomena of the biblical books is made only the more difficult for the critic who denies the fundamental truths of the religion which the books contain" (vol. i. p. 228).

With the position of the rationalistic critic he takes distinct and decided issue.

"Rationalism," he says, "needs, then, perpetually to be reminded of its own irrationality. When it sets reason up as an independent critic and judge of all revelation, it divides reason against itself. The very reason which rationalism would thus exalt has been informed and developed by a process of divine self-revelation. In its own development it must always, from the very nature of the case, feel its dependence upon the objective and definite forms of truth which it has had made known to it in the past course of its own development. It goes safely when it goes humbly, leaning on the divine hand which has helped it hitherto. And when it walks arrogantly, or runs heedlessly, it uses the strength derived from the very God whom it forgets and abjures. Only when one man's reason can assume to do, at every moment of his rational existence, the entire work which God has done in the whole race during its past history, can that man be safe in casting off the recorded and organic reason of the past" (vol. ii. p. 532).

On the following page he characterizes the effort of Rationalism as "special folly," and describes it as being "simply the ethico-religious faculty—crude, uninformed, unilluminated, and unredeemed—undertaking with immodest arrogance to read lessons upon necessary truths of reason to the same faculty when informed, inspired, and filled with all the intuitions and convictions which result from the reception of the Word of God. Reason," he continues, "until itself furnished by the Divine Word and taught by the Divine Spirit, has neither the content nor the method necessary for judging in such matters." At the bottom of the page he quotes with evident approval the saying of Luther that "Reason acts and serves the things of faith not before but after faith. Reason after it is enlightened by the Holy Spirit serves faith, but without faith it blasphemes God."

Undertaking his work thus reverently, as a friend to the Bible and a sincere Christian, Professor Ladd asks and at-

tempts to answer, in substance, four great questions—all growing out of and suggested by the one all-comprehensive enquiry—What is the Bible? These four questions are :

- 1st. What claim does the Bible make for itself?
- 2d. Do the phenomena of the Bible substantiate its claims?
- 3d. How far are these claims, thus substantiated, confirmed by the Christian consciousness historically considered?
- 4th. How far are these claims confirmed by the Christian consciousness as its witness may be found at present in the great prevailing Christian ideas?

It would be impossible within suitable limits to follow the line of research through each of these great departments or to weigh the evidences adduced. Neither is this essential to my purpose. Having propounded these four questions what answers does Professor Ladd derive from his painstaking and exhaustive investigation?

He finds first of all that the Bible itself does not claim to be what its post-Reformation friends tried to make it. These so applied the phrase "the Word of God" to the entire collection of the accepted canonical writings as that each and every separate word of these writings was alike and equally divinely chosen to convey divine thought to men (Introduction, vol. i. p. 9; vol. ii. p. 255). This however the Bible does not claim for itself. "Nowhere in either Testament is the doctrine of verbal or errorless inspiration maintained" (vol. i. pp. 182, 752, 753, 757, 758). Careful investigation shows that, "on the basis of its own claims, the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments consist of a group of writings, of various origin and of different degrees of authority and value; which, however, when taken together, give us, scripturally fixed, the contents of divine revealed truth regarding God as a Redeemer of men through Jesus Christ" (vol. i. p. 219).

Again (vol. ii. p. 283), "The Bible claims that the Word of God to men by his inspired servants is scripturally fixed within the writings of the Old and New Testaments." In the estimation of the Bible itself, "It is not primarily the written words but the divine truth within which is regarded as the Word of God" (vol. i. p. 182; vol. ii. p. 275). The Bible claims to be the Word of God only in this qualified sense, viz :

that it contains preëminently the Word of God (see especially vol. ii. p. 343). This Word of God centres in and about the Person of Jesus Christ (vol. i. p. 738). He is the incarnate Word. The Word outside his person as it lies in Sacred Scripture may be regarded as arranged concentrically about him. Its value and authority must then be determined by its relative distance from him.

This then is the claim which the Bible puts forth for itself. Strictly speaking it does not claim to be but to contain the Word of God. If its claims are true, the Bible is: 1st. "The unfailing and sufficiently trustworthy source of the history of the divine work of redemption, both in the preparatory stage of the Old Testament religion, and in the life, death, and resurrection of the Redeemer and the founding of His church.

2d. The Bible is the unfailing source of those ethico-religious truths which were revealed by God to his inspired servants during the process of the biblical history, and which taken together in their due relations to one another and the central truth of revelation, constitute the Word of God to man.

3d. The Bible is the unfailing,—and when its facts are sifted by critical and historical research and its truths are apprehended and developed in the Christian consciousness, it is the perfect and complete—source of the true doctrine of the person and work of Jesus Christ." (vol. i. p. 756).

II. Can these claims be substantiated? Do the phenomena of the Bible substantiate its claims? Examined in the light of modern criticism does it enshrine this Word of God? and further must any of the generally received canonical books be discarded as containing so little of the true Word of God as to be unworthy of the place hitherto assigned them?

This department of the subject is treated with great thoroughness and an evident desire to accord to modern criticism all that it can with any degree of fairness claim. The results reached are proportionately valuable and satisfactory. The essential claims are confirmed. "That all the essential claims (both direct and indirect) of the biblical books, to give the means for a substantially true and sufficiently accurate history of the kingdom of redemption in Jesus Christ, are verified by

historical and critical research we confidently affirm" (vol. i. p. 735).

The phenomena of the different writings and the external evidence substantiating their authenticity and reliability as Sacred Scripture are not equally conclusive. The evidence both internal and external is for some much more full than for others. "There are various degrees of evidence, and there must be varying degrees of certainty" (vol. i. p. 687).

"The books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Ruth, with respect to their religious tone and historic trustworthiness, deserve on the whole a rank much below the books of the former prophets. And yet by relegating them to a position of inferior authority, we do not necessarily show a disposition to disregard their valid claims; much less do we advocate their removal from the Canon.

In refusing to place Daniel upon a level for prophetic authority, with Isaiah, we do not forget that the former has given us that vision of the coming of the 'Son of man' which Christ appropriated to himself. The grounds, both objective and subjective, upon which the Jewish church hesitated so long before canonizing Esther, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, were valid; they remain in the main unchanged to the present day. In respect to Canticles, we even find the difficulties greatly increased, because the alleged authorship of Solomon does not carry with us the weight which it had with the Jews, and the allegorical interpretation cannot be employed by us with the same confidence which the early Christian church possessed. In rejecting the allegorical interpretation we might seem also warranted in excluding Canticles from the Canon.

And yet the result of making the above-mentioned distinctions is not, on the whole, that of encouraging changes in the number of recognized books; it is rather that of accomplishing a change in our conception of the Canon of the Old Testament" (vol. i. p. 686, 7).

"In respect to the Canon of the New Testament, the character and grounds of the needed discriminations are much more clear. Objective and subjective grounds combined—the history of the process and the nature of the writings themselves—warrant us in receiving the entire collection of Christian writings as it now stands" (vol. i. p. 687).

Again:

"On subjective and objective grounds combined we are perhaps justified in fixing the line between the canonical and uncanonical Hebrew writings so as to exclude the Apocrypha, and so as somewhat doubtfully to include Canticles, Esther, and Ecclesiastes. On neither ground, moreover, have we the right to class Second Peter and Jude with the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of Clement, or Revelation with the Apocalypse of Peter" (vol. ii. p. 687, 8).

The Canon, like the Word of God which it enshrines, is itself Christo-centric (vol. i. p. 689). It has been collected moreover under the guidance of the Spirit of God in the church and should for this reason, also, be accepted substantially as it stands. This thought that the church herself is inspired is repeatedly expressed in both volumes (see vol. i. pp. 18, 750, 759 ; vol. ii. p. 494, 521, 523).

The most concise summary of results under Parts I. and II. which fill the first volume is perhaps that given on p. 736 of vol. i.

"Both the claims and the phenomena of the Bible, when considered in their widest extent and most important relations, enable us, therefore, to make the following statement as to what the Bible really is. The Bible is the record substantially true and sufficiently accurate, of the history of that process of divine self-revelation and redemption which culminates in Jesus Christ. This record is made up from sources which are so ancient, and so well-preserved and faithfully handled, as to give us a substantially true knowledge of the origins as well as progress of this process. Both as to the origins of the preparatory process in Jewish history, and as to the origins of the process of fulfillment in Christ, we have substantially true knowledge. The clearness and extent of our knowledge in the two grand stages of this process are, however, very different; and the superiority of clear and accurate knowledge is precisely where we most need it—that is, with the later stage."

In the second volume, at p. 343, the author seems to feel that the phrase "record of revelation" does not wholly express the conception which he has reached. More is true of the Bible than this. "We may affirm," he says, "that the Bible is, or contains a revelation, so far forth as it is or contains the Word of God" (vol. ii. p. 344).

The Bible thus claiming to enshrine the revealed Word of God to men, Christo-centric—communicated with varying degrees of theopneustic agency—collected into an accepted Canon by the cautious jealousy of a living church of God, fully substantiating its own claims even in the light of the most thorough modern criticism, is next considered by our author in the light of Christian consciousness historically considered.

III. How have these claims been regarded by the Christian church? What verdict has the church given at different periods of her history? Does the church confirm or qualify the results thus far obtained?

The author reminds us at the outset that the evidence from this source is relatively of less value than that derived from a critical examination of the claims and phenomena of the Bible itself with the critical helps now in our possession and at this more mature period of the church's life (vol. ii. p. 4). If the Holy Spirit in the Bible and in the body of Christian believers is one and the same (p. 6) at one period of the church's life, it is at every period. If in the beginning the sacred writings addressed themselves to the spiritually enlightened judgment of the church, if they were accepted or rejected by this judgment, if by the necessity of the case this judgment alone could determine what to accept and what reject—the more mature and more fully enlightened judgment of the church to-day is certainly not less but more competent and reliable.

Again, as the revelation communicated in the sacred writings was given in and through a historic process, the disclosures of the later period being clearer, more full than those of the earlier—so we should expect a *process* in the estimation in which the church has held these writings, marked by conflict of opinion, doubtless, a jealous reluctance to accept anything not genuine, but steadily approaching final correctness.

If at any period of the church's history heathen superstition or philosophy exerted upon it a marked influence, if a polemical theology at any period insisted upon pressing its own claims or the traditions of the church itself as superior to the written Word—these movements will doubtless be found recorded in the History of this Doctrine of Sacred Scripture. The views held by the church will be found to have been seriously affected by these movements—sometimes erroneously affected—requiring subsequent revision and change.

Such our author finds to have been the case. The punctilious exactness of the Jewish Rabbis, by means of which the letter of the ceremonial law was so exalted above its spirit that in our Saviour's time a spiritual conception and observance of it was almost unknown, led to a perversion of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture at the very beginning of that historic process which we are able to trace. Divine dictation of words, infallibility in all minute details even in the historical portions of the Old Testament, excessive reverence for the writing itself

rather than for the truth contained in the writing, characterized this first Jewish period of the doctrine (vol. ii. p. 37). Even "more decided and misleading extravagances of opinion" came in from without the church—notably from the Platonic doctrine of inspiration (vol. ii. p. 37), and mainly through Philo Judæus. He believed and taught that the entire Old Testament was written in the condition of unconscious ecstasy by authors whose own souls—sense, intellect, and will—had completely withdrawn from the body before the incoming divine impulse" (vol. ii. p. 41). Josephus practically adopted this view (p. 46) which became the common view of antiquity (p. 44).

Passing to the early Christian period we shall find that "these seeds from Rabbinical [and heathen] soil choked the free growth of a distinctively Christian doctrine of the Bible" (vol. ii. p. 37). Excessive reverence for the chalice which held the rich wine of Old Testament truth made it difficult to receive the new wine of the Gospels and Epistles, when these began to appear, as equally divine. On the contrary they who were themselves the recipients of this new wine, who realized how much better it was, were hindered by looking at the old cups from perceiving at once that the two dispensations of grace were in reality one; that not the form but the substance of divine truth was in continuous process of disclosure (vol. ii. p. 55). While the New Testament was forming, those two tendencies came into frequent and bitter conflict. After it was formed, after Christians had come into quite general agreement as to the number of books to be received as Sacred Scripture (vol. ii. p. 80) it still remained to define in what sense these and the Old Testament writings also were sacred. In what sense were they inspired and infallible? (p. 69.)

Progress was necessarily slow. The minds of Christian scholars halted between the excessive literalness and passivity of the Rabbinical and Platonic view (p. 74) with its resulting allegorical interpretation (which was found on this theory a necessity to avoid palpable inaccuracies of detail and immoralities) (p. 91), and that more worthy view to which the unfettered Christian judgment pointed.

"That the Holy Spirit had spoken through the writers of

the Bible and that its writings were theopneustic were the inevitable assumptions of faith" (pp. 69, 84). "The way in which the early Christian writers allude to the question of the fallibility of Scripture manifests a kind of sensitiveness which is itself a proof of the uncritical and unsettled condition of opinion upon the entire subject" (p. 69).

Respecting the entire period therefore, A. D. 1-250, our author concludes that during it "The doctrine of Sacred Scripture underwent little free and distinctive self-development. So far as it acquired any considerable self-consistent unity, or grew in any self-consistent order of development, this doctrine had its germs in ground almost wholly foreign to the Bible itself. The views of the fathers of the Christian Church are to a large degree not distinctively Christian. The Jewish Rabbis and the Platonizing Philo gave to the ancient church the norm and normative law which were impressed upon most of the details of this doctrine" (p. 96). "The fresh view which the church fathers took of the New Testament writings was most untrammelled, most distinctively Christian, and most nearly correct" (p. 100).

In the midst of this inchoate condition of the doctrine all the Church Fathers, however, "express their confidence in Sacred Scripture as really containing what it professes to contain and as really being what it professes to be. There is no one of the valid conclusions reached by the inductive examination of our first volume, that does not find substantial corroboration in the witness of the ancient Christian Church" (vol. ii. p. 99).

During the period from A. D. 250 to A. D. 600 little satisfactory progress was made. The Scriptures were constantly used in Christian worship and in the establishment of doctrine, but,—

"After giving the utmost possible credit to the first six centuries, it still remains true, that the Christian Church entered the period of the Middle Ages without any consistent and tenable conception of the real nature of those sacred writings upon which her leaders bestowed so much of misplaced diligence, and concerning the general divine origin and authority of which she was so justly convinced" (vol. ii. p. 136).

From A. D. 600 to 1517 "such a thing as development can

scarcely be spoken of in connection with the history of this doctrine" (vol. ii. p. 128). During all this period "although the Bible is still appealed to as constituting a divine authority, it is the Bible only as received and interpreted by ecclesiastical tradition" (vol. ii. p. 138). "During the later portion of this period the germs of more thoroughly historical and critical views occasionally made themselves manifest" (p. 144); but at its close "we do not find developed within the Church any consentient views respecting revelation and inspiration which are actually made or which can readily be made, to serve as a basis for a general doctrine of Sacred Scripture" (vol. ii. p. 149).

During all this period—

"The Word of God in Scripture was always, though indirectly and mediately, the popular source of ethical and religious blessing. The moral influence of even the Old Testament as brought to bear upon the populace in the homilies of the time and as reënforced by many tropical and mystical improvements, was doubtless on the whole salutary. . . . Many weary and dim eyes saw Calvary and the cross, and the One who was slain upon the cross, although they looked through the Scriptures as through an atmosphere made misty by speculation, dogmatism, legend, and fable. And the spirits of not a few of those whose names and opinions we have been reviewing would have rejoiced if they could have seen the more pure Word of God, rising, as a sun above the horizon, in the period to which we now turn our attention" (vol. ii. p. 151).

This is the period of the Protestant Reformation extending from 1517 to 1750. The day of this new epoch dawned brightly. The dogmatism and the traditionalism which for centuries had been encroaching more and more upon the pure Word of God seemed about to be brushed away by the vigorous trumpet blasts of the clear-sighted Luther and his companions. They wrought however in the heat of the most intense polemics (vol. ii. p. 152). As in the first period Christian apologists, in maintaining the diversity of the two Testaments against Jewish heresies and their unity against Gnostic heresies, were led to overstate the case in both directions and forced to take refuge in the allegorical method of interpretation to avoid the difficulties which they themselves had thus created (vol. ii. p. 97); so now the polemical necessities of the case urged the reformers but more especially their successors to extremes involving errors different yet similar in their results to those which they sought to escape.

Luther himself drew clearly the distinction between the Word of God in the Bible and the Bible itself which contains it (vol. ii. p. 153). So also did the Swiss reformers (p. 154). But as discussion proceeded, as the claims of an infallible church both as the interpreter of Scripture and as the repository of equally authoritative tradition were more strongly pressed it seemed necessary to erect an opposing standard equally tangible. In the words of our author, "It seemed necessary to Protestantism that another infallible should be set up against an infallible church" (vol. ii. p. 255). Hence the post-Reformation doctrine of inspiration which contained the following particulars, viz :

1. An impulse to write, divine in its origin and impelling power.
2. Divine dictation as to what to write ; this dictation extending to all the statements alike.
3. Divine selection and determination of words, so that each separate word should be in the most literal sense divine expression (vol. ii. p. 209).

Even the letters and vowel points and accents were considered as thus divinely determined (vol. ii. p. 177).

This result was reached not by induction from a careful survey of facts but by the process of reasoning adopted by the post-Reformation writers in their controversy with Rome. Not the Church, said they, but the Bible is infallible. It is infallible therefore it must be perfect. To be perfect it must have been inspired as already described. Therefore it was so inspired.

It soon became evident however that a position had been assumed in the heat of controversy which in the calm judgment of a careful scholarship could not be maintained. Scarcely was the conception constructed before it began to show its own insecure foundations, and to be undermined by criticism, philosophy, and advancing Christian life (vol. ii. p. 215). Had no adverse forces assailed it the very idea which led to its construction would have accomplished its overthrow. Freedom from the bonds of ecclesiastical dogma carried with it by most necessary inference freedom to investigate all facts and fix conclusions from the results of such investigation.

The post-Reformation dogma logically precluded however all such investigation with the Scriptures as their object. To enter into any critical investigation of the original languages of the Bible, the formation of the Canon, the history, chronology, ethics of the Bible, in the light of even Christian conviction, would have been to call in question at the very start the correctness of the post-Reformation position. Moreover a single error once discovered, a single infelicity in style, a single human blemish in the sacred writings would have endangered the entire Bible. "If a single verse," the reasoning of the period ran, "is admitted to have been written without special divine dictation as to its contents, it will be easy for Satan to extend the omission to a whole chapter or book and so finally to destroy the entire authority of Scripture. . . . Errors of any sort whatever, even verbal or grammatical, as well as all inelegances of style, are to be denied as unworthy of the Divine Spirit who is throughout the primary author of the Bible" (vol. ii. p. 209). Hence a twisting of facts, a torturing of the spirit or a dogmatic refusal to look at facts and a steadfast opposition to the clearest results of scholarship, which brought Christian apologists and through them Christianity itself into great contempt, and but for the practical uses to which the Bible was being vigorously put meantime might well have overthrown the Christian faith.

The simple question: On what ground is it asserted that the entire Bible is the inspired Word of God points to the essential weakness of the post-Reformation position. The answer is, "Because on no other supposition can it be regarded as absolutely infallible." But why must it be regarded as absolutely infallible? "Successfully to oppose and set aside the claims of an infallible church." But suppose this done. How have we bettered ourselves if in place of an infallible Church we have a dogma equally hostile to free investigation and a like fetter upon the human mind.

The question could not but be asked: "Whether the reign of Protestant theological system-making has any more right to resist the incoming of every form of truth touching the origin and nature of the Bible than belonged to the earlier reign of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical tradition (vol. ii. p. 219).

It was answered by a movement of free thought notably during the latter half of the 18th century (p. 219), which although it went to unwarrantable extremes of destructive assertion (vol. ii. p. 219), helped in no small measure to usher in the constructive period through which we are now passing (vol. ii. p. 257). This is characterized by a renewal of the distinction between the Bible and the Word of God which it contains (vol. ii. p. 220),—rendered necessary by candid induction,—and the reverent endeavor to determine the criteria by which this real Word of God may be distinguished. The spirit of the present movement is evidently that attributed by our author to the old Tübingen school as their motive in surrendering the post-Reformation dogma of inspiration. "This they did," he says, "in order that faith in the reality of a supernatural revelation might be saved by making itself consistent with established facts of criticism and admitted principles of ethics and philosophy" (vol. ii. p. 232). That no errors have been made or are still being made in this modern research no one will think of claiming; neither is it to be supposed "that all the alleged results of modern criticism are finished and indubitable" (vol. ii. p. 245). Certain positions however may be regarded as established.

1. "That the Hebrew in which the Old Testament writings have come down to us has not been preserved from manifold corruptions by either supernatural control or extraordinary care working through the intelligent and pious interest of the ancient Jews" (vol. ii. p. 234).

2. That revision of the Greek text of the New Testament is both legitimate and necessary so long as discoveries of more ancient manuscripts and corrections by comparison of known manuscripts are not complete.

3. That the writers of the Bible were not penmen, but authors (p. 237); not mere amanuenses of God (p. 263), but writers who although divinely inspired were (p. 263) subject to the obscurities and frailties which clung to all human speech (p. 237).

4. That "the question as to what biblical books are canonical is to be left unprejudiced; the extent of the canon has not been and cannot be once for all officially determined (vol. ii. p.

238. "Although the end cannot be said to have been reached in the satisfactory solution of all the questions in dispute, it may be claimed that no clear case has been made out on fair critical grounds against the genuineness of any book of the New Testament which was undisputed at the beginning of the 3d century of the Christian era." Old Testament criticism leaves certain portions of these more ancient Scriptures still in doubt (p. 243), but as before stated, these doubts, in our author's estimation, are not yet sufficient to warrant the rejection if any of the Old Testament books.

5. That the Bible is to be interpreted according to laws of interpretation which shall not ignore the requirements of language, history, archæology, and the Christian consciousness, both as manifested in the history of the Church and in present conviction. In other words the method of its interpretation must not be arbitrarily determined by any theory, allegorical (p. 263), mystical, or theological, but left to the free determination of reverent scholarship (pp. 246-248).

6. That as between revelation and inspiration revelation is the more important and fundamental, the Bible being authoritative in proportion as it is a revelation from God, inspiration having reference to its reception as such by men and being shared to a larger extent than the post-Reformation dogma would allow by the entire Christian church (249, 250).

Reviewing the entire history of the Doctrine as thus presented the author finds:

That "no compact, well developed, and tenable doctrine of sacred Scripture has hitherto been constructed and adopted by the general consent of Christian thought" (vol. ii. p. 253).

Conflicting and mutually destructive theories and opinions have been promulgated, errors from time to time exposed and abandoned, and yet a general consensus may be traced upon certain fundamental points and a tendency toward the true doctrine which the author trusts is now in process of construction.

Upon the following points the church is and has ever been substantially agreed.

1. "The inestimable and indispensable office of sacred Scripture as an abiding witness to the person, doctrine, and work of Christ" (p. 264).

2. "That the Scriptures are the authentic record and the storehouse of a special self-revelation of God as the Redeemer of man" (p. 266).

3. "That the Scriptures are therefore the authentic and authoritative source of doctrine" (p. 268).

4. "That they are therefore profitable for the training and building up of the right religious life" (p. 270).

5. "That sacred Scripture owes its origin to that specific movement of the Divine Spirit within the human spirit which forms the necessary ethical condition of receiving and appropriating the truths of redemption by all the members of the body of believers. In other words the Christian Church has believed in all ages that one movement of Divine spiritual life runs in an organizing way, through the whole body of Christian believers and that the constitution and qualities of the Bible are due to this momentous spiritual fact."

Upon this fact that the "Spirit in the Church has always gone either along with the Spirit of the Bible, or else not far away," the author bases the right of the Christian Church still to labor at this problem of Sacred Scripture and his hope that by such labor a satisfactory doctrine and consensus will yet be reached.

IV. To this constructive effort he now addresses himself.

The standpoint from which he makes this endeavor is the Christian consciousness. As in the beginning Revelation was addressed to enlightened believers, as these believers were under the necessity of determining whether to accept or reject ultimately by a reference of the prophetic message to convictions already established in their own hearts (see Deut. xiii. 1-5), so ought the Scriptures now to justify themselves in this forum of the Christian consciousness as conveying to us the veritable Word of God. All men in common have certain conceptions of God not derived from the Scriptures; we as Christians have more accurate knowledge. We know him experimentally through faith in Jesus Christ. To this the Scriptures have conducted us but we are not absolutely dependent upon the Scriptures for it. "Behold I stand at the door and knock," said Christ, "If any man hear my voice and open the door I will come in to him and will sup with him." Here is the stronghold of Christianity. It is impregnable. No criticism of historical evidences, however able and destructive, can so much as touch it. Actual knowledge of God through faith in Christ is a fact, whatever may be said about the historic evi-

dences or even about the sacred writings themselves. Let the objector prove if he is able that these writings are faulty in the extreme, that they are not wholly what men have thought them—or even that they are not from God at all—we still reply: Whatever these writings are they have revealed to us a way of faith by which we have already attained to an experimental knowledge of God in Christ. We go farther. Starting from this vantage ground we re-explore the Scriptures. If they are the Word of God, if in them God conveys his veritable Word to us, we shall find in them the image and super-scription of Him whom we thus know. If we fail to find this, no evidence from without can convince us that they are from Him. If, however, we find it, if the farther we advance in the experimental knowledge of God, the more truly divine qualities do we find in these sacred writings (vol. ii. p. 701), no evidence from without can in the least shake our confidence that they are what they claim to be, the written conveyance of his will to us and all mankind. This standpoint of a Christian experience our author asserts and reasserts as the only one from which the Scriptures can be adequately understood or a satisfactory doctrine of them constructed.

“Knowing Christ as an historic personality through the medium of those writings, and *accepting Him as the centre of the kingdom of redemption*, we then judge the different portions of those writings to be the Divine Word according to the relations in which they stand to him” (vol. ii. p. 279).

The writings themselves are necessary. Without them the Christian consciousness must remain at best but rudimentary. “Its power to discuss and test the various claimants to the title of a Word of God is dependent upon its own faith in the Word of God, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*” (p. 532). “This consciousness begins and develops only in a complete subordination to this Word” (p. 537). But thus formed it alone can react upon the Word with sufficient intelligence rightly to discern it. Natural reason is incapable. “Only reason when it becomes Christian consciousness has the true content and method in such matters” (vol. ii. p. 533).

Our author must not be understood at this point as setting up the *individual* Christian consciousness as all-sufficient. It

is the individual who must judge, and in the light of his own Christian consciousness,—not however arrogantly separating himself from the Christian community past and present to which he organically belongs, and not discarding any of the helps, historical, critical, philosophical at his command.

“The individual is a safe and accurate judge in proportion to the intelligence and comprehensiveness of his connection with the common faith and life of the Church of God” (vol. ii. p. 534).

“This work of fixing the limits of the Bible is not a work for the self-confident and isolated use of so-called private judgment; it is rather a work for the companionship of the ripest Christian scholarship and spiritual tact, exercised in subordination to the facts of history, and to the abiding testimony of the common Christian consciousness” (vol. ii. p. 543).

One’s “own opinion of what is theopneustic, simply because it *finds and helps him* cannot justify itself against the testimony of the ages of Christian experience in the use of the Bible as a means of grace for all believers” (vol. ii. p. 671. See also pp. 688 and 689).

Assuming this standpoint our author therefore proceeds to test the inductive doctrine of sacred Scripture already reached “in the light of the Christian ideas of God, of the Spirit, of Revelation, inspiration, and scriptural authority” (vol. ii. p. 283).

The limits of this article forbid us to trace in detail our author’s argument through this, in many respects the most interesting, though not in all respects the most satisfactory portion of his extended treatise.

He finds the doctrine already inductively ascertained not only justified in the light of the great Christian ideas but in fact required by them, especially if we consider what revelation really is, to whom it was made, and its necessary media, particularly human language.

Revelation is something more than the utterance of oral statements to those who can know little or nothing of their meaning. Divine Revelation is divine self-disclosure* (vol. ii.

*This may be, doubtless in its earlier stages must be, presented in the form of a “theophany from without” (Oeier’s *Old Testament Theology*,

p. 339). God is truly revealed only when He is spiritually discerned (vol. ii. p. 386). And this beyond certain limits can be only through the media of thought communicated in language (vol. ii. pp. 446, 447, 457, 482). The fact that human language is and must ever be an imperfect medium of divine communication added to the still more significant fact that the race to whom the revelation was to be made needed in a sense first to be redeemed, i. e. the minds both of individuals and of a community needed first to be brought into communication with God through faith and clarified and enlarged through obedience, rendered anything other than a progressive revelation impossible (vol. ii. p. 417). This revelation must also in the nature of the case have partaken of the imperfections of the media necessarily employed.

These imperfections however are but of secondary importance. The one supreme fact respecting the Bible is that it reveals a progressive course of divine redemption culminating in Jesus Christ. He as here set forth may be accepted, believed in, loved, obeyed (vol. ii. p. 665). To all who thus receive him his words are immediately authoritative. The authoritativeness of all other Scripture must be tested by this standard. From this standpoint their relative value is and must be determined (vol. ii. p. 692).

That this doctrine of a Christocentric Word of God in the Bible in no way endangers the hold which the Bible has upon mankind the author confidently infers from the progressive power which the truths of the Bible have exerted over individuals and increasingly upon the race since the commencement of the process of divine self-revelation. We find in the Bible not only the record of a historic process, but the Redeemer himself as its culminating glory. Receiving him we are redeemed. In tracing the process which he completed we find those ethical and religious truths and principles which verify themselves at the bar of our unfolding Christian consciousness and which do in fact carry forward the work of our

pp. 16, 124, 142) and may need to be accredited by miracles (Ladd, vol. i. pp. 290, 318); but the objective revelation (vol. ii. pp. 459, 461) can accomplish nothing,—fails utterly of its purpose until it becomes subjective (Ladd, vol. ii. p. 386)—“*The contents of revelation must become the contents of human consciousness.*”

redemption toward its completion (p. 695). No destructive criticism can permanently endanger such a dynamic Word (p. 696).

The excellence of this Christocentric doctrine of the Word of God in the Bible our author would, we think, consider as being mainly fourfold.

1. It best accords with the facts as inductively ascertained.

2. It affords to the Christian an impregnable position from which he can observe or pursue the most exhaustive critical researches with no hindrance to his faith.

That faith does not rest upon the exact accuracy of vowel points or grammatical constructions but primarily upon the person of the Redeemer, and secondarily upon the truth as determined from them (vol. ii. p. 688).


3. Acceptance of this doctrine will result in a better because a truer exegesis and consequently a more efficient exercise of the power of the revealed Word in redeeming man (vol. ii. pp. 639, 642, 705, 714).

- 4, and supremely. It exalts Christ to his rightful position in the Bible and emphasizes the true order of procedure disclosed by His own words when in reply to the Jews asking, "What must we do that we may work the works of God," he said, "*This is the work of God that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent* (John vi. 28).

ARTICLE VI. — SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF
JOHN C. CALHOUN.

BY JOHN D. SHERWOOD.

DURING my undergraduate course of instruction at Yale College (1835-39) the personality and political notions of John C. Calhoun and his very disputed history in connection with his Alma Mater,* his class standing, and society connections while an undergraduate were favorite topics of conversational discussion, and subjects of wide interest not only among the numerous body of southern students, then found in each of the college classes, and among the many partisan advocates of his State rights theories, but, by reason of the persistent reference to and advocacy of those theories by his partisan followers in the class rooms, on the campus, and in the society halls, necessarily among the students generally. Every year, at the time of the presentation of the rival claims of the two literary societies, the Linonian and Brothers in Unity, by the chosen oratorical committees of those organizations, to the suffrages and for the enrollment as members of the greatly bewildered Freshmen, saw the hot discussion waged anew over the question as to which of these societies the great nullifier actually belonged. On these canvassing occasions, a pile of catalogues of each society was produced, comprising the membership of each back to its foundation, in each of which catalogues under the year "1804" would be found, in its alphabetical place and emblazoned in staggeringly large capitals the grand entry in identical words and abbreviations :

" HON. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, LL.D., Rep. and Sen. U. S. Cong., Sec. War, Vice Pres. U. S."

In the very elaborate Preface to the Catalogue of the Brothers in Unity, prepared by a committee of which Hon. William

* Mr. Calhoun graduated at Yale in the class of 1804. Among his more distinguished classmates were Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, S.T.D., Bishop Christopher E. Gadsden, Hon. John P. Hampton, Judge of the Supreme Court of Mississippi, Hon. Henry R. Storrs, President Bennett Tyler, and others.

E. Robinson ("Richelieu") was chairman, and issued in Oct., 1841, this* statement is seriously put forth as an explanation of the double appearance of Mr. Calhoun's name on the catalogue of each society, it being considered a matter of sufficient importance to be the subject of an ostentatious investigation and elaborate comment, the only one of the many illustrious names of statesmen, jurists, presidents of, and professors in, colleges thus honored :

"The name of John C. Calhoun appears on both Catalogues. The very year, we believe, in which he entered College, an arrangement was made by which Freshmen were assigned by the alphabet alternately to the two Societies. Mr. Calhoun was assigned to the Linonian, but as his friends and, as will be seen from our Catalogue, most of the southern students, were Brothers in Unity, his preferences were in our favor. Every means, even combinations to keep him out of the Phi Beta Kappa Society (*sic*!) were used to compel him to join the Linonian, yet he would not. A letter was written by a member of Congress to the Linonian Society stating these facts and we have had from himself assurances of his undiminished attachment to us. We do not claim that he signed our Constitution, nor did he sign theirs unless by constraint, and this his character leads us to believe he would not do. He preferred to be a Brother in Unity. We feel proud to number so great a man among our distinguished members. With this explanation we humbly submit the question which Society can claim him with most *honor* to itself."

I may add in this connection that in my conversations with Mr. Calhoun in Washington, to which I shall hereafter allude, in which reference was made to his Yale history, he stated to me, in answer to an inquiry to which of the literary societies, The Linonian or Brothers in Unity, he belonged when in college, that "he did not remember. Whichever it was, he seldom attended its meetings or participated in its proceedings or debates; so little in fact, that he had no distinct recollection about them," and, he added laughingly, "I don't think that I was much of a member or any addition anyhow," manifestly unconscious of the fierce contests that had been annually waged over the momentous question of his membership. That question, I have reason to believe, was not settled or laid at rest by the very incredible statements of Mr. Robinson and his com-

* See Preface to Catalogue of The Society of Brothers in Unity, Yale College, for 1881, p. 5.

mittee in the Preface mentioned, but kept rising annually as long as the two societies maintained separate existences.

With this specific question I am not now concerned. I only refer to it here as one of the elements which contributed to make Mr. Calhoun an object of especial interest at Yale for many decades after his graduation, and notwithstanding his apparent omission to avail himself of opportunities furnished by invitations to revisit the scene of his Academic studies and address the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and his seeming disinclination to attend those Academic Olympiads to which most of the Yale Alumni, however distant their residences from New Haven, are accustomed occasionally to resort. I believe that I am not mistaken in the impression that Mr. Calhoun never visited New Haven, nor attended any Commencement after his own in 1804, although he lived forty-six years after that event.

Perhaps this very non-appearance added a certain kind of interest in the man, lending a mystery to his personality on the principle of "*ignotum pro magnifico*," and adding a hazy, mysterious majesty to a figure, which few ever saw except in the Senate, and then in the severe, stately dignity of a reserved senator, absorbed in his public duties. Few public men were so little known by sight to their fellow-citizens. His residence in the very secluded country district of Abbeville in the extreme western part of South Carolina from 1811, when he was first elected to the House of Representatives, until 1825, when he retired from the post of Secretary of War in Mr. Munroe's Cabinet, and always afterwards in the country district of Chapel Hill in the northwestern part of that State, a district equally if not even more secluded than the first, was in each place in a farmhouse remote from any railroad or even from any stage or post route and accessible only by the crazy, jolting one-mule shay of those primitive regions, or by the still more primitive and intolerable ox-cart, turned out from plantation or farm service to do unwelcome duty upon the unrepared, rude and miry roads, or illy-defined tracks, leading from farm to farm or from one little store settlement to another. In each of these thinly populated regions on a homestead farm, left him in the first of these places by his father as his only, if scant, patrimony, and in the latter place by his

mother, Mr. John C. Calhoun lived, toiling with his own hands, nursing in his solitary meditations,—to which he was left by want of society and almost of neighbors,—those political heresies of State supremacy over Federal authority to which his exceptionally acute metaphysical mental powers, trained at Yale and afterward in the Litchfield Law School, to a rare keenness and force, lent a wonderful attraction, especially to young minds, easily led away by startling novelties and too unversed in logical methods to detect their fallacy. Upon either of these farms, had the exigencies of our republic required a dictator as in the time of Cincinnatus, the messengers of its mandate would have found Mr. Calhoun, like the Roman consul, a-field and laboring with his own hands, and we may add living with a frugal simplicity which would have recalled the legend of that consul on his Alban farm when besought to rescue Rome from her enemies, the Aequi. From these farmsteads emerging only at the sessions of Congress this metaphysical recluse found his way by jolting cross-roads out into the more populous districts of his State, and so by more modern modes of transportation was carried to the capital of a country which he was soon led to regard as a political organization ruled by unconstitutional methods and by intellects with little sympathy for the South and thoroughly hostile to its dominant interests and special industries, as he regarded them.

At Washington he kept up the same frugal habits, the same homely simplicity and rigid economies of living as on his South Carolina farms. He had a room, a moderate-sized, single room, which served at once as his sitting room, study, and bedroom, on Capitol hill,* a short walk away from the capitol; the other rooms being taken by other gentlemen of limited means, mostly during the sessions of Congress, by Southern members of his way of thinking; all messing together in club fashion at a table supplied out of a common and limited fund contributed by the participants. This room was occupied by Mr. Calhoun year after year, with the exception of seven years (1818–25) while Secretary of War, during which time he kept house with his family in Washington, living in the same frugal

* Now the residence of Mr. Justice Field.

way as in his bachelor-like room in Capitol hill. To this room he returned when reëlected to Congress after retiring from Munroe's Cabinet, and continued to occupy it for successive sessions as representative and senator, and in one corner of it he died on a narrow iron cot bedstead, March 31st, 1850. It was furnished with a Spartan severity, unknown, when I was in college, in any rooms occupied by students even of the slenderest means. The floor was wholly bare except where a single strip of very common narrow carpeting about a yard in length and much worn was laid before a very scantily upholstered narrow settee upon which visitors were usually invited to sit. A small, plain, stained pine table, without any cover, stood in the middle of this bare room, littered by an unarranged jumble of congressional documents, speeches in piles, and a few calf bound volumes, having the appearance of law books. Some four or five cheap cane-bottomed chairs stood around the room, in one corner of which was a high standing, cheap, pine desk (such as some students in my time at college were wont to use) at which Mr. Calhoun was accustomed to stand and do his reading and writing, and in another corner the narrow, single, iron cot bedstead to which I have referred. Not an ornament, picture, or article of bric-a-brac stood or hung anywhere. The severely bare room looked almost grim and austere in its bareness and naked simplicity.

It was into this room that I was shown one afternoon in the latter part of December, 1839, on a call which, on my introduction to Mr. Calhoun a few days before on the floor of the Senate by Senator Tallmadge of New York, Mr. C. had invited me to make with such unusual and unexpected cordiality that I concluded to take it "*au pied de lettre*," notwithstanding my first suspicion that the invitation and its cordial manner were only the usual professional way of politicians with young men about coming to their first vote. At this time Mr. Calhoun was fifty-seven years old, of erect, slender figure rather above the medium height, with a severely intellectual face when in repose, having a pair of keen grey eyes surmounted by straight eyebrows, over which rose a full but narrow forehead, from the upper edge of which stood up a ridge of bristling, iron-gray hair, the whole expression in repose be-

ing that of a severe, solitary thinker and recluse student, of earnest convictions long formed and so defiantly held as to have impressed their lines into it rigidly and with insistence. The first greeting, however, at once chased away this first impression by its hearty, unrestrained, unconventional cordiality, accompanied by a smile which lit up the rugged, fixed sternness of the face like a morning sunburst over a bold, rocky promontory. His manner was sprightly, and even vivacious, his conversation accompanied by a running ripple of laughter, denoting a light-hearted gaiety which was probably due to his Celtic blood and temperament, but for which I was wholly unprepared, as his portraits, with which I was familiar, always represented his face like a cast-iron or bronze effigy bound and channelled by rigid, stern lines, without any relaxation towards good nature, much less melting into the cordiality of a human and kindly smile. Knowing something of his reported and reputed contemplative, recluse, solitary habits both on his farm and at Washington, I had expected to find his conversation bookish, and formal, and his manner constrained, silent, and almost embarrassed; and I was both surprised and agreeably set at ease by his unconstrained, easy, man-of-the-world address, his chatty conversation and unconventional, ready manner. And yet through it all as I could not help remarking, there ran a serious thread of thought, and even a logical continuity and connection of one topic linked to another, natural and inseparable from a mind so logical and mathematical as his. Of course I left to him to lead in the conversation, which he readily did without any awkward pause after the first greetings were over by alluding to my residence in the busy, multitudinous metropolis of New York, and its wonderful aggregation of commercial and manufacturing industries, their diversity and wealth-producing results; and then by an easy transition spoke of the injustice and inequality under which the Southern States labored in their simple agricultural condition as compared with the protected industries of the North.* As this suggestion was received by me with a courte-

* At this time, as is well-known, Mr. Calhoun was a pronounced free-trader, although in 1816 he had supported the tariff bill of that year and again in 1828 had reported and carried through the House of Rep-

ous silence, implying dissent, he readily changed the conversation by inquiring at what college I had graduated; and upon my answering at Yale, at the last commencement, he quickly and pleasantly replied: "Oh! then we are fellow-alumni, although I have got a little the start of you. The President of your time, Dr. Day, and your leading Professors, Silliman and Kingsley, were tutors when I was in college." He then inquired with great interest about President Day and Professors Silliman and Kingsley, told some amusing stories of pranks carried on by Sophomores and Freshmen, in which these gentlemen had been called upon as tutors to interfere, and asked many questions about the college, its progress, size of classes, and change in the college buildings. It was in this connection that I inquired as to his membership as an undergraduate with the Linonian or Brothers in Unity Society, and received the answer before mentioned. To my remark that he would find hosts of friends to welcome his appearance again at Yale, and especially to hear his voice in some public address, he replied that "while it would afford him the highest pleasure to see New Haven and revisit the old college scenes again, he could hardly at his time of life and absorbed as he was in public duties promise himself that gratification." "Besides," he added with a rippling laugh, "you don't know how much I am needed on my farm when I get loose from this den of mine to repair every year the blunders I made the year before and to talk away among my neighbors, who are practical farmers, the bad impressions which my crop failures produce." He inquired if I knew anything about farming, and upon my answering not much, although my father had been a farmer and I was brought up on a farm, he said with a gay tone, "Oh! I wish that I could get you down to my farm in a balloon—for the roads to it are too bad for a recent college graduate—

representatives the very high protective measures of that session which encountered the sturdy opposition of the Federalists of New England, who found themselves in 1839 by a change as sudden as that of Mr. Calhoun, defending a protective tariff against its assailants, its former champion, now its most powerful opponents. It would be a curious study to trace the influence of Mr. Calhoun's opposition in commending to New England the measures which he denounced, and their commanding importance in controlling her public policy and in stimulating her leading industries.

and perhaps in the long, quiet evenings I might talk some of my notions into you; for Senator Tallmadge tells me that you don't believe in any of my heresies about State rights, free trade, and the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands; and as there is but little probability, I fear, of my seeing you in my farmhouse, I want you to come and see me often in my den here, so that I can get some chance of converting you; for from what Mr. Tallmadge tells me I expect to see you some day take your seat in the Senate as a senator from New York, and I had much rather have you on my side, which I am sure needs some recruits." Then rising from his seat and walking to the table he picked up from the piles upon it copies of three of his speeches in the Senate and his famous address issued in 1831 on "The Relations of the Federal Government to the States," and handed them to me with the remark, "Perhaps I had better prepare the way for proselyting you by asking you in the intervals of the parties and receptions that as a young gentlemen you will undoubtedly attend here, to glance at some of my naughty ideas in these printed speeches and address of mine. They will at least get you used to the State Rights terminology of my school of politics."

Thanking him heartily for his invitations to his farmhouse and to his residence here and for the copies of his speeches and address, which I promised to read, and begging him not to wait until I got to the Senate before he organized his senatorial band of supporters, I took my leave, wondering at the popular misconception of Mr. Calhoun's taciturnity, and rigid, unsmiling manners and address. Equally affable, vivacious, and sprightly with Mr. Clay, he was far more so than Mr. Webster, Mr. Crittenden, or Mr. Silas Wright, while he had a playful humor and a quickness of apprehension and repartee, which considering his solitary, recluse life were quite wonderful, showing that the lively Celtic temperament which he had inherited from his father and mother had kept alive and warm his generous social impulses in spite of all his adverse surroundings.

I took with me and carefully read the speeches and address which Mr. Calhoun had given me. They embodied his now familiar notions upon the leading issues then burning in the

popular mind, in the press, and in the national debating clubs at each end of the capitol. We all know how uniformly Mr. Calhoun used every discussion and every topic of national interest as a fresh opportunity to set forth his pet theory of the encroachments of the Federal authority over the superior and independent constitutional rights of the States; carefully sowing those seeds of disunion which germinating within five years after his death* sprouted up and bore in 1861-5 the deadly fruit of civil strife. On almost every page of these printed speeches was bitten in by the acid of slavery the portrait of State sovereignty until its features became identified in the memories of those who saw Mr. Calhoun during the last ten years of his life with his own intense and earnest face. With these arguments and theories, as well as with the masterly answer to their errors, contained in Mr. Webster's celebrated reply to Mr. Hayne,—a speech ostensibly in answer to Senator Hayne's attack, but covering in its wide range the whole field of Federal sovereignty and State subordination,—I was of course, in common with all school boys and recent college graduates at that time, very familiar; so that on my next call at Mr. Calhoun's room some days after my first, the conversation turned naturally upon, and in fact was pretty animatedly absorbed in these theories and doctrines, Mr. Calhoun pressing his favorite ideas with his sinewy vigor of argument and wealth of illustration and his youthful visitor furnishing modestly yet firmly out of the Websterian arsenals such opposition as he reasonably might. Of only one incident connected with this call I will make mention as furnishing an illustration of Mr. Calhoun's playfulness of manner even in the midst of a serious conversation on questions of the most transcendent interest to him. Impressed as I was in making this call that I had no right to trespass, even under the cordial courtesies proffered to me, upon the valuable and overpressed time of a distinguished senator and leader, I rose several times, during my call, when some pause in the closely pursued conversation occurred, to take my leave,

* See the recently published *History of the American Navy during the Civil War*, by Admiral David D. Porter, for proofs of the plans and combinations of Southern members of Congress in 1855, to overthrow the Union, where are cited Mr. Calhoun's arguments for the logical right to do so.

remarking that I had no right, however much tempted by his courtesy and the interest in his arguments, to occupy his precious time, and was warmly assured that he could not occupy his time better and pressed to sit longer, until on the next occasion of my rising to go, Mr. Calhoun got up quickly, stepped to the door, turned the key in the lock, then taking it out and deliberately putting it in his pocket, resumed his seat, saying in a gay tone, as he turned to me: "Now, I have got you as long as I please. You can't jump out of the window without breaking your neck, as the descent on that side is as great as from the top of the Tarpeian rock; and I trust that my notions are not so repulsive that you will attempt to escape at the risk of your life," and then spliced his argument just at the point where he had broken it off and went on paying it out as from a reel just as if nothing had happened.

Much as I was impressed in this and subsequent calls by his compact, close, heavily-welded logic, his fine metaphysical reasoning which taxed and even strained one's attention to a headachy degree, I was still more impressed—and I may say charmed—by his irrepressible and unexpectedly springy vivacity and his natural almost boyish sprightliness, that shot through the solid fabric of his conversation, the blue-steel color which played like a subtle flame around the keen blade of his wit and sarcasm. These it was that made him companionable with the young and which doubtless impelled him to seek their fresh, unconventional society. I was also struck with his frequent reference to his two years' experience in college and his affectionate remembrances of his instructors.

Upon turning over my trunk one day at my hotel in Washington I discovered a stray portrait of President Day, one of the copies of the engraving from Professor Morse's oil painting which had been got out by the editors of *The Yale Literary Magazine*, a copy that had clung to my trunk since the last commencement. I was rejoiced to be able to send this copy to Mr. Calhoun, which brought promptly this note in acknowledgment from him, and which, as it contains nothing private, I am glad to insert here as a pleasing tribute from Mr. Calhoun to the college and to one of his tutors to whom he so often gratefully referred and whom so many of us will ever revere:

"Mr. Calhoun's compliments to Mr. Sherwood and is under much obligation to him for the likeness of President Day on which he places a high value. He distinctly remembers the mild and placid features of the original and regards the likeness as very good.

Mr. C. would be happy to revisit a spot endeared to him by so many early and happy associations as Yale, but fears that his public and private engagements are such as will long debar him of the pleasure."

Washington, Feb. 27, 1840."

I have given these few reminiscences of a distinguished alumnus of Yale College, who flitted so mysteriously through the open air of his university life, in the hope that these little side lights may brighten the dim traditions that linger among the survivors of later classes of a figure that once came like a strange bird, alighted upon the campus, then took flight and winged its way southward, never returning again.

In looking through the directory of names contained in the last Triennial Catalogue of Yale College, I have realized the fact that not a member of Mr. Calhoun's own class, nor those of any classes then passing through college, now survives to read these recollections. Against every name in the classes prior to 1811, the fatal asterisk is affixed, pointing the way along which so many of the present survivors will soon follow :

"*Sic itur ad astra.*"

And so I am naturally brought to a recollection of Mr. Calhoun which, however long I may survive, will always remain vivid and ineffaceable in my memory.

On the first day of April, 1850, drawn thither by professional duties in the U. S. Supreme Court, I found myself in the City of Washington. Having heard of Mr. Calhoun's illness I soon made my way to the door of his well-known lodging house on Capitol Hill. My ring was promptly responded to by Thomas, the old body servant and, I may say, attached friend of Mr. Calhoun—an aged white-headed slave who was always near him, so quiet and invisible that a visitor would scarcely be conscious of his presence. To my inquiry after Mr. Calhoun, he replied : "Oh, the master went home this morning." Supposing that he meant to his South Carolina farm at Chapel hill, and expressing my surprise that he should be sufficiently strong to take so long and hard a journey and

my regret that I had missed seeing him before he went, the simple-minded and faithful old attendant seeing my misapprehension and gently correcting it, burst into a flood of tears and said: "He would have been so glad to see you, Mr. Sherwood; for he always loved you from the first, and specially after he and you had that strong talk together about State rights and nullification. But come in, sir, and see the master," and the old man shaking with emotion and sobbing as he went, led the way to that well-known room, opened the door for me to pass in, immediately joining me as I stood by the little iron cot upon which lay the outstretched and rigid form of JOHN C. CALHOUN, clad in his best senatorial suit of black broadcloth and white necktie,—the suit worn on grand occasions, and this the grandest of all—his stern Roman features touched and softened by the gentle hand of death.

And as Thomas, the slave and devoted attendant, and I, who had been accidentally privileged to touch and feel his kindly cordial sympathy stood there near the dead Senator we were a pair of strangely different mourners; he, bemoaning the death of a master—kind yet stern—who had spent his great intellectual powers and exhausted all his wonderful abilities in perpetuating that slave friend and his friends and descendants in chattel slavery, and I mourning the loss of a great man who had in passing touched my young life with kindly words and acts, and regretting that those splendid abilities had not been expended in lifting up out of slavery and its accompanying miseries those whom he had left behind him in bondage.

EDUCATIONAL TOPICS.

ARTICLE I.—THE CHARTER OF YALE COLLEGE: THE
NEW INTERPRETATIONS AND PROPOSED
CHANGES.

By PRESIDENT NOAH PORTER.

THE attention of the public has of late been repeatedly called to the constitution of the Corporation of Yale College and the theoretical and practical interpretation of the several instruments by which the rights and duties of its members are defined. It has been either urged or argued by persons whose opinions have very properly some claim to public attention, that the interpretation of these documents which has universally prevailed has been erroneous, and that the way is now laid open for important deviations from those traditions of theory and practice which have been held for nearly 200 years; or, if these traditions should be respected, that it is imperatively demanded by the interests of the institution that material changes should be made in its Charter. The appeal has even been made to the public and to the guardians of the college, suggesting that the eleven members of the Corporation, who are now clergymen, should vacate the whole or a part of their seats in favor of laymen, either at once or by succession; or that in the future they should fill the vacancies which may occur, by clergymen non-resident in Connecticut; or should ask an addition to their charter by which an additional number of laymen should be secured to the Corporation.

In ordinary circumstances, it would seem inadvisable that this general subject or any of these proposals should be discussed by the writer, but the circumstances are such at present as seem to require of his sense of public responsibility and personal self-respect, that his serious judgment in regard to some of these questions, should be given to the public.

For clearness and convenience I shall consider two points of inquiry. *First*, is the generally received construction of the Charter of the College the correct construction, or so far probably the correct construction as imperatively to require us to adhere to it in our practice while these statutes remain un-

changed; and *Second*, ought we to seek for a change in the Charter in any of the ways which have been proposed.

The first, sometimes called the original Charter of the College, was enacted in 1701. Its phraseology in respect to some points is rugged and indefinite, but as to the most important particulars its meaning is unambiguous and unquestioned. It has been contended, indeed, that the Colonial Legislature which enacted this instrument, had no authority under English law to grant any act of incorporation, and that for this reason this instrument may be dismissed as of no legal significance as to the rights which it would confer or the duties which it would impose. This point we need not discuss, it being entirely irrelevant and non-essential. It is enough for us to know that the body which gave the first Charter had authority as ample as the body which gave the second or third, i. e., which enacted the law of 1723, or that of 1745. All that we need notice is that in 1792, an addition to a previous act or acts, was made by the Legislature of Connecticut then possessing unquestioned sovereignty, and that by this act an important addition was also made to what had been recognized as the Charter of Yale College, conveying corporate powers. In 1818 also "the *Charter of Yale College* is recognized as modified by the act of 1792" and is confirmed as a part of the organic law or constitution of the State of Connecticut. If there was authority in the colony of Connecticut to confer corporate powers in 1745, as the acts of 1792 and 1818 both imply, there was equal authority in 1701. The only question which is material is whether the act of 1745 displaced or repealed the preceding acts. That question we will defer for a moment while we inquire what rights were conferred and what duties were imposed by the first Charter, i. e., by the Act of 1701. We answer, "full liberty, right and privilege . . . to erect, form, direct, order, establish, improve and at all times in all suitable ways for the future to encourage the school, etc." To whom were these rights imparted? to ten ministers whose names are given, "being reverend ministers of the gospel and inhabitants within said colony." It was also enacted that these rights should be given to all whom they should associate with themselves, not exceeding the number *eleven* or at any time less than seven—"provided also that persons nominated or associated from time to time to fill up said number be ministers of the gospel, inhabiting within this colony and above the age of forty years."

The Act of 1723 is of no importance to the question before us. It fixed the number of trustees who should constitute a quorum, provided for the removal of a non attending, non-resident, or incapacitated member, and also fixed the age of a trustee at 30 instead of 40 years. It also enacted that the person who should be elected rector should thereby become a trustee. In 1745 an Act was passed which it has been customary to call the present charter. As known by its title, however, it is "An Act for the more full and complete establishment of Yale College in New Haven and for enlarging the powers and privileges thereof." It incorporates within itself all the principal provisions of the previous acts, and adds still others, omitting no one except that no qualifications are stated to be requisite in the persons named as trustees. It is claimed that this act displaced, and in effect, repealed all the previous acts and is to be regarded as the only foundation and beginning of the present corporate life of the college, and that as such it should be interpreted as an instrument by itself, through its own language without any reference to the provisions or language of previous acts. It is not claimed that there is any formal repeal of the previous acts such as is common if not universal in similar cases, but it is claimed, notwithstanding, that there was a designed omission of a provision which had previously been regarded as the most vital condition of the success of the college. The originators of this theory, not content with this legal view of the case, also contend that this fancied new departure in the history of the college, and that this modified constitution of its Board of Trustees is to be explained by a sudden movement of liberalism in its hitherto characteristically clerical President, who from the beginning to the end of his administration, was in constant and active conflict with the more liberal party in the State. They would have us believe that the President, who in 1742 consented to the expulsion of David Brainerd for his excessive zeal against the representatives of clerical and college authority, was privy in 1745 to a charter, which without its being noticed, took forever away what had been regarded as one of the most important securities of the college and of the church against threatened evil. This romantic theory is most effectually dissipated of the last shred of plausibility by a sentence which we find in a manuscript essay by President Clap, which is in the archives of the college. This essay was a draft used in the preparation of his printed Essay, "On the Religious

Constitution of Colleges, 1754," and the manuscript itself could not have been written earlier than 1753. The author is arguing in support of the position that Yale College is in its very nature a religious society, and in proof of this he adduces as reason No. 2, "As the important officers of it are chosen of the ablest ministers in the several parts of the colony." This shows that the thought was farthest from his mind that any member of its Corporation could be other than a Connecticut clergyman, and that it is simply incredible that in 1745, Legislature, Corporation and President Clap himself, devised and accomplished this revolutionary change in this charter, by which a layman not resident in Connecticut could be a Fellow or the President of Yale College, and so skillfully that no one except those privy to it had dreamed it had been effected till after more than a century and a quarter. That he was of another mind as late as 1766, is evident from a passage in his history of the college, pp. 75, 76, published in that year, in which, after enumerating the securities providing for the orthodoxy of the President, Fellows, the Professor of Divinity, and Tutors, he observes, "That there is not the like security of the orthodoxy of Visitors or any of *the civil order*, i. e., the laity, except his most excellent majesty, who by the Act of Union is obliged to consent to the Westminster Confession of Faith," etc. If any more proof were needed in respect to his never-ceasing care that every possible precaution should be taken for the formal orthodoxy of President, Fellows, Professors and Tutors, it is to be found in the action of the President and Fellows in 1753, which imposed the Savoy Confession and the Saybrook Platform upon every one of these officials.

If now we leave these general considerations and return to the charter itself of 1745 and compare it with the acts of 1701 and 1723 we find that not a single provision that bears upon the question can admit any other construction than that the later Acts suppose that the earlier are still in force and imply and refer to them. The later never repeals the earlier, it simply makes it more explicit and supplies its defects, omitting a single provision which was so obvious as not to need to be repeated.

What, if possible, is still nearer to the point is a special feature of the act of 1792, which was the outcome of the liberal policy of President Stiles in finally overcoming the acrimony that had been aroused against the College under its former President—which liberal policy has been of late erroneously antedated by

some forty or fifty years. This is the modification which was effected in the charter by which eight civilians were admitted as members of the Board by virtue of their civil offices, while by the same instrument provision is made for the perpetuation of the original eleven by their own election, thus continuing the arrangement by which in the language of President Clap in 1753, "the important officers of it are chosen of the ablest ministers in the Colony." We find also that in 1818, "the charter of Yale College *as modified* by the agreement with the corporation thereof in pursuance of an Act of the General Assembly passed May, 1792, is hereby confirmed." These facts seem not only to justify but to compel the conclusion that the chartered rights and duties of this corporation are defined and conceded in a series of acts supplementing one another and to some extent modifying one another, the principal of which were passed in 1701, 1723, 1745, 1792, 1818, 1819, 1872, and that all concur in requiring that eleven members of this body, the President included, must be ministers of the gospel, resident in Connecticut, who as Trustees are elected by vote of their own members, inasmuch as the statute of 1792 declares that "every such vacancy shall forever hereafter be supplied by them and their successors, by election in the same manner as though this act had never passed."

From all of these data we conclude that the evidence is ample and decisive that the successors of the original trustees are compelled to elect as their associates and successors, clergymen and residents of Connecticut, one of whom must be the President.

There are graduates and friends of the college who accept this conclusion who contend that some or all of these provisions should be changed by an amendment which would allow laymen, more or fewer, to be elected in place of some or all of the clergymen. Others contend that clergymen not residents of Connecticut should be made eligible. Others, that in either event the practice of electing clergymen other than Congregational should be introduced, in order to secure representatives from other denominations of Christians. Much is also made of the fact, that in view of the rapid development of the several schools of the University it is absolutely necessary that the Corporation should become more efficient in the direction and control of these schools in order to give greater unity and efficiency to the whole academical body. It is either asserted or assumed that the graduates have the right and the duty to control the University through its cor-

poration and that the prospect is encouraging, that under the operation of the present system this control will soon pass into the hands of clerical non-graduates.

In reference to the first of these suggestions we present a few reasons why the unbroken tradition of the College should be maintained which gives to members of the clerical profession a majority in its board of trust. Aside from these general reasons, we name one or two special reasons why this is especially true of Yale College. Of this College in comparison with every other it has been eminently true that each of its several departments has been vivified and controlled by its Faculty, while all have been held together and accredited by its corporation. In the Academic Department the Faculty have for the last 70 years largely determined its policy, proposed changes in the subjects and methods of instruction, nominated officers and to a very large extent, actively and efficiently exerted themselves for the increase of its endowments. Most if not all of the efforts which have been made for the collection of its funds have been inspired, directed and made efficient by the officers of this department. From the first formal effort in 1831, to the last which began in 1871, which was more or less distinctly assumed by the graduates, and in many independent efforts to the present time they have have been personally efficient and successful. Some of them have been constantly on the alert and ever ready to communicate with any person who might properly be applied to for aid. Many of the large donations to the treasury of this department and indeed to some of the other departments may be traced to their personal activity.

The same has been eminently true of the Medical and Theological departments, and of the Sheffield Scientific School, all of which may be said to be the creations of their respective Faculties. The Department of Law has been in another sense the creation of its Faculty, it having for a long time been regarded and managed as a private enterprise, seeking and finding countenance in the University. The School of Fine Arts owed its original endowments to the countenance and coöperation of a few members of other Faculties before it had any faculty of its own. The School of Philosophy or the Graduate Department has done excellent work for small classes through its associated Faculty, to whose zeal and perseverance its slow but certain growth is to be almost entirely ascribed.

It is not surprising that in these independent growths there

should be some deviations from ideal perfection in form and mutual relationship, and especially that their connection with the Corporation should fail of theoretical symmetry or subordination, or that there should be an apparent rather than a real waste of force and perhaps of money in the founding of chairs of instruction and the distribution of functions. That these rather apparent than real defects of this sort which are certain to be outgrown, should be ascribed to a defect in the administration or organization of the Corporation may well occasion some surprise. For his colleagues in the Corporation the President thinks it proper to say that there has never been an unwillingness to give advice or express sympathy when there has been occasion for either, however unwise it may have been thought to obtrude it when it would be unwelcome; and for himself, that he has never declined to preside at the meetings of the several Faculties, but has always been present when his presence was desired, and has uniformly been consulted in respect to any important act or measure of administration in every one of them. It is also no more than just to say that the existence of subordinate boards of management and trust which has been adduced as an evidence that the administrative capacity of the corporation is unequal to its present responsibilities may be distinctly traced to insinuations against this capacity made some sixteen or seventeen years ago, which were similar to those which are urged at the present time. These insinuations consisted of unfavorable if not contemptuous suggestions as to the competency of a corporation made up of country ministers to manage property with skill and success, and as the result of these wise or unwise suggestions, two or three financial boards came into being, for the benefit of the college. It was an example of the irony of truth, that the treasurer of this very corporation after the expiration of some twenty years of the most trying financial events should receive the most unqualified commendation from a severe yet truthful and competent critic who had every opportunity to judge and was not in disposed to judge severely.

We have allowed to ourselves a longer digression than perhaps we ought in order to explain one or two peculiarities in the recent history and present condition of Yale College. We urge for reasons both general and special, that its constitution ought not to be changed. Nothing could possibly have been more unfortunate during the history of this College for the last twenty-five years

than to have been under the control of a well-meaning but officious board of trust. Nothing could be more injurious to its future prosperity than a very serious change in the functions or disturbance of the relative independence of its several Faculties, whether it respects the Corporation or one another. The efforts for a greater theoretical and practical unity to be successful must be put forth from within each separate Faculty and be adjusted to corresponding efforts and desires from the coördinate departments. It is believed that the several Faculties are united in this opinion, however great may be the variety of opinion as to what each may desire or claim.

There are not a few general reasons why a board such as we have at present may be regarded as fulfilling the conditions of ideal perfection as satisfactorily as most human organizations. This may be made to appear more clearly, if we consider the several functions which are essential to the growth of a single school of science or letters, or the combination of several in a great University. Among these are conspicuous, (1) the determination and endorsement of its policy in respect to the kind of education or culture which is to be given; (2) The selection of its officers; and (3) The raising and management of its funds. We urge that a College or University Corporation cannot be expected to originate action in any one of these forms except the last. It may do much to countenance and criticise, arrest and modify action in the other two forms which we have named, and in these efforts it may be eminently useful. We also contend that for the discharge of these several functions, the board, as at present constituted of Connecticut clergymen of a single denomination, associated with the two highest officials of the State and with six gentlemen chosen by and of the graduates in all parts of the country, is as happily constituted as could reasonably be expected of any human organization. Let this corporation be altered according to any of the ideals proposed, let it consist of laymen only, or of laymen and clergymen in reversed proportions and let them be distributed widely through the several States and represent the several ages and tastes of the graduates, and let them meet often and remain long in conclave, they would frequently find themselves helpless in the elimination of general principles, the determination of special details or the election of professors and teachers. Their uncertainty, timidity or rashness would be none the less serious or inevitable were all of them elected as individuals

or by groups, with the recurring excitements and occasional scandals which are not unknown in University canvasses in England and this country. In raising funds such a body might do something, by those of its members who should enter upon the work with individual zeal, as has been demonstrated in the case of Princeton College by the splendid results which have been wrought out by the inspiration and skill of two or three wealthy and active Trustees, who have inspired their friends to give hundreds of thousands in endowments. Something has been done in this way for Yale, but the effective inspiration in this direction has oftener come from members of its Faculty.

I dwell on this point at length because it is no more than just to the present and future members of the Corporation, as also to the several Faculties, that some settled and rational conclusions should be reached in regard to what may be expected from this body in the development of the University. Let me say, then, that the revising, the confirming, or denying functions of the Corporation are of the greatest possible value when exercised with respect to such questions as its members are competent to decide, and as they reflect the queries and doubts as well as the convictions and desires of the public in respect to the influence and success of the instructors, the morality and the industry of the students, and the general policy of the institution. So, too, in the election of its permanent officers, it is of immense importance that minute and confidential knowledge of the candidates should be had—a knowledge which is entirely of another sort than that gained by public notoriety, or private testimonials, both of which so often impose upon great corporations made up of men who are too much oppressed by professional cares or public responsibilities to give more than a fleeting thought to the subjects before them and who dismiss every question which they decide, once for all, as soon as it is disposed of.

No class of men seems on the whole better fitted to act with efficiency and success as members of such a Corporation than studious and thoughtful clergymen, who first of all are in a condition to know one another, and second, have the leisure and opportunity to know the college directly and indirectly, who also keep in some active sympathy with learning and science and culture and progress, whose Christian vows and professional duties train and inspire them to live for their fellow men and to recognize as supreme the eternal verities of Christian Philosophy. There are a few so-

called cities in Connecticut, in which the clergymen are the peers of the most eminent in other professions. The writer of this article may be pardoned for expressing the opinion that a man may be learned, sagacious, and wise, even if he is a clergyman in the country. Those who have had the great blessing of a training in the household of such a clergyman, and have seen and measured men elsewhere have no question in respect to this point. A few young men who ought to know better may say flippant things about country clergymen, while they abound in their flatteries of popular preachers in the city, but older men who know men, understand that not a few of those who live apart from the world of news and excitement, are the best informed as to the men and measures which give character to University life.

To fulfill all the conditions of successful administration the majority of the members of such a board ought not to be remote from one another in residence. They ought to meet one another frequently and on terms of familiar confidence. I may add that it is indispensable to the successful discharge of their trust that its clerical members should belong to the same religious denomination. Beside other reasons which might be given this seems decisive, that this is their best security against a sectarian bias in administration. It is notorious that there are no arenas which are so favorable for sectarian influences and intermeddling as those colleges and universities which are controlled by corporations which consist of representatives of different denominations. Some very successful State universities controlled by relatively permanent Boards of Regents are notoriously embarrassed by this disturbing influence. I do not have in mind a college which is avowedly denominational, whether it be Baptist or Congregational or Episcopal or Methodist or Presbyterian. Yale College was Congregational in its origin, and for a long time was Congregational in its aims and administration. It is still Congregational in its worship, and in whatever ecclesiastical relations it retains by its Theological Seminary, but it is not consciously administered for or controlled by any special relations to the Congregational denomination as such. I have nothing to object to such colleges as are properly called denominational or sectarian. They may have important advantages which we do not care to discuss nor to question. On the other hand, Yale College is in a definite and an intelligible sense a Christian college. In saying this I bring no reproach against those institutions which

do not call themselves Christian or which make it their boast to have no religious position or exert no positive religious influence. But the guardians of Yale College wish it distinctly to be understood that Yale College is not at present and does not propose for the future to become an institution of that description. The great majority of its graduates and friends and patrons do not desire that it should be moved from its ancient foundations. Some of the more recent of its graduates may talk flippantly of the religion of the college, but their underlying convictions will soon come to the surface and assert their authority sooner than they imagine. As they see more of the world and know more of themselves, especially if they have sons to educate, whatever may be their own position, they will prefer that the old college of their love shall stand upon the old foundations. At a time when so many of the more recent colleges and universities which a few years since made a boast of their greater religious freedom, confess the necessity of a more positive recognition of practical Christianity, Yale can hardly be expected to depart from the old Christian ways and Christian belief in which it has stood so strongly from the first. Nor will it seriously lose in its resources or its friends by a positive Christian influence. The men who will give most willingly and most liberally to its funds are generally men of decided Christian convictions, who are sensitive to any suspicion of a want of earnest faithfulness in the college for which their bounty is asked. But whatever may be the consequences, we are prepared to say with Dr. Thomas Arnold, "It is not necessary that this should be a school of 300 or 150 boys, but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen."

There is another and if possible a graver aspect to this general subject. I mean that which concerns the philosophical principles which are the basis of ethical and religious faith and which are now so freely called in question, or so flippantly and scornfully denied. Let it be conceded that the utmost liberty should be conceded to each individual teacher to assume whatever philosophy of man and human history he may accept, it still remains the duty of a great University to declare to all its pupils, the philosophical reasons for that faith in human duty and in Christian Theism in which our present Christian civilization has had its roots and has attained its growth, and by which alone it can stand. To neglect or deny the obligation, to defend and enforce

these truths, under any plea, however specious, is to be faithless to the individual men who are entrusted to its care, and to the generation of which they are to be the instructors and guides. The more arrogant are the claims and the more contemptuous the air of those who are not content to disbelieve for themselves, but must also teach their pupils that modern Science has no place for the living God or a supernatural Christ—the more imperative is the obligation that the contrary should be demonstrated from chairs devoted to a Theistic Philosophy. The great majority of our patrons are very properly intensely and perhaps morbidly sensitive as to whether atheistic Agnosticism or scientific Theism, Naturalistic or Christian History, a Christian or Secular Ethics, shall leaven the minds of our pupils and control the atmosphere of the University. No better security can be furnished than that which is furnished by a Corporation constituted like our own.

So far as I know there is no desire on the part of any one of our several Faculties, of any considerable change in the constitution of the Corporation. They have adjusted themselves to the relations in which they are placed, and have endeavored to meet the responsibilities which are laid upon themselves. They would welcome large additions to our funds, and often wonder that ampler gifts do not flow into the treasury of an institution which seems so rich in the number and resources of its graduates, but they have long since learned that their own efforts are required for success with such a constituency as our own.

It seems to be assumed that if the representation from the alumni was largely increased, both absolutely and relatively, their responsibility for larger pecuniary endowments would at once be acknowledged and responded to by a very large number of wealthy graduates. The fact is overlooked that at present a large majority of the Corporation are graduates, and have access to very many of their wealthy friends. I may add that in the workings of the present system the most entire harmony has prevailed among its members. For fourteen years, the clerical and elected members have acted with unbroken unanimity and cordial good feeling. They have been represented in equal numbers on the financial committee, upon which the most important responsibilities are imposed. Scarcely a ripple of irritation or animosity has been discerned or suspected. The amplest opportunity has been allowed of suggestion and encouragement to the duties and labors possible to the members of either class. The

clerical members have been as eager to propose and further any project for the increase of funds as the representatives elected by the graduates. It is not easy to see how the enlargement of the number of the latter should make any essential difference in these particulars, especially when we consider that the possibility of such efforts has been constantly before the minds of many, if not of all its members, and made a matter of earnest and thoughtful consideration. To raise money in large or small sums, requires special gifts, much patient and exclusive attention. It has not often happened that twenty-four men could be discovered by the happiest chance, who should join these gifts to the other qualifications which are properly required in members of such a board.

The evils attendant upon annual elections, especially if personal feeling or some imagined or real question of principle or policy is involved, are too obvious to be overlooked or denied. Were the men who form our constituency nearer one another in residence or in age, or interested in the personal or local claims of the candidates, or acquainted with many of the questions at issue which concern the policy of the institution, there would be less objection to trusting the direction and control of all its interests to the shifting and uncertain results of a series of annual elections. But it is easy to see that with the best intentions there might be serious mistakes, and that after a few years, if this body should assume any other function than that of raising money, the institution itself would have no fixed policy, and its claims to the respect of the community would be greatly weakened. With the very best intentions on the part of its graduates, it would fail to command the respect of the artificers and directors of its fortunes. Its annual gatherings would be the scenes of strife and debate. Its venerable halls would be arenas for demagogues and academic politicians, and its academic decorum and friendly festivities would cease to give satisfaction or to command respect.

It is believed that the good sense and good feeling of our graduates will incline them to desire that none of these evils may be repeated on a more extensive scale. The graduates to whom the future of the college is entrusted will certainly hesitate long before they give it up to these uncertainties.

It would seem also as though ampler facilities for a representation of the wishes of the graduates and the ventilation of their opinions and also for their organized coöperation with the Corporation and the several Faculties for raising money, could not easily

be devised than those which are now furnished in the class organizations. Under any conceivable arrangement for the election of the entire Corporation by the graduates, some of the college classes, or sections of the country or departments of the University must be left unrepresented, and serious complaints and misunderstandings in respect to the nomination of candidates and the conduct of the elections would inevitably arise. As a consequence there would be serious danger that the generous magnanimity and intelligent loyalty which now so eminently characterize our body, would give place to suspicions which could not be abated, and charges which could not be answered, and personalities which could not be avoided. At present the members of any class, one or more, who may wish to institute or further any movement for the benefit of the college, can communicate with classmates or with some college officer in the way of counsel and sympathy, or make known his or their criticisms, to those whose business and pleasure it should be always to hear and to explain. In the conduct of all human affairs organization is a prime necessity. In the difficult and somewhat indefinite problems which are laid upon college or university boards, especially in the rush of modern Science and Culture, there is the amplest room for honest differences of opinion as well as for vague and irresponsible criticisms. But the country has a right to expect that those who have been trained in schools of science and learning, should accept some of the results of experiment as decisive, or at least should make full use of the facilities which they already possess for imparting counsel and aid to their university before they insist upon radical changes in its organization.

ARTICLE II.—THE CLERICAL ELEMENT IN THE CORPORATION OF YALE COLLEGE.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN P. GULLIVER, D.D.

THE question, Who constitute the body corporate now called the President and Fellows of Yale College, and by whom were they appointed? was, for a period of ninety-two years (1701-1793), answered thus: They are eleven men, originally chosen by the Congregational Churches of Connecticut, from among their ministers, to be, within certain prescribed limitations, a self-perpetuating board of trust.

This method was agreed upon, without dissent, after a half

century of constant and anxious discussion, in the associations and councils of these churches, as preferable to the plan of a "General Synod," meeting from time to time to control the election of Trustees.

The immediate, and for a time, the sole object of the College, was to provide a learned ministry—that every church might have "a scholar to its minister." As the plan matured the denomination, with characteristic breadth and liberality, enlarged the plan and declared the object of the College to be "the upholding and propagating of the Christian Protestant Religion, by a succession of learned and orthodox men," including of course, lawyers, physicians, and graduates into other callings, all of whom, if the College is true to its original purpose, will graduate, as doubtless most of them do, into both learning and orthodoxy, suggesting the question whether a degree in the latter as well as in the former, be not, should not be legally demanded if all the Alumni are allowed to vote for members of the Corporation!

In 1798, upon the petition of these trustees themselves, eight representatives of the State of Connecticut were added to their number, making nineteen in all, including the President.

In 1871, upon the petition of this composite body, six of these eight representatives of the State were authorized by the Legislature to give up their places to six graduates of any department of the University, elected by the whole body of the Alumni.

At the Commencement of 1885, a proposition appeared to increase the Alumni representation, until it should constitute the majority of the Corporation, which is the proposition now under discussion.

One of the strongest reasons for this revolutionary change, or rather, one of the strongest feelings that incline men to favor the change, has its source in the almost universal impression that, as now constituted, the governing board is "a clerical corporation." The thought is that an unjust supremacy is thus given to the clerical profession over graduates in other studies. This feeling is not only natural, but in a measure justifiable and proper. It is true that, in some cases, this proper jealousy may be mingled with an unintelligent contempt for the clergy, and even for Christianity itself. This is the special form which intolerance is taking in our times among educated men. Yale graduates can hardly be supposed to have escaped the contagion wholly. But there is so little of this species of prejudice among them that it

may be safely left out of the account altogether. The real force of the present movement for an Alumni government is in the feeling that all the graduates should be allowed, equally with the clerical profession, to share in the control of the College.

In the present article I propose to suggest a somewhat modified view of the origin of the small clerical majority (eleven in nineteen, including the President) now in the Corporation.

The definition of the term "President and Fellows of Yale College" is to be looked for in the original act of incorporation. There is a little confusion at this point, owing to the fact that the act of 1745, in which the designation "President and Fellows" is first used, was preceded by another act in 1701, in which the designation is "Trustees, Partners or Undertakers."

But the later act is expressly entitled "An Act for the more full and complete establishment of Yale College and for enlarging the powers and privileges thereof," as set forth in the earlier act. It proceeds at once to change the designation "Partners or Undertakers" to "President and Fellows;" it then mentions by name the same persons to bear the new title, who had borne the old title; it then provides that all funds committed to the care of the former, shall be held in the care of the latter. The earlier act is made "epexegetical," as the theologians say, of the later, and the later is made amendatory of the earlier. The earlier act differs from the later in omitting the formula "Body politic and corporate," for a reason which Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin has clearly explained. (See papers of the New Haven Historical Society, vol. iii.) It appears to have been due to the fear that that colonial charter would not be held by the English courts to justify the exercise of such a power.

But the *form* seems to be all that is really omitted. The act of 1701 was always referred to as a charter, and was actually such in all but the phraseology, which is that of the common law, instead of that afterward used in acts of incorporation. It gave "liberty to erect a collegiate school" instead of constituting a "body corporate" for that purpose. It called the corporation by a name that would not be likely to attract the attention of enemies in England. But it gave the right to hold property, to receive gifts and legacies, to sue for the same and for the income arising from them, and so clothed the partnership with all the functions of a corporation. The truth seems to be that this was one of the many devices to which the colonies were wont to

resort to protect their charters from forfeiture at the hands of the British courts. The legal aspects of the case will be found fully discussed by William Bliss, Esq., of New York, in the *New Englander* for May, 1882, and May and July, 1884.

Who the President and Fellows of the formal act of incorporation of 1745 were, is put beyond question by the terms of the act itself. They were identical with the "partners or undertakers" of the act of 1701. Their names are given, and the names are those of the successors of the "partners" of 1701, chosen in accordance with the provisions of the act of that year. The identity of the two is apparent, whether we regard the early act as an act of incorporation or as only an enabling act.

The only question that remains is, Who were the "partners or undertakers" of 1701, and by whom were they appointed? President Clap, who published his history of Yale College in 1786, when all the facts were fresh in the recollection of living men, and when controversy raged violently about the College and about the semi-ecclesiastical government of the colony, and when there were many enemies of the clergy who would gladly have denied the assertion, states that they were the choice, not of the clergy, but of the *associated body of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut*. His words are, "Ten of the principal ministers of the colony were nominated and agreed upon by a *general consent both of ministers and people*, to stand as Trustees or Undertakers to found, direct, and govern a College."

The first proposition was that the control of the denomination should be made direct and perpetual by the organization of a General Synod which "should have such influence in the elections as might be necessary to maintain orthodoxy in the governors." This excellent plan, which has been substantially adopted in the organization of the Chicago Theological Seminary, was abandoned, but in "lesser conventions of ministers both in associations and councils, and in private conversation" the above named general consent "both of the ministers and people" was obtained. The first ten being thus chosen by the general suffrage of the Congregational Churches, as thoroughly representing the designs and wishes of the founders of the College, they were then entrusted with the duty of embodying those designs and wishes in the laws they should adopt for the selection of their successors, and in the provisions they should request the Legislature to insert in the charter.

By the terms of the charter, the *successors* of these ten trustees, whom they had authority to "associate to themselves," not exceeding the number of eleven, "must be ministers of the gospel, inhabiting within this colony, and above the age of forty years."

- These restrictions of the charter must be interpreted by the meaning they bore in a community which was exclusively Congregational, and at a time when "ministers of the gospel" must have meant Congregational ministers, for there were no other. The frequent use of such terms by the Legislature as "learned, pious, and orthodox," as in the act of 1753, must be regarded decisive in determining the restrictions they intended to put upon the action of the trustees in electing their own successors.

The action of the trustees themselves in carrying out the general understanding of their constituents and the will of the Legislature, in the rules they adopted for the election of their successors, and in their uniform usage, unbroken by a single exception for nearly two hundred years, gives proof of the most conclusive kind that they considered themselves under obligation to choose their successors from the Congregational ministry of Connecticut, and to see to it that a major part of them should always be of that order.

It was by a self-perpetuating board, *placed under these restrictions*, that the churches of Connecticut chose to govern the College they had founded. They saw that they in reality would choose the governors of their College through all time, by first choosing their own pastors and teachers. This was no hasty conclusion. The question had been under discussion since 1652, fully fifty years. The plan seems to have been unanimously adopted at the time, and the plan of a General Synod rejected as unnecessarily cumbersome and ecclesiastically dangerous. No complaint has ever been made since, among the churches, of the practical working of the plan. It is morally certain that if the Congregational churches of Connecticut were called upon to-day to determine how they could be most conveniently, and yet most effectively control the College, the reply would be—by the selection of the governing majority from the men whom we have already chosen and proved as our spiritual guides and teachers.

The very remarkable generosity which was displayed by this representative board of the churches in proposing to the Legislature of 1792, that the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and six Senators should be added as a minority board to the self-perpetu-

ating body, to represent the State, was certainly praiseworthy. The expediency of the measure, even if they had the right to consent to it, is more than doubtful. It relieved them at the time from a furious antagonism which had been growing hotter and heavier for half a century. But otherwise it did no good and was finally abandoned as a useless and irksome arrangement to all concerned. The recent substitution of six Alumni for the six senators, was a still more objectionable proceeding, which other colleges should be slow to follow.

The one thing to be said in justification of either of these changes, is that the original self-perpetuating board remained *intact*, and remained in the *majority*, as the charter requires.

By this majority, the Congregational churches of the State now retain the control of the funds and the vast power, which have been gradually accumulating in their hands for two hundred years. They have already been very free, and apparently very thoughtless, in admitting outside parties to share this trust with them. Still the control remains with this great and intelligent denomination, which through all its history, has been the patron of all good learning. It controls Yale College as the Episcopal Church controls Trinity College at Hartford, and the Methodist Church the Wesleyan University at Middletown. Yale College has substantially the constitution under which five-sixths of the colleges of the country are organized.

The question at issue is, whether the six thousand or more Alumni, scattered all over the world, unknown to each other, most of them practically unfamiliar with college management, and even with the needs of their own Alma Mater, of unknown religious convictions and character, exposed by the necessities of the case, in casting their annual vote, to all the arts of ballot "bossism," are a safer or a more competent repository of power over a great university, than a board selected from the ordained and installed pastors of the three hundred Congregational churches of Connecticut, close at hand, familiar with the college and with colleges, trained to all the methods of instructing and persuading men, acting under the highest sense of responsibility to God and man, and already successful in building up, without the loss of a single dollar of its funds, the soundest, strongest, and most influential college on this continent.

ARTICLE III.—WHO SHOULD GOVERN YALE COLLEGE?

BY HENRY C. KINGSLEY.

It seems to be assumed in some quarters that the graduates of a College have a right to dictate the policy to be pursued in the course of instruction and in the general and particular management of its affairs. It may be worth while to consider this assumption. Why should those who have passed through the prescribed course of study at a College be entitled to a voice in its management?

They are not the founders of the College nor do they in any sense represent the founders. They have not given large sums of money, in the disposition and management of which they would have an interest. To this statement there are some notable and noble exceptions, but as to the great body of the graduates, it is true that they are not the benefactors of the College. What is their relation to it and on what does their claim to control its affairs rest? Simply that they are the beneficiaries of the College. They have had the advantage of the foundations laid in former times by those whose gifts have enabled these of later years to receive their education.

The amount which is paid by the students at Yale College for tuition is not sufficient to pay the salaries of the instructors. If, in addition to this, account is taken of the large amount of productive funds, and the much larger amount invested in the grounds and buildings, the libraries, the philosophical apparatus and the collections in the various branches of Natural History and the choice galleries of art, of all which every student has the benefit, it will be readily seen that every graduate is largely indebted to his Alma Mater; but it is not easy to see why it should entitle him to direct its affairs.

A man who has spent four years of his life in such a society as that furnished by Yale College, may well feel a deep interest in its prosperity, and every word of encouragement or of kindly criticism from such a source may be and should be received by those in authority, and duly considered. But this is a very different matter from the authority and control which some would exercise.

It is true that by an amendment to the charter of the College,

the graduates of Yale have the right to elect their representatives in the board of Trustees. The inexpediency of this representation from the body of the graduates has become clearly manifest in these latter years. It is idle to suppose that business or professional men gathered from different parts of the country can come together two or three times in a year and decide what is for the best interests of Yale College. It is those who are near enough to it to observe the practical working of every part and who have time to consider these in all their bearings, and who have the College continually on their minds and hearts, who are qualified for this service ; not those whose minds for 360 days in the year are given to other interests. The unseemly contest which for two years has attended the election of members of the corporation has brought clearly to view the folly of inviting the graduates to participate in such an election. What can more than six thousand graduates, scattered over the United States, know of the qualifications of a citizen of New York or Chicago for a seat in such a board. The very suggestion of the idea shows its absurdity.

President Woolsey stated to the assembled graduates the reason for giving them this privilege, viz: that they would contribute to its funds. By becoming benefactors to the College they would have some right to give advice respecting its affairs. This is the only ground on which such advice can be justified.

How has the expectation of Dr. Woolsey, when he consented to this change in the charter of the College in order to secure funds sufficient to ensure its continued progress been realized? Instead of dollars have there not often come grumbling and complaints, and much of these from men who know as little of the needs of a great University like Yale College as they do of the inhabitants of the planet Jupiter?

Recently some of the graduates of Cornell University undertook to direct the Trustees, whom they should elect, or rather whom they should not elect, to the Presidency of that institution. These Trustees knew the responsibility of their position in relation to the University under their charge, and to the cause of university education in this country, and in the exercise of their trust selected for President the man against whose election protest had been made. They knew that they were, in the nature of the case, better judges in this matter than any number of professional or business men in the country on whom lay no respon-

sibility, and they acted accordingly. No doubt they took the advice given them into consideration in forming their decision, but they did not allow it to override their better judgment.

When the election of another President, or any other important question, comes before the Trustees of Yale College for their determination, we trust they will not be unduly influenced by popular clamor, but will act as becomes men who are entrusted with a great responsibility, and are independent enough to exercise their own judgments.

ARTICLE IV.—YALE UNIVERSITY.

By PROFESSOR SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

IN the last number of the *New Englander* reference was made (on page 741) to a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the Alumni of Yale College, in 1885. Neither the terms in which it was expressed, nor the considerations advanced in its support, were accurately reported in the newspapers of the day. It reads thus :

Resolved, That the standing committee of the society of the Alumni be desired to report to the annual meeting in 1886, as to the advisability of requesting the corporation to use hereafter the name, *Yale University*, instead of Yale College, in the annual catalogues and other official publications of the institution ; provided there be found nothing in the constitution of the society, forbidding the discussion at its meetings of any question relating to the management of the College."

The proviso was proposed by President Porter, and accepted by the mover.

The composition of the committee, to which this resolution was referred, was also erroneously stated in the article which appeared in the September number of the *New Englander*. It consists of the President of the College, several representatives from each of the departments of the university, and several of the alumni not in any way connected with the institution. They are the standing representatives of the whole body of the alumni, and it is but one of their functions to direct as to the preparation of the annual report.

The mover of the resolution made no reference, in his remarks, to any discussions had on the part of the College corporation, in regard to adopting the name of Yale University. Had he done so, the criticisms of the writer of the article in the September

number, founded on an inaccurate newspaper report, might not have been out of place. Allusion was made by the speaker to the fact that the general subject of the expansion of a College into a University had been a frequent matter of consideration, of late, at meetings of the alumni or of the faculties, and that the expansion had actually taken place, almost without our knowing it.

The question, then, which the standing committee of the alumni are to report on next year, is whether the alumni should request the corporation to consider the advisability of calling the institution henceforth "Yale University." Such a step, if taken, would require no change of charter. So far as title to property, bequests, or other legal questions are concerned, the rule of law is that a corporation may have a popular name, by which it can be described, as well as by its corporate name. A devise for instance to the ecclesiastical society connected with the first church of Christ in New Haven would be good, though made in a will describing it as the society connected with the Center Church.

There are few corporations burdened with a long name, that are commonly known by it. "The American Board" is as far as we ordinarily get with the ponderous title of "The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." "Yale College" has long been the ordinary designation of what is incorporated as "The President and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven," and is even used in the State Constitution, (Art. 8, Sec. 1). "The New Haven and Northampton Company," is always spoken of as the "Canal Railroad Company." The hospital at New Haven is chartered as "The General Hospital Society of Connecticut," but by vote of its directors, the name it uses in its ordinary business transactions and correspondence is "The New Haven Hospital."

No such usage, whether simply proceeding from public convenience, or formally sanctioned by the authorities of a corporation, can, of course, change the corporate name, but it may change its name for all practical purposes.

The term "University" first occurs in connection with Yale College, in the charter of 1745. Section 6 of this instrument gives the corporation power to appoint all such officers and servants as are "usually appointed in Colleges or Universities," and section 9, grants the right of conferring "all such Honors, Degrees or Licenses, as are usually given in Colleges or Universities."

Universities usually give degrees in Theology, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, and Arts or Letters. It is now over half a century since Yale began to give systematic instruction in all these branches, and since 1867 she has conferred degrees in course, in each of them. The Doctor's degree is conferred in each department, except that of theology, and there would seem little reason for withholding it there, since the recent institution of an advanced course of instruction in the Divinity School.

This was the state of affairs when Dr. Woolsey resigned the presidency of the College. The development had been natural and gradual, culminating in the last years of his administration in the foundation of the Art School, the Peabody Museum, and the new Astronomical Observatory, and the institution of a regular course of graduate instruction in philosophy and letters. At the accession of Dr. Porter, it was thought proper by the corporation to make a formal recognition of the change of character which the institution had undergone, and a few months after his inauguration* they passed the following resolutions :

" *Whereas*, Yale College has, by the successive establishment of the various departments of instruction, attained to the form of a university :

Resolved, That it be recognized as comprising the four departments of which a university is commonly understood to consist, viz : the Department of Theology, of Law, of Medicine, and of Philosophy and the Arts.

Resolved, That the Department of Philosophy and the Arts be recognized as comprising, in addition to the School of the Fine Arts, the three Faculties which severally instruct the members of the University, who are prosecuting their studies as candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, or the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy."

Of this action it is remarked in Kingsley's *Yale Book*,† that "it marks the commencement of a new era in the history of the College." The era of the "collegiate school" closed in 1745 : the era of the College closed in 1872, and that of the University began. Six separate faculties annually present their candidates for graduation ; and there are, besides, three well established institutions, each with its separate board of management and staff of officers, in whose stately buildings the student of the fine arts, of natural history, or of astronomy may find adequate facilities for instruction and observation.

* March 23, 1872.

† Vol. i., p. 161.

If, then, a university exists, and is asserted by the corporation to exist, why not call it by the proper name? The term "university" has been freely used to describe it, both by its officers and students for many years. It may be seen on the old Junior Assembly invitation cards, engraved for classes which were graduated earlier than that of the venerable author of the article, by which this is elicited. It was used by the executive committee of the Society of the Alumni in their first report in 1868 of "the condition, the progress, and the necessities of the University in all its various departments." It gave the title to the valuable pamphlet prepared by Professor Dana in 1871: "The New Haven University: What it is, and what it requires."

In that careful and suggestive review of the subject, he began by saying that "the friends of Yale are not yet all aware that what they have been accustomed to call Yale College is fast becoming a subordinate member of a University." These words were written in 1871: their truth may be demonstrated by comparing the relative number of those presented for degrees by the undergraduate academical department and those presented by the other departments, in that year, with those of ten years before and ten years later. In 1861, 97 A.B. degrees were granted and 33 other degrees; in 1871, 104 A.B. degrees, and 54 other degrees; in 1881, 127 A.B. degrees, and 108 other degrees. There has been a slight increase in the undergraduate academical department, and a very large increase in the others. In twenty years, the class of bachelors of arts increased 31 per cent. or by nearly a third; the other classes in the other departments increased about 227 per cent. or more than threefold. During the last decade, the B.A. class increased but about 22 per cent. while the other classes doubled. If the increase goes on at a similar ratio for the next ten years, the A.B. class of 1891 will be 154, and the other classes 216. It is to be remembered, also, that the School of Fine Arts grants no degrees, though the last catalogue shows an attendance of forty students.

By the same catalogue (for 1884-5), the regular classes entering the University last Fall number as follows:

Academical Department,	-	-	-	-	141
Sheffield Scientific School,	-	-	-	-	81
Divinity School,	-	-	-	-	27
Law School,	-	-	-	-	80
Medical School,	-	-	-	-	15
					158

Thus, exclusive of the new comers among the 37 graduate students, and the 40 in the Art School, we have already more can-

didates for degrees entering the other departments, than enter the academical. The latter is still easily the first but it is surpassed by the aggregate of the rest. This was not so prior to 1881. In that year the tide turned, and it will never set back. No friend of Yale will desire that it should. Of the students in the professional schools and the graduate courses in philosophy and letters, an increasing number are already graduates of the academical department. They remain because they believe that they can obtain adequate instruction in special branches, such as only a University is expected to furnish. They remain because Yale is more than a College; because she can teach more than her College teaches.

The term "Yale College" does not appear in the original legislative grant of 1701 of "liberty to erect a Collegiate School." It was first bestowed on the original College building put up in New Haven, and as this was long the only building, its name soon came to be the common designation of the institution itself. It was a fit and proper one for a hundred years, but it ceased to be such when the real work of a University and the real form of a University were set up in New Haven. For thirteen years, at least, it has been a misnomer, since the date of the vote of the corporation already quoted. The name of Yale is dear, we hope, to every one who has worn her honors, but the term *Yale College* has no charm for the ears of her graduates in Divinity, Law, Medicine, or Science. To them the familiar name is Yale Divinity School, Yale Law School, Yale Medical School, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale Art School, or Yale Observatory. The Alumni record of the Law School, published last Spring, shows the names of nearly a thousand men. A majority of them were graduates of Colleges, before beginning to study law; several were already graduates of other Law Schools. They came from more than seventy different institutions of learning to finish their education at New Haven. Not one of them would ever think of saying he studied law at *Yale College*; but at "Yale," at the "Yale Law School," or at the "New Haven Law School."

The corporate name of Harvard is and has always been "The President and Fellows of Harvard College." In the constitution of Massachusetts in 1780, it was referred to both as "Harvard College" and as the "University at Cambridge." "At this time," says President Quincy in his *History of Harvard University*,*

* Vol. II, p. 258.

"it comprised, strictly speaking, but one school, the Academic or 'School of the Arts'." But the College authorities soon afterwards adopted the designation of "Harvard University" and without any change of charter have used it for a hundred years, except in legal instruments where an adherence to the proper corporate name seemed advisable.

There are many Colleges in our land, that can give the common four years' course of classical education, which was once all that Yale gave. The public know it, as the swelling catalogues of Williams, and Amherst, and Princeton plainly tell. But Yale is more than she was. She has her College still, abreast of any; but around it she has built up what makes her a far greater power. Her distinction is no longer the Collegiate education she gives, but the University education, which few but she can offer. The recent extension of the elective system in her academical department has opened new avenues to it there; of her graduate courses and professional schools it has always been the sole object. Let her name describe her work, and not belittle it.

The suggestion of this change can come to the corporation from no other source more fittingly than from the Society of the Alumni. To that Society we owe the salutary amendment to the charter, by which, a few years since, the six Senators of the State were replaced in the corporation by six Alumni fellows. In 1869, it appointed a committee headed by President (then Professor) Porter, "to consider whether any change, and if any, what change in the Constitution of the Corporation of Yale College is desirable." This committee reported to the Society in 1870, outlining the mode of electing Alumni fellows now pursued, and the action of the Society upon the report was the basis of the proceedings on the part of the corporation and the State Legislature, by which the six Senators were retired from the board.

The corporation were glad to receive the advice of the Society of the Alumni, on that question, and they would undoubtedly be glad to receive it on this. If there are objections to the step, they would naturally be first heard from a Society once composed exclusively of graduates of the academical department, and whose original constitution in this respect has been but little altered by the growth of the University. If this body can recommend the abandonment of the word *College*, it would be the strongest proof that the abandonment has become necessary.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL ON CHRISTIANITY.*—Professor Pfleiderer is one of the acutest and clearest as well as most candid and self-consistent of modern Biblical critics. It is an intellectual refreshment to follow his subtle analysis and his lucid and comprehensive development of any question of Biblical criticism, even when he does not secure assent to his conclusions. He has made Paulinism a special study, and no one who would thoroughly know what Paul taught and who would approach the investigation of his religious ideas with the modern spirit of candor and comprehensiveness can afford to remain ignorant of the author's masterly work on Paulinism, of which the work before us may be called a sort of synopsis in popular form. Such thorough and candid work effectually discredits those weak and beggarly caricatures of Paul's teaching which are still occasionally attempted and which undertake to deny its most characteristic objective elements. No man with Pfleiderer's masterly exposition before him ever ought to have the hardihood to deny that Paul taught an objective atonement and an objective justification. Whatever may be said of our author's conclusions in many particulars, no modern critic has investigated more carefully Paul's fundamental Christian ideas, has traced their sources more skillfully, has in general noted more carefully their process of development and modification, has apprehended more justly their significance for Christianity, or has better understood their conflict with antagonistic ideas in the history of the church from the first.

The present volume consists of the Hibbert Lectures for 1884. They were written, we infer, in German and have been well translated. The style is much superior to the average German style and is interesting reading. Results only and not processes of investigation are given. Many of these results are very unsatisfactory. Some of them have been refuted and others no doubt will be. The author is misled into the error of the Tübingen School in importing into the early Christian documents a purpose

* *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity.* By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by G. Frederick Smith. [The Hibbert Lectures, 1884.] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

of reconciliation between the Pauline and Judaistic parties in the church, which never could have existed in the minds of their authors in the measure and form ascribed to them. There is much that is arbitrary in all this and in his assumptions as to the origin of some of the Christian documents. But he has on the whole opened Paulinism before us in an exceedingly fresh, and rich, and attractive manner, and the questions which he has raised, whether he has successfully answered them or not, must come into court in all future investigations of the subject. He reimpreses us with the importance of Paulinism to Christianity and to the Church and leaves us with fresh admiration and wonder for its master spirit. The investigation of Paul's conversion in the opening chapter is a skillful piece of psychological analysis, and while it does not lessen our estimate of its supernatural character it presents it in a more intelligible aspect by tracing its psychological and ethical conditions. The struggles in Paul's soul, suggested by the figure of "kicking against the goad," and which culminated in the vision of the way is presented in a very convincing manner. The center-point of his doctrinal teaching, which is discussed in the second chapter, is found in the death of Christ, not the death in itself considered but taken in connection with his conception of Christ's personality. His doctrinal teaching is the special product of his own Christian experience. He was little dependent on historic Christianity. He knew little of the life of Jesus and what he knew had but little influence on his doctrinal teaching. It was a subjective product. In the process of his transformation Christ emerged before him as the ideal and heavenly man. As such he is the image of God and archetype of man. He is such before his earthly life, and his incarnation was only an exchange of his heavenly for an earthly manhood. Paul's doctrine of atonement has connection with this conception of the person of Christ. The doctrine of substitution as taught by him was of Pharisaic origin, but it is colored and modified by his conception of Christ's heavenly perfection and his universal race significance. The atonement of Christ has universal objective validity. Hence the human race as such is in Christ absolutely free from the claim of the law. But Paul also develops a subjective side. The atonement avails for believers only. Here we have, according to our author, a Jewish and a Christian idea of God and of the atonement. They are in conflict or at least ill adjusted to each other. This antinomy he finds prevalent

in Paul's whole system. He finds it not only in the objective justification and its subjective condition, i. e. in freedom from the law by the death of Christ, and freedom from it by death to sin through the organic rather than the forensic effects of faith, but in his conception of the antithesis of flesh and spirit, in the Jewish and Christian ideas of the kingdom of God, in the sacraments as Jewish symbols of repentance and their mystical Christian significance. There is a contradiction between his conception of freedom through faith and his tolerance of slavery and his disregard of marriage, between his conception of the sacredness of the law and its transient character, and between his conception of the rejection of the Jews and their final complete restoration. These contradictions Paul sees in part and tries to solve them by his skillful dialectic, but still many remain of which he was not conscious. For the first fourteen years of his work he did not see the results of the development of his principles. This view of Paul's teaching we cannot accept. The fault is with our author's interpretation. Paul's views were not on either side so extreme as he represents them to be. A thinker so profound could not involve himself in such hopeless contradiction and remain wholly unconscious of it, or save himself only by skillful special pleading, when he chanced to become conscious of the contradiction. In his treatment of Paul's conflict with the Jewish Christians our author is right in the assumption that he changed his attitude towards them and somewhat modified his views. He sees very clearly the significance of that struggle and is right in the opinion that no permanent settlement was ever effected. It was a truce not a peace. The Jewish party never receded from its position, nor Paul from his. But when he claims that Paul modified his ideal into a more historic Christology in the letter to the Romans in the interest of peace with the Jewish party, when he claims that he modified his view of the law, which in the Galatian letter is designated as weak and beggarly, in favor of a higher estimate of its purity and that too because he had seen the result of his antinomianism at Corinth, and when he claims that he modified his view of the relation of Israel to the kingdom of God, declaring in the Galatian letter that they were "cast-out" and in the Roman letter that they would all be brought back, we are unable to follow him. The objects Paul had in view and the condition of the churches which drew forth these letters will sufficiently account for their treat-

ment without assuming such modification. In his view of the subsequent reconstruction of Paulinism our author follows the Tübingen School. He finds the Apocalypse a document hostile to Paul, but in the interest of reconstruction and written from a modified Jewish standpoint. It approaches Paul in his Christology but not in his Christian universalism. The Epistle of James is also anti-Pauline. Mark's Gospel is Pauline. Matthew's is anti-Pauline. Luke's again is Pauline. Thus Paulinism modified Judaistic Christianity, and in turn was modified by it. But it was still further modified by Alexandrian Gnosticism. The Epistle to the Hebrews is evidence of this. It gives us an ideal Judaism realized in Christianity. Such idealizing is evidence of Alexandrian influence. The discussion of Paulinism and the church is in some respects the most interesting and satisfactory part of the book. The power of the rising catholic church in bringing the two contending parties into peace is well set forth. There was a triumph for the Judaistic party in the suppression by the church of the earlier evangelical freedom, but there was a gain for Paulinism in its doctrinal elements. This influence is seen in the modified conception of faith which appears in the Epistle to Titus and Timothy. Faith here is objective, i. e., doctrinal belief or the doctrine believed. Insistence upon orthodoxy gives evidence of the presence of an ecclesiastical interest. The modification of Paulinism by Augustine, by Luther, by Wicklyff, by Methodism, and by Rationalism is also traced with skill. The author's conclusion is that the permanent value of Paul for Christianity, the church, and humanity is in his spirit and not in his doctrine, in so far as they have a Jewish or Gnostic coloring.

NATURE IN SCRIPTURE.*—This book is the product of a gifted and cultivated mind. It gives evidence that the author has pondered much, and profoundly as well as religiously, upon the weighty subjects of which it treats. We have here a mind that moves freely and strongly in occult regions of thought, and exhibits a fine sense of spiritual reality. We are safe in saying of this work that no thoughtful and attentive reader will fail to be impressed with its originality, its breadth, its insight, and the perfection of its literary form. It does not profess to treat ex-

* *Nature in Scripture. A study of Bible Verification in the Range of Common Experience.* By E. C. CUMMINGS. Portland, Me.: Hoyt, Fogg, and Donham, 193 Middle street. 1885.

haustively of the topics discussed. Its chosen point of view is a limited one, and restricts the author to a definite line of discussion. Many aspects of truth are of necessity excluded from consideration, and the total process and result may not be altogether satisfactory to those who require that all old questions shall be treated and concluded in a manner with which their particular training has made them familiar. It is "a study" and not a treatise. It seeks a verification of Scripture not in Scripture itself, nor in the contents of sacred history alone, nor in reason as applied to Scripture and history, but in "common experience" as interpreting Scripture, Scripture that is, not in its complete totality but on its practical side and in its common touching points with us. It does not claim therefore to be the only verification possible. The object of the work is indicated on its title-page and in its preface. It is also distinctly indicated on page 149. It is "simply to deal with what is made known to us in nature for the clearer understanding of what we are taught in Scripture." It presupposes the supernatural character and content of Hebraism and Christianity. But it holds attention to those elements of correspondence which exist between this Scriptural supernaturalism and what we find in the order of nature (including humanity and human history) with which experience makes us familiar. It would show that what we call the supernatural is not unlike the natural. It would aid our faith in Revelation by showing how rational it is. It would show that the world is built upon a plan and developed according to a method, whose likeness emerges in Scripture revelation. A writer widely known and noted for his intellectual penetration has directed our attention to the resemblance of this work to Butler's *Analogy*, and has expressed the opinion that it is worthy to be regarded as its supplement. This judgment is well based. It supplements Butler's work with respect to its range and method. It is like it with respect to its principle. The principle of analogy between the order of nature as it appears in cosmical and æonian life and what we may call an order of nature in the supernatural realm is the theme discussed by Mr. Cumming's work. But it covers ground which Butler's work did not traverse. One of the defects of that great work is its inadequate view of the supernatural as related to the natural, and it is the legitimate outcome of the mechanical view of the universe which perverted the so-called orthodoxy of the 18th century. Those elements of the natural

which appear in Scripture and the likeness of which we find in experience, are discussed in six general relations. In the first part the World's Tutelage is discussed, or the world and life as our training school. Such world-tutelage as scripturally presented and empirically vindicated is its theme. In the second part we have the Fall of Man treated in the same manner. In the third part the Principle of Justification. In the fourth part the Manifestation of Evil. In the fifth the Law of Atonement. In the sixth Crises in the Process of Redemption. It should be kept in mind that it is the author's object neither to affirm nor to deny any particular class of facts or truths connected with these different themes discussed, which do not fall within the limits of the plan proposed. His object is not to bring into court all possible related questions and give them their just dues, but simply to inquire what experience and history have to say in confirmation of principles which, it is acknowledged, appear familiarly and comprehensively although not exclusively in Scripture revelation. Estimated according to the author's intent the work must be pronounced admirable. The introductory chapter on Cosmical and *Æonian* life is worthy of particular attention. Attention is also directed to parts fifth and sixth, on the Law of Atonement, and on Crises in the Process of Redemption. One who begins to read will find himself drawn with increasing interest in its form, spirit, and content. The exterior of the book is worthy of its interior.

THE ART AMATEUR for November gives a double-page design of birds (parrot and blue jay) for either oil or china painting; the first of a series of animal studies; a fruit design for a repoussé panel; one of nasturtiums to be painted on a dessert plate; four designs for ecclesiastical embroidery (alms bag and altar frontal decorations) and one for a table cover; a page of monograms (H); twelve studies of cupids from paintings by old masters; a page of outline figure sketches; a figure study (peasant girl with jug) by Henry Mosler, and several small designs for screen and panel decoration. Articles of special interest are the illustrated biographical notice of Henry Mosler, and the first of a new series on the "Decoration of our Homes." Charcoal and crayon drawing and gold embroidery receive special attention. The value of this magazine to students and lovers of art is not easily overestimated. Price, 35 cents; \$4 a year. Montague Marks, Publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

The *MAGAZINE OF ART* for November, 1885, presents the following table of contents. *Frontispiece*, Lady Hamilton: the Spinstress, painted by Romney.—Burnham Beeches, by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, with five illustrations.—Some Portraits of Lady Hamilton, by E. Barrington Nash, with three engravings.—The Myth of Perseus and Andromeda, by Jane E. Harrison, with five illustrations.—Napoleon in Russia, from the picture by Meissonier.—Profiles from the French Renaissance.—VII. Philibert Delorme, by Mary F. Robinson.—Poems and Pictures: "Below the Sea," by May Kendall and W. H. Overend.—The Romance of Art, by Puggy Booth.—The American Salon, by R. A. M. Stevenson, with five engravings.—The Medallists of the Renaissance, by Claude Phillips, with six illustrations.—DeNouvelle, with portrait and one illustration.—The St. Louis School and Museum of Fine Arts.—The Chronicle of Art.—American Art Notes. Cassell & Co., Limited, 739 and 741 Broadway, New York. Yearly subscription, \$3.50. Single number, 35 cents.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

- Roses of Shadow. A novel. By T. R. Sullivan. 270 pp.
 Christ and Christianity. By Philip Schaff. 310 pp.
 The Pentateuch, its Origin and Structure. By Edward Cone Bissell, D.D. 484 pp.
 The Blood Covenant: A primitive rite and its bearings on Scripture. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D. 350 pp.

Robert Carter & Bros., New York.

- My Sermon Notes: A Selection from Outlines of Discourse. By C. H. Spurgeon. 378 pp.
 Mental Science: A Text-book for Schools and Colleges. By Edward J. Hamilton, D.D. 416 pp.
 The Newton Lectures for 1885: The Hebrew Feasts. By William Henry Green. 329 pp.
 Metaphors in the Gospels: A Series of Short Studies. By Donald Fraser, D.D. 374 pp.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

- The Peace of Utrecht. By James W. Gerard. 420 pp.
 The Story of Rome; from the earliest time to the end of the Republic. By Arthur Gilman, M.A. 355 pp.
 Philistinism. Plain words concerning certain forms of Modern Skepticism. By R. Heber Newton. 332 pp.

Cassell & Co., Limited.

The World's Lumber Room: A gossip about some of its Contents. By Selina Gage. 316 pp.

The World's Workers: Richard Cobden. By Richard Gowing. pp. 128.

Abraham Lincoln. By Ernest Foster. 128 pp.

Florence Nightingale, Frances Ridley Havergal, Catherine Marsh, Mrs. Ranyard (L. N. R.). By Lizzie Alldridge.

Benjamin Franklin. By E. M. Tomkins.

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A Vagrant Wife: A novel. By Florence Warden, author of the "House on the Marsh." 248 pp.

Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America. By Walter Baron von Rieht-hofen. 102 pp.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Poets of America. By Edmund Clarence Stedman, Author of Victorian Poets. 516 pp.

Observations on the Growth of the Mind. By Sampson Reed. New Edition with a Biographical Preface. By James Reed. 99 pp.

American Commonwealths: Michigan. A History of Governments. By Thomas McIntyre Cooley. 371 pp.

American Commonwealths: Kansas. The Prelude to the war for the Union. By Leverett W. Spring. 334 pp.

New York Chautauqua Press.

College Latin Course in English. By Wm. Cleaver Wilkinson. 327 pp.

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Outline Study of Political Economy. By George M. Steele, LL.D. 195 pp.

American Tract Society.

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An Original Belle. By E. P. Roe. 533 pp.

Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers.

Daniel the Prophet: Nine lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. 519 pp.

Apostolic Life, as revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By Joseph Parker, D.D. 357 pp.

American Unitarian Association.

A Baptist Meeting-House. By Samuel J. Barrows. 221 pp.

A Common-Sense View of the Books of the Old Testament. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D.D. 328 pp.

Congregational S. S. Publishing Society, Boston.

The Young Men and the Churches. By Washington Gladden.

The New-Church Board of Publication, New York.

Manuals of Religious Instruction. No. 2. The Gospel Story.

Macmillan & Co., London.

Children's Treasury of Bible Stories. Part I. Old Testament. By Mrs. Herman Gaskoin.

Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.

Letters on Spiritual Subjects. By William H. Holcombe, M.D. 405 pp.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Cicero de Amicitia and Scipio's Dream. Translated by Andrew P. Peabody. 87 pp.

Lee & Shepard, Publishers, Boston.

Vocal and Action Language. Culture and Expression. By E. N. Kirby. 163 pp.

John Allyn, Publisher, Boston.

T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura, Libri sex. With introduction and notes by Francis W. Kelsey, M.A. 385 pp.

American Tract Society, New York.

The Abiding Sabbath. By Rev. George Elliott. 275 pp.

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